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1777

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A HISTORY OF ENGLAND

BY

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D. C. HEATH & CO., PUBLISHERS
BOSTON NEW YORK CHICAGO

663335

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PREFACE

THE aim of this book is to give the main facts of English history, from the earliest times to the present, in a simple and clear manner. The political, social, and economic development of the people is dwelt upon, and while the causes and results of wars receive adequate attention, the details of the wars themselves are placed in the background. In the choice of incidents, grouping of events, and the proportion in treatment, the suggestions of the various Committees on the Teaching of History have been borne in mind.

The book has been written for American schools, and though space has been lacking to dwell with fullness on the connection between the histories of England and America, all will recognize how the early settlers brought with them to America the principles of liberty and independence which had been gained by their fathers. The student will also recognize how the holding of these principles made the American struggle of the eighteenth century inevitable.

In order to show more clearly the connection of events in England with those on the Continent, several chapters on continental history have been inserted in the Appendix. These can be studied or omitted as the teacher may think advisable, or they may be used for reference. It has not been thought needful to carry the continental history later than the close of the Thirty Years' War.

Special chapters on the social and economic life of the English people are given from time to time in the belief that, on the whole, such a method is the most satisfactory way of bringing

these important features of a country's history clearly before the student's mind.

So many excellent books of bibliography have been published during the past few years that it has not seemed necessary to name more than a few volumes easily accessible. At the end of each chapter references are made to a few somewhat more advanced histories of England, or of special periods, suggesting collateral readings, also to three or four Source-Books for illustrative material.

A large number of maps and genealogical tables have been supplied, which, it is believed, will be found useful. For the sake of shortening the text, some explanatory and supplementary matter has been given in the form of notes. Many dates are given in the text in parentheses, not for the purpose of memorizing, but for reference and to make the succession of events clearer. Numerous cross references are also given.

ALLEN C. THOMAS.

HAVERFORD, PENNSYLVANIA,
May 3, 1913.

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HISTORY OF ENGLAND

CHAPTER I

PREHISTORIC AND EARLY BRITAIN

1. The British Isles.—The British Islands offer unusual opportunity for the development of an independent people, for, though they are near enough to the mainland to make intercourse easy, they are sufficiently far away to make an attack by a large army difficult. The climate is moist, but free from the extremes of heat and cold ; and, though the islands are in the latitude of Labrador, the average temperature, owing to the prevailing southwest winds and warm ocean currents from the southwest, is about the temperature of Virginia. There are many islands in the group, but only two, Great Britain and Ireland, are of large area.¹

The central and southern portions of England are comparatively level and fertile, while the northern portions and the greater part of Scotland and Wales are hilly or mountainous. The climate of Ireland is more moist than that of Great Britain, and the land is better adapted to grazing than to agriculture. The great extent of the coast line of Great Britain and the many good harbors offer unusual facilities for commerce. Great Britain is rich in mineral wealth : its mines of tin, copper, iron, and lead have been worked from very early times, and its beds of coal are among the richest in the world.²

¹ The area of Great Britain is 88,729 square miles, and of Ireland, 32,360 square miles. England and Wales together are almost exactly equal to the area of the state of Michigan ; Scotland is nearly equal to South Carolina ; and Ireland is about the size of Maine.

² The northern part of Scotland and the whole of Ireland are deficient in minerals as compared with England.

2. Early Inhabitants. — Scarcely anything is known of the very early inhabitants. At some later period these primitive men were succeeded by men of another race, who must have crossed from the mainland on rafts or in rude boats. These people, as relics show, were superior to those who had preceded them. They had stone axes and better weapons ; they made a rude kind of pottery ; they knew how to spin and weave ; they possessed sheep, pigs, goats, and dogs ; and they built rude huts, surrounding them with fields of cultivated grain. Moreover, unlike their predecessors, they did not leave their dead unburied, but interred them in long mounds called barrows. These men, it is believed, were of the Iberian race, to which may belong the Basques, a people who live in the Pyrenees. These Iberians were short, and probably of dark complexion.

3. The Celts. — Later, possibly seven or eight hundred years before the Christian era, the Celts came to Britain. They were tall, with fair hair and fair complexion, and were famous for bravery and vigor. They had learned the use of metals, and the Iberians had little chance against them. Instead of destroying the Iberians, however, the Celts probably pushed them back toward Wales and the north ; to some extent, they appear to have intermarried with them. These first Celtic invaders have been called Goidels.

After a long time, there was another invasion of Celts ; these have been called Brythons or Britons. As their predecessors seem to have pushed back the Iberians, so the Britons seem to have pushed back the Goidels. A map of the British Isles, at the close of the Celtic invasions, would show the Britons in possession of the central and southeastern parts of the island, and the Goidels of the Highlands of Scotland, southern and western Wales, Cornwall, the Isle of Man, and Ireland. The Gaels of the Scottish Highlands and the Irish are descended from the Goidels ; and the Welsh from the Britons.¹

¹ The Gaelic language of Scotland, the Manx of the Isle of Man, and the Erse of Ireland are derived from the language spoken by the Goidels, but the Welsh of Wales from the language spoken by the Britons.

The Celts were at first a people whose chief wealth lay in flocks and herds, and whose agriculture was of the simplest kind. In later times they cultivated farms and built rude villages. Later still, mining, commerce, and other occupations sprung up, hastened by the influence and example of more civilized immigrants from the continent.

Their government was of a primitive type. There were numerous tribes, the members of which were connected by blood, or supposed to be connected, with the chief of the tribe. Each

STONEHENGE

After a photograph taken in 1909

family was ruled by its head, and he, in turn, was subject to the chief. There were laws and penalties in regard to certain offenses, but it would seem there were few arrangements for carrying them out. Every tribe had its land which was held in common and on which each man had the right to pasture his cattle, and he could get wood from a common forest. In addition to this, each family had a portion of arable land. Boundaries were often ill-defined, and as no man had a right to settle within the limits of another it is easy to see that there could be little union among the tribes, and that occasions for quarrels would be frequent.

The Celts worshiped many gods and possibly made use of

to writing, our knowledge of them and their customs is necessarily limited and we cannot speak with certainty.

The circles of huge stones found in various parts of Great Britain, of which Stonehenge in the south of England is the most noted, were long supposed to be Druidic temples of some sort. It is now thought that they were raised by some of the inhabitants earlier than the Druids, possibly in honor of ancestors.¹

It was, perhaps, in the third or fourth century before Christ, that Gauls and Belgians in considerable numbers settled in the southern and eastern parts of England, and it is likely that to these later settlers belong the tribes mentioned by the Romans, such as the Cantii, Trinobantes, Icenii, and others.

Naturally, the intercourse which these tribes had with the continent would be closer and more frequent than that of the earlier comers, and it is probably due to this fact that we find that they advanced more rapidly in civilization. They used gold coins, employed chariots in war, constructed roads, and built better houses, and cultivated more fields than did their neighbors. But the Britons were still far from being a highly civilized people. The greater part of the island was covered with forests, most of the tribes were barbarous, and even the best of them were far behind the Romans in the arts and comforts of civilized life.

4. The Romans ; Julius Cæsar. B.C. 55. — The Romans first came into contact with Britain in the time of Julius Cæsar. While he was occupied in making the conquest of Gaul, he learned that some of the tribes were receiving aid from Britain, and he determined to invade the island, partly from love of conquest, partly to put an end to the aid given the Gauls, and possibly in the hope of gaining spoils. He started on his expedition in the year 55 B.C. The effort to conquer Britain was unsuccessful, owing to storms and to the size of the vessels, which made it impossible to run them upon the beach and land the soldiers easily. The soldiers, however, did their best. They leaped from their ships,

¹ These circles are usually connected with burial places.

waded ashore, and drove back the natives. But the storms kept the ships bearing the cavalry from coming to Cæsar's aid, and also seriously injured those vessels from which the first detachment of troops had landed. So when the Britons, after some skirmishes, gave promises of tribute, Cæsar deemed it wise to return to Gaul.

The next year, 54 B.C., Cæsar made another attempt to gain a foothold in the island. This time, though he won several victories and advanced farther into the country, his success was due rather to the fact that the Britons were divided among themselves than to his own skill. Cassivelaunus, the British chief, agreed to pay tribute to Rome, and Cæsar returned to Gaul. But there is no evidence that Cassivelaunus ever paid any tribute.

5. Roman Conquest. A.D. 43–85.—Ninety years after Cæsar had left Britain, the Roman Emperor Claudius sent an army of 40,000 men to undertake the conquest of the island. This time tribe after tribe submitted to the Romans, and in a few years a large part of what is now England became a province of the Roman Empire. During this war of conquest, Caractacus, the chief leader of the Britons, betrayed by his companions, was taken captive and carried in chains to Rome. It is told that as he was taken through the streets of the great city, he said to the Roman Emperor, "How is it that you who dwell in such grand palaces envy us poor Britons our thatched cots?" The Emperor, pleased at his words and his self-respect, granted him his liberty.

For thirty years Roman Britain was in a state of almost constant warfare. Attacks from unsubdued tribes from without the boundaries and rebellions within them were frequent.

In the year 78 A.D. Agricola, an able general and statesman, was appointed governor of Britain. His first efforts were directed to securing peace. He appointed honest and just men to subordinate offices, he strove to correct the many abuses which had been common during the rule of his predecessors, and in every possible way he showed the Britons that he desired them to be protected against unjust extortion. His strong rule put down all

attempts at rebellion, and by attacking the unsubdued tribes on the borders he did much both to secure peace and to enlarge the empire. He attacked the Caledonians or Picts of the north, but they retreated to the Highlands of Scotland where he could not follow. He therefore built a line of forts¹ from the Clyde to the Forth as a means of protection against invasions by these savage Picts. He extended the Roman boundaries to the Irish Sea and even planned an invasion of Ireland, but was recalled by the Emperor, who may have feared that his general was becoming too popular and too powerful, or perhaps he thought it unwise to extend the Roman conquests. The Emperor Hadrian visited Britain about 120 A.D., and built a wall from the river Tyne to the Solway firth. Sections of this wall still remain in a very fair state of preservation.

6. Roman Occupation. 85-410 A.D. General Characteristics.—Under the six years of Agricola's rule, Britain had become a well-ordered province, and under his successors, the general policy of Rome in regard to her provinces was strictly carried out. A province was administered for the advantage of Rome, for the amount of revenue which could be secured, and for the profitable offices which could be given to Roman office seekers. The direct welfare of the people themselves was seldom taken into consideration except as it might benefit the rulers. In order that the desired ends might be gained, it was needful that there should be peace and prosperity. Therefore a strong government was to be maintained, communication between different parts of the country made easy, and all possible encouragement given to agriculture and the arts.

Furthermore, it was the policy of Rome to break up any feeling of local patriotism. When a man in a province was drafted or forced into the Roman army, he was usually sent away to some distant frontier, there to form part of the imperial army. He was not called upon to defend his own home or province. Two results

¹ This is questioned by some authorities.

followed this policy: (1) he lost the feeling of patriotism and looked upon himself as the servant of the Emperor; and (2) the people felt no responsibility themselves, but looked upon the Emperor as bound to defend them from their enemies.

7. The Romans in Britain. — Little record has been preserved of the details of the Roman occupation of Britain, which lasted for more than three hundred years. At different points throughout the country, camps were built and garrisoned by soldiers. These

REMAINS OF HADRIAN'S WALL

places were skillfully chosen for ease of defense and for centers of influence. Not a few of them became cities and towns which have lasted until the present time. Such are Chester,¹ Lincoln, York, Colchester, Bath, Gloucester, Winchester, and others. London was doubtless, even in Roman times, somewhat of a commercial center. To connect the forts and camps so that troops and supplies could be readily and quickly furnished, military roads were constructed binding the camps and forts into one system. Some of these old roads are still in use, such as that now known as Watling Street, which, beginning at Dover, ran through London to Chester; and the Fosse Way,² which ran from Exeter to Lincoln, and there connected with a road to York. Built primarily

¹ Chester is derived from the Latin word *castra*, a camp, as is also the termination *chester* in Colchester, Gloucester, Winchester, etc.

² So called from the *fosse* or ditch along each side of it.

for military uses, these roads were also highways for travel and for the transportation of grain and various other articles of commerce. It is not too much to say that the roads were better and the transportation of goods and passengers easier and safer in the time of the Roman occupation than in the early part of the eighteenth century.

The Romans were great town builders, and during their control of the island it is estimated that about sixty cities and towns were built, about half of which were fortified. In these towns, so far as practicable, the arts and luxuries of Roman life were introduced, and the numerous remains of baths, theaters, villas, etc., which have been discovered, indicate both the extent to which this was done and the wealth of the Roman proprietors.

Agriculture was encouraged by the introduction of better tools and by improved methods of cultivation, as well as by new varieties of fruits, plants, and seeds. Marshes and fens were drained, lands reclaimed from the sea, and dikes built to preserve them from further damage ; the iron, tin, and lead mines were skillfully and extensively worked ; salt works were established ; and trade and commerce encouraged and developed.

Besides these material improvements, the Roman law, which has served in many points as a model for modern law, was introduced, but it was mainly for the Romans and for the few Romanized Britons. Latin became the language of the towns, although in the country it made little headway.

Much of the good that was in the Roman administration was overbalanced by evil. The taxes were burdensome and payment was often cruelly enforced. There were heavy taxes on all kinds of trade, and tribute both of money and grain was exacted for the support of the imperial armies and the use of the empire. Again, it was impossible to bring about in the island of Britain that closeness of intercourse with the Romans which gave a semi-independence to city life in Gaul and Spain. From these causes, the Britons had little training for self-government.



When the Romans conquered a country, they rarely interfered with its religion unless it came into conflict with their political rule. In Britain the Druids, having incited their followers against the Romans, were ruthlessly put down; but beyond this, there was no interference with religious observances. Little is known concerning the first introduction of Christianity. It is likely that the new religion gradually found a place in the island through the merchants and soldiers who came from the continent. By the third century, it had gained considerable foothold, for we hear of three bishops from Britain at the Council of Arles (314), but the influence of Christianity does not seem to have extended much beyond the towns. Among the missionaries of the early days three were noted men: Pelagius, Ninian, and Patricius, better known as St. Patrick, the apostle of Ireland. Christianity was not introduced without suffering and martyrdom. St. Alban, who is reckoned the first British martyr, was slain (304?) at Verulam, about twenty miles north of London, near where the Cathedral of St. Albans now stands.

8. Withdrawal of Rome from Britain. 410. — By the middle of the fourth century, the power of the Roman Empire was declining. Its armies were no longer composed of Romans, but of foreigners; taxation was heavy and there was little national feeling. The barbarians on the borders of the empire had increased in power and knowledge; had learned the value of united effort; and for the sake of attacking the common enemy, joined in loose confederacies. (App. 1, §§ 1-5.)

Early in the fifth century, the barbarians had penetrated far within the boundaries of the empire and were threatening even the capital city. The distant provinces could no longer be protected from invasion, but were left to themselves. This was the case with Britain. The last Roman legions were withdrawn in 410 A.D.¹ to aid in defending Rome against the Goths, and from that time Britain ceased to be a part of the Roman Empire. The inhabit-

¹ Some authorities say 407.

ants still clung to the hope that the Roman troops would return, and nearly fifty years later sent a final appeal for help to the Roman authorities. "The barbarians," they said, "drive us to the sea; the sea drives us back to the barbarians; between them we are exposed to two sorts of death; we are either slain or drowned." But this appeal was of no avail, for it was impossible for the Romans to send any aid. How much permanent effect the Roman occupation had on the development of Britain it is impossible to estimate with accuracy, but it is more than likely that it was considerable.

References.—Green, *Making of England*, Introduction; Green, *Short History*, chap. i, § 1; Gardiner, *Student's History*, chap. i; Terry, *History*, Part I, chap. i; Tout, *Advanced History*, chaps. i–ii; Rhys, *Celtic Britain*; Scarth, *Roman Britain*; Traill, *Social England*, vol. I, Introduction, chaps. i–ii, § 1; Cheyney, *Readings*, chaps. i–iii; Colby, *Selections*, §§ 1–5; Kendall, *Source-Book*, §§ 1–2; Lee, *Source-Book*, chap. iii.

A HOUSE OF THE EARLY BRITONS

CHAPTER II

TEUTONIC CONQUEST

9. Teutonic Conquest Begun. 449.—As soon as Roman authority was definitely withdrawn, at the very time when union was most needed, strife arose among the local rulers, and petty jealousies and ambitions divided the people. Even during the Roman occupation the peace of Britain had been continually disturbed by the Picts and Scots on the northern border, and by invasions from pirates along the eastern coast. All these marauders made frequent and alarming attacks, and many of the pirates with their families established settlements, of which the earliest were probably on the coast of what is now Essex.

At length, despairing of bringing about peace and order, Vortigern, one of the British leaders, is said to have invited Hengist and Horsa, two chiefs from what is now Denmark, to come to his aid, promising in return both land and money. Tradition says that they landed with a band of warriors in 449 at Ebbsfleet, on the Isle of Thanet, near the mouth of the Thames. Vortigern gave them this island for a home.

10. Angles ; Saxons ; Jutes. 449–550.—The Teutonic people who had now come to Britain were of three tribes — Jutes, Angles, and Saxons — from the neighborhood of the rivers Elbe and Weser in northern Germany. They were bold and warlike, fine seamen, and dangerous foes. They were heathen, worshiping the gods of the Teutonic race. Their first expeditions were solely for the sake of pillage.

The Jutes soon learned their own strength and the weakness of the Britons. Declaring themselves dissatisfied with their treat-

ment and reënforced, no doubt, by newcomers from the continent, they crossed the narrow strait which separated Thanet from the mainland and ravaged the surrounding country, destroying the villas, houses, and churches. Of the inhabitants who escaped, some took refuge in the forests or in London, and some fled to Gaul and never returned. The captured were put to death or made slaves. The contest was a stubborn one, however, and it was about sixty years before the Jutes subdued southern Britain.

In 477 bands of Saxons came, and landing on the south shore, west of Kent, were known as the South Saxons. A few years later, the fortress of Anderida (Pevensey) was taken by two Saxon leaders, who, says the old Chronicle, "slew all that were therein, nor was there afterwards one Briton left." After this victory the kingdom of the South Saxons (Sussex) was set up.

Meantime, other bands of Saxons were invading the shores north of the Thames and making settlements known as those of the East Saxons (Essex). To the north of these came the third set of invaders, who were called Angles. These were to give their name to the island itself, for England is but Angleland. Little is known concerning their attacks and settlements, but there is no doubt that these were, in all essential points, like those of their neighbors, the Jutes and Saxons. By the close of the fifth century, the whole coast of Great Britain from the Wash round to the Isle of Wight was in the possession of the invaders.

In 495 bands of Saxons and Jutes entered Southampton water and advanced to the interior. In a few years they took Winchester and founded the kingdom of the West Saxons (Wessex), over which Cedric became king. From him are descended nearly all the kings that have ruled Great Britain, including King George V. The advance of the Saxons was checked by the victory of the Britons at Mount Badon¹ in the year 520 (?), and for thirty years no further advance seems to have been made.

¹ The position of Mount Badon has not been identified. It was probably a few miles south of Salisbury. The date of the battle is not certainly known.

Tradition says it was King Arthur, who by his words and example inspired the Britons to resist the Saxons, and who led his followers to victory. Whether this be so or not, the legends of King Arthur doubtless express the hopes and fears of the Britons, and give, in the form of romance, the story of their weakness and their strength, and of their efforts to conquer the invaders of their land.

11. Teutonic Conquest Continued. 552–600. — The success of the Britons was only temporary. A new advance was begun by the Saxons in 552, and during the next twenty-five years almost continual victory was theirs. By 577 the country as far as the river Severn had fallen into the hands of the invaders, and they had succeeded in possessing themselves of the south central parts of the island, thus dividing the Britons of the west from those of the north and east. How far the natives were destroyed or pushed back is not clear, but it is likely that in these later conflicts large numbers were spared and in course of time became intermingled with the conquerors.

12. Early Teutonic Kingdoms. — Meanwhile the conquest of the island went steadily on, though slowly, for the Britons made a brave resistance. The Angles spread north and west from their settlements north of the Thames, and other bands came from the continent. By the close of the sixth century, the English, as the invaders should now be called, held more than half of what we know as England, comprising the eastern and southern parts, which were the richest and most fertile. Gradually the weaker chiefs submitted to the stronger, the smaller kingdoms to the larger, so that about the year 600 the land was divided among a few principal chiefs who were called kings. Of these kingdoms, those founded by the Angles were the most extensive. Out of earlier Anglian tribes was formed Northumbria, with York as its capital; south of this, along the coast, was East Anglia, formed of the Northfolk (Norfolk) and the Southfolk (Suffolk); while west of these, extending to the Welsh border, was Mercia, the king-

dom of the marks or boundaries. The central district south of Mercia and east of the Welsh borders was held by the kingdom of Wessex (West Saxons), whose capital was Winchester; this, together with Sussex (South Saxons) and Essex (East Saxons), which correspond nearly with the modern counties of the same names, made up the Saxon kingdoms. The Jutes held Kent, the Isle of Wight, and a small amount of territory near by on the English coast. (App. 1, § 10.)

13. Teutonic or English Civilization. 600. — We know too little of the life and customs of the inhabitants of Britain to say with certainty how far the English destroyed the civilization then existing. As the original home of the Teuton invaders was far beyond the bounds of the Roman Empire, they had never come into close contact with the imperial civilization, as had their German brethren along the Rhine, who, to a large extent, had adopted the laws, customs, and manners of the Romans. It was far different with the English. They retained their own laws, customs, and religion; so paganism became ascendant wherever they ruled. They treated the conquered with severity, laying waste, without hesitation, cities, churches, dwellings, and farms, and slaying the inhabitants or selling them into slavery. They kept their language, which became the tongue of the land and has remained so ever since. The fact that so few Celtic words remain in the English language indicates how completely the new language took the place of the old. And the almost entire absence of Roman terms of law and of Roman customs shows how thoroughly the laws and customs of the English drove out those of the Roman occupation.¹

The English had a well-defined civilization of their own on which rests much of what the English peoples now value most in political matters. Under Roman law the individual was of little

¹ The names of Roman towns still surviving indicate that some of the cities were not destroyed, and it may be that Roman influence was more lasting than is at first apparent.

account ; the state was everything. Under English or Anglo-Saxon law, the individual was of great importance and the free-man had great power. The Anglo-Saxons were an intelligent, though not a cultivated, people. They had little real literature and but a slight conception of art, or of the beautiful, or of the refinements and luxuries of civilized life ; but they were strong and hardy ; they possessed a capacity for self-government and organization, and they were self-reliant. They came to stay and brought their wives and families with them. They were agricultural in their tastes, and as soon as practicable, settled down to cultivate the land and to make homes for themselves. This latter trait has ever been a characteristic of the race, as has been shown so clearly in the history of the Anglo-Saxon or English colonists in America, Australia, and South Africa. No subsequent invaders were able to drive out the English. By them were laid the solid foundations of modern England, and to them are due the best and most characteristic traits in the English race wherever it may be.

14. Introduction of Christianity. 584-597. — As England became quieter it is likely that intercourse with the Continent was resumed and the English were brought into contact with the Roman civilization of Gaul. That this intercourse was both friendly and influential is shown by the fact that about 584 Ethelbert, King of Kent, married Bertha, the daughter of a Frankish king, Charibert. She was a Christian and was allowed to bring a Christian bishop with her to her new home. At her request the king gave her a ruined church where Christian worship could be celebrated. This was the beginning of a new introduction of Christianity into England.

Ethelbert was a strong king, and besides ruling his own Kent, exerted a powerful if not controlling influence over most of the other kings south of the river Humber. This fact, together with that of his having a Christian wife, attracted the attention of Pope Gregory VI. Long before Gregory became Pope, the story is,

he had wished to go as a missionary to Britain, and one day he had seen in the market place at Rome some boys who were for sale as slaves. "From what country do these slaves come?" he asked the merchant. The answer was, "They are Angles." "Not Angles, but angels," he said. "With faces so angel-like. From

what country come they?" "They come," said the merchant, "from Deira." "*De ira*, ay! plucked from God's ire¹ and called to Christ's mercy! And what is the name of their king?" They told him "*Ælla*." "Alleluia shall be sung in *Ælla's* land," he said, and passed on.

When he became Pope, Gregory remembered Britain

GREGORY AND THE LITTLE ENGLISH SLAVES

and resolved to bring back that land to Christianity. So he sent a monk, Augustine, who with a band of missionaries landed in Kent in 597. True, this was not the land of *Ælla*, but it was better suited as a place to begin the work, for it was easy of access, and, moreover, its queen was already a Christian.

Augustine and his fellow monks were Benedictines, whose maxim was that work and religion should always go together. "To labor is to pray" was a saying of Benedict, the founder of

¹ It is not easy to give the play upon words. *Deira*, the name of one of the English kingdoms, resembles the Latin words *de ira*, meaning "from wrath."

the order. The missionaries landed on the Isle of Thanet where Hengist and Horsa had landed one hundred and fifty years before ; the mission of this peaceful band was not to bring fire and sword, but peace and good will.

Augustine and his comrades were received with great pleasure by the queen and with kindness by the king. He listened, through an interpreter, to the preaching of the missionaries and promised them shelter and protection, but he was unwilling, as yet, to embrace their faith. Augustine before long returned to Gaul to be made a bishop. He came back as archbishop, and having made Canterbury his headquarters, that church became the mother of the English church. To-day the Archbishop of Canterbury is the Primate of the Church of England. There does not seem to have been any great opposition to Christianity, but there was great indifference, and Augustine was able to set up only two more bishoprics, those of London and Rochester. Ethelbert's conversion was brought about within a year, but though thousands of Kentish men followed their king, he dared not urge his creed upon Essex and East Anglia. In fact, his efforts to do so in Kent resulted in the weakening of Kentish dominion. Under Ethelbert's successor, the political influence of Kent was lost, and with it Christianity received such a blow that it seemed for a time as if its life in England might be over.

The coming of Augustine and his band brought the southern part of Britain much more closely under the influence of Roman civilization. The monks used the Latin language in their church services and in correspondence ; they were interested in literature and art, and they brought about a considerable degree of refinement in taste and manners. It was also probably due to the influence of the monks that soon after their arrival the English laws began to be put into writing.

15. Celtic Christianity. — Augustine and his band were not the first or only Christian missionaries in Britain. Some time during the fifth century, St. Patrick had converted the Irish, and in

the next century the Irish church sent out earnest and faithful missionaries to labor for the conversion of the inhabitants of the northern parts of Britain. Columba founded a monastery on the island of Iona, and from this place other missionaries, notably Aidan, Cuthbert, and Chad, went forth. Aidan established himself on Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, off the coast of Yorkshire, whence he visited the men of the mainland, urging them to embrace the faith and winning them by his piety and self-denial. Cuthbert's mission was to the Northumbrians; Chad's to the men of Mercia. The work of these Irish missionaries was most helpful to those among whom they went. Above everything, the people needed self-restraint, temperance, a quiet and peaceful home life, and a disposition to avoid cruelty.

16. Council of Whitby. 664.—The good influence of the church was marred by a serious division among the monks themselves, due to the fact that while the essentials of belief were the same in both branches of the church, some of the Celtic practices differed from those of the Roman. One of these had to do with the shape in which the monks shaved the crown of the head to form what is called the tonsure; another related to the time of celebrating Easter. It was important that the English church should be in harmony with the Roman church, which was the church of the most civilized countries, and it was greatly to the benefit of England that at a council held at Whitby in the year 664, it was decided that thereafter the Roman customs should be followed.

17. Influence of the Church. Theodore of Tarsus. 668. Early Schools.—The church in Britain grew and was a great aid in bringing about the union of the people, for when the clergy met in councils to consider the affairs of the church, they met, not as from the petty kingdoms, but as representatives of one body. Thus a truly national church grew up and by its example helped to suggest the possibility of a national political union.

Four years after the council or synod of Whitby, the Pope sent

Theodore of Tarsus to be Archbishop of Canterbury. He organized the English church and appointed additional bishops, whose work was not only to convert the heathen, but also to look after those who had been converted. At a somewhat later period, parish priests were appointed, and church buildings were constructed all over the land. The example of these local priests was even more influential in softening the lives and manners of the people than that of the missionary monks had been.

Archbishop Theodore was a scholar as well as a churchman, and it was due to him that

ST. MARTIN'S CHURCH, CANTERBURY

On the site of a chapel built in the Roman period and still standing where Augustine landed in 597. The walls now contain some of the Roman bricks of the original church.

a school was founded at Canterbury in which, besides the strictly religious teaching, instruction was given in arithmetic, astronomy, Latin, Greek, and in most of the branches of Roman learning. "That which distinguished this school, and others formed in imitation of it, was that the scholars did not keep their learning to themselves, but strove to make it helpful to the ignorant and poor." It was also due to Theodore and his clergy that the art of building in stone was brought from the continent, and that stone churches were erected instead of wooden ones. In short, the Church of England to-day, both spiritual and temporal, rests upon the foundations laid by Theodore.

18. Petty Kingdoms, 601-839. Bede. Alcuin. Schools.—During the seventh, eighth, and a large part of the ninth century, England was divided into a number of small kingdoms,¹

¹ The principal kingdoms were seven in number and have been called the Heptarchy; these were Northumbria, Mercia, East Angles, Essex, Kent, Sussex, and Wessex. But there was probably on period when it would be safe to say that they were all existing at the same time.

which were almost continually at war with one another either for increase of territory or for supremacy.

It was, however, inevitable that one or another of these kingdoms should get the control over the others. At one time Northumbria was the strongest; at another, Mercia; and at another, Wessex. Meantime, though the boundaries of the English were not much extended, the Britons, or Welsh, as they came to be called, hardly held their own. In 603 a king of Northumbria succeeded in gaining Chester and the territory near by, which was about equivalent to southeast Lancashire of to-day; and his successor, Edwin, extended his bounds to the Firth of Forth and built a fortress called after himself Edwinsburgh, the beginning of the modern Edinburgh. He also brought under his rule Anglesea and the Isle of Man.

About the middle of the eighth century, the supremacy passed to Mercia, whose king, Offa (757-796), was an able and energetic man. His object was to unite England under a strong monarchy. Besides gaining the overlordship of the other kingdoms, he added to his dominions in the west. To protect his possessions from raids by the Britons he built a wall of earth extending from the mouth of the Wye to the mouth of the Dee. This earthwork still exists in part and is known as Offa's Dyke.

During Offa's reign the intercourse between England and the continent was frequent. It was the time of the Emperor Charles the Great or Charlemagne (App. 1, § 30), with whom, as a rule, Offa's relations were friendly, though he took good care not to recognize any of Charles's claims to supremacy over Britain. At this period the church schools of Britain, especially those at Jarrow and at York, were perhaps the best in Europe. Among the most celebrated monks was Bede of Jarrow, who wrote a history of the English church to which we are indebted for most of our knowledge not only of the early British church, but of early Britain itself. From the school of York Alcuin went to the court of Charles to be the center of literary influence in his empire, and

to aid in setting up those schools of learning for which the great Emperor is justly renowned. (App. 1, § 27.) Offa died in 796 and the supremacy, not many years after, passed away from Mercia.

Under Egbert (802–839) Wessex gained the leadership. Like Offa, he was only overlord of some of the kingdoms, but his power was stronger than that of the Mercian king. The Welsh kings south of the Dee also acknowledged his supremacy; so in a fuller sense than any before him, he is what he is said to have called himself, “King of the English.”¹ (App. 1, § 30.)

The union under Egbert was, however, the work of force and was maintained by force. In each of the old kingdoms there were families who claimed a right to govern, and these claims were allowed by their people. Should a king of Wessex arise who was unable to hold the scepter of Egbert, it was certain that the supremacy would pass away from Wessex as it had from Northumbria and Mercia. A new element was needed to weld the growing nation together and make England really English. This was found in the Danish invasion.

References. — Green, *Making of England*, chap. i; Green, *Short History*, chap. i; Gardiner, *Student's History*, chap iii; Terry, *History*, Part I, chaps. ii–iii; Tout, *Advanced History*, chaps. iii–iv; Traill, *Social England*, vol. I, chap. ii, in part; Grant Allen, *Anglo-Saxon Britain*; Cheyney, *Readings*, chap. iv; Colby, *Selections*, §§ 6–7; Kendall, *Source-Book*, §§ 3–5; Lee, *Source-Book*, chap. iv.

¹ In a charter of the year 828, he styles himself “Rex Anglorum,” which, however, may not, and probably does not, mean, in the modern understanding of the words, “King of the English.”

CHAPTER III

DANISH INVASIONS AND WEST SAXON SUPREMACY

19. Danish Invasions Begun. 787.—The Danes or Northmen were Teutons like the English, but they were of the Scandinavian branch. Their home was in what is now Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. They resembled in every respect the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes of the early days. Like them they lived in tribes, they were bold and hardy seamen, they were on the lookout for new homes, and they worshiped heathen gods as the early settlers had done. Their language closely resembled the English tongue. Their progress was a repetition of that of the English, for like them they came first to pillage, next to settle, and last to conquer and rule. (App. 1, §§ 37-40.)

The first landing of these new foes appears to have been in 787, and their attacks were so frequent that Egbert had to take active measures to repel them. After his death, the inroads still continued, and in 851 a band of Northmen remained all winter on the Isle of Thanet. Two years later, Canterbury and London were sacked; a few years later, York fell before the bold assailants. By this time, many of the warlike characteristics of the English had disappeared. They had given up a seafaring life and had become landmen; many had become peaceful and prosperous. All this made them an easy prey to the daring enemy. The custom of the attacking party was to sail into one of the river mouths, land their men, throw up an embankment of earth as a defense, and with this as their headquarters raid the country all around, slaying the people, burning the houses, barns, and churches, and carrying off cattle, goods, and whatever booty they could find. Then, before the king or chief officer could attack

them, they sailed off to their home in Norway or Sweden or Denmark.

20. Danish Settlements Begun. 871-878 (?). — It was not many years before the Danes came to make settlements, bringing their families with them, and as time went on, the invaders came in larger numbers and gained more and more territory. By 871 Northumbria and East Anglia had fallen into their hands and they controlled Mercia. The kingdom of Wessex alone offered a strong resistance to the enemy. In order to escape ruin the English again and again bought off their foes with money, a policy sure to bring on another attack.

A DANISH SHIP

The boat shown in the picture was found in 1880 in a burial mound in Gokstad in southern Norway. It is 78 feet long.

With the acquisition of land, the second stage in the history of the Danish invaders began. The conquered land was divided among the victors, who at once began to cultivate and settle down upon their possessions just as the English had done four hundred years before. There was, however, an important difference. The English had settled in a land where a strange language was spoken and the people were of a different race. The Northmen, on the contrary, spoke a tongue closely allied to that of the English and they were of the same race. The consequence was that the invaders became so fused with the English that in a comparatively short period it was impossible to distinguish between the Anglo-Saxon and the Dane.

21. Normans in Europe. 787-912. — The Northmen also took possession of the Shetlands, Orkneys, the northern part of Scotland, the Isle of Man, Anglesea, and parts of Ireland, all of which they held for two or three hundred years.

Of their conquests on the Continent, the most important was that of a part of Gaul or France, which to this day retains the name of Normandy. Here the Northmen soon intermingled with their French neighbors, and it was not many years before the inhabitants of Normandy had changed their old language and spoke a French dialect, and they themselves, by the close of the tenth century, were no longer Northmen, but Norman-French. These invasions by the Northmen were only part of a great exodus from the Scandinavian peninsulas between the years 787 and 912.

22. Alfred the Great. 871-901. — Egbert, king of the West Saxons, died in 839, and for the next thirty years his successors were busy in repelling the Danish attacks. In the midst of the conflict, Alfred, a grandson of Egbert, became king. He was the youngest brother of Ethelred, the late king. It was the custom that the one of the royal family who was thought to be best fitted to rule should succeed to the throne. As it often happened that the sons of a king were young at his death, such a practice was well adapted to the conditions of that rough age, for the new ruler was likely to be an experienced man able to take upon himself the care of the state. Though only about twenty-two years old, Alfred was in every way fitted to be the leader of the hard-pressed West-Saxons. No man in history has been more clearly the right man in the right place. The qualities ascribed to the mythical Arthur were Alfred's in fact, and not in fable.

23. Treaty of Wedmore. 878. — For the first seven years of Alfred's reign, the attacks of the Danes were continual and almost his whole time was taken up in trying to repel them. In 878, under Guthrum, the Danes were so successful as to force Alfred to retreat with a few men to a place in Somersetshire called Athelney, which was surrounded by almost impenetrable swamps. Here, safe from his foe, he was able to arrange the union of his forces for an attack upon the enemy. In the spring, he called together his men, issued from his retreat, fell upon the Danes and

defeated them at Edington. So badly worsted were they that Guthrum was glad to make peace and accept the religion of his conquerors. Peace was arranged at a place in Somersetshire called Wedmore. By this treaty it was agreed that England should be divided between the English and the Danes. The division line was to run along the Thames, the Lea, and the Ouse rivers to Watling Street, and along this highway to the Welsh border.¹ Apparently, Alfred had lost half his kingdom, but it was not really so, for he had no real control over the part yielded to the Danes, and his claim was a source of weakness rather than of strength. That part over which the Northmen ruled was called Dane-lagh, or Danelaw, because it was subject to the Danes.

For fifteen years there was little fighting, but in 886 Alfred gained London and the country immediately surrounding it. In 893 England was again exposed to serious danger from the Northmen, under Hasting, a noted chief, who, at the head of a band of warriors, attacked Kent. This attack gave Alfred the chance to call upon the people for aid, and for the first time to organize a national army. By his skill and the united support which he received, Alfred was able to repel the invaders. But he saw that, in order to protect his dominions, it would be needful to meet the Northmen on the sea, and so he designed vessels, larger and swifter than those of the Northmen, and manned them with Danes who had become Englishmen in their allegiance and interests. This would seem to be the beginning of England's navy.

24. Alfred's Peaceful Reforms. — The warlike achievements of Alfred are by no means his principal claim to greatness. From the very moment of his accession, Alfred strove to benefit his people. "He is the first instance in the history of Christendom of a ruler who put aside every personal aim or ambition to devote himself wholly to the welfare of those over whom he

¹ It is not possible to give the exact limits of this territory. Beyond the river Tees, part of Northumberland remained under an independent English king. It was called Bernicia. The date of the treaty is usually given 878; it may have been a few years later.

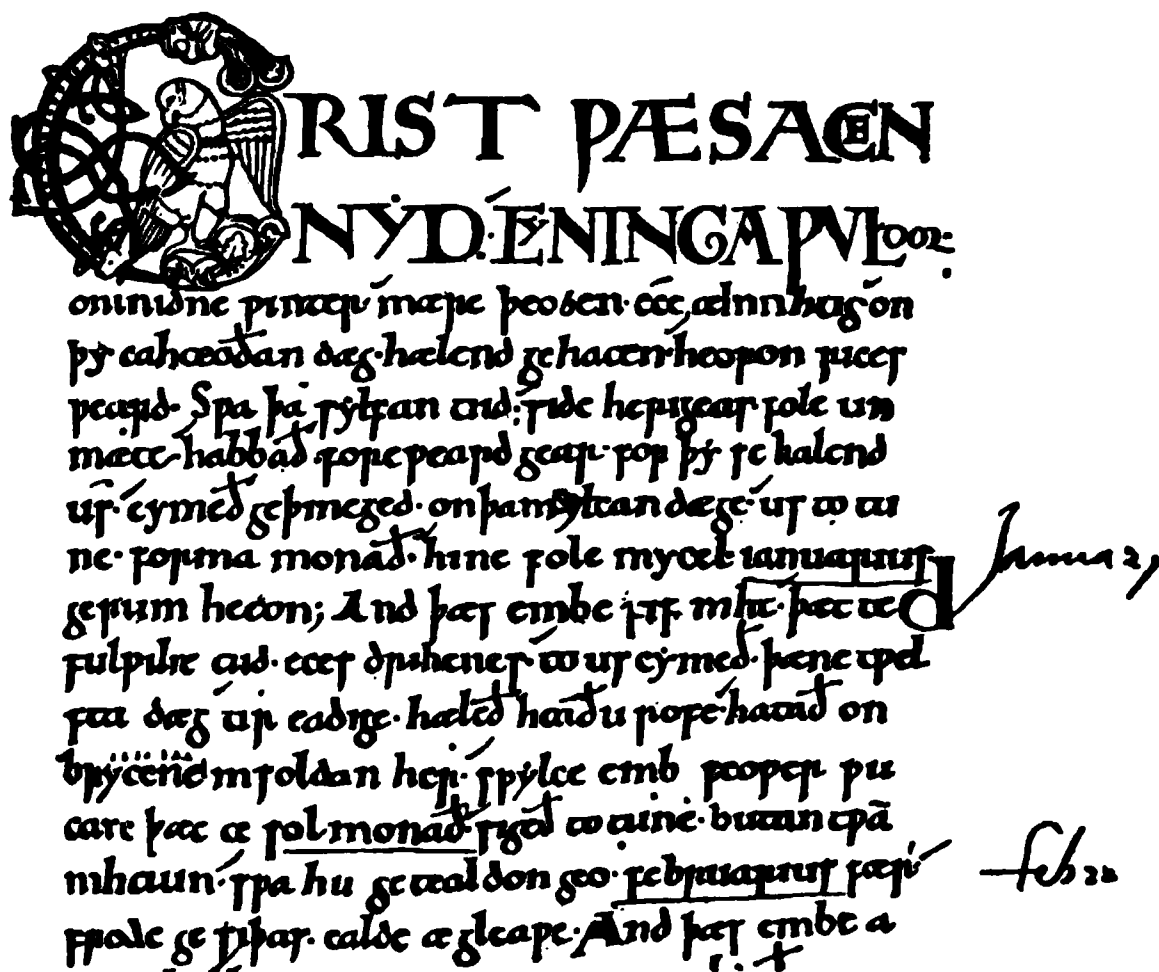
ruled." After the peace of Wedmore he devoted himself to securing good government for his country. The years of constant warfare had left England almost without law and order. Alfred determined to restore them. Unlike many reformers, he was able to see what was practicable under existing circumstances, and he aimed to secure that. He took the laws as they were, suggested improvements, and made all as simple as possible. He says himself in his preface to his book of laws: "I, then, Alfred, King, gathered these [laws] together and commanded many of those to be written which our forefathers held, those which to me seemed good; and many which seemed to me not good, I rejected them by the counsel of my witan (§ 38); for I durst not venture to set down in writing much of my own, for it was unknown to me what of it would please those who should come after us." Many of these laws seem to us cruel and unjust, for they were based on the principle of retaliation;¹ but they were suited to that age, and were the beginning of the idea of a national code of laws. He did all in his power to make the administration of justice impartial, and severely reproved unjust judges.

ALFRED THE GREAT
Statue by Thornycroft

25. Alfred's Service to Literature and Education.—It was perhaps in education and literature that Alfred's work was most lasting. The literary England of Alcuin and Bede had disappeared

¹ The penalties were almost always reckoned in money: 30 shillings was the price of an ear; and 60 shillings if the hearing was impaired. A front tooth was 8 shillings, a canine tooth 4 shillings. A forefinger was worth 15 shillings. If a man was murdered, his family could have revenge, not, as in the older days, by the forfeit of the life of the murderer, but by the payment of a fine called *were-geld* or blood money.

under the ravages of the Danes. "When I began to reign," Alfred says, "I cannot remember one south of the Thames who could explain his service book in English." Not to know Latin was to be cut off from intercourse with the learned world, for Latin was the language of all educated men. Alfred set about



REDUCED FACSIMILE FROM MS. OF SAXON CHRONICLE

After a copy in the British Museum

dispelling this ignorance. He sent for learned men to come to his court, where he employed them in writing and teaching. Some of these were Germans, some Welsh, some English like Asser, who afterwards wrote a biography of his friend and patron. Alfred established schools for those who wished to learn Latin; but he decided that those who could not speak Latin should also have the opportunity to gain knowledge. So he himself translated for popular use Latin works on history and geography. Whenever he thought the accounts in these works were not full enough, he expanded or explained them or made comments. But this was not all. He wished that his countrymen should know about their own land, so he translated the *Church History of Britain*

written by Bede. (§ 18.) It is not unlikely that this led to the compilation or writing of what is known as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, or History of Britain from the landing of Hengist and Horsa on the shores of Kent. No other European nation has in its possession so early a record written in its own tongue. The Chronicle, which was continued after Alfred's death down to the middle of the twelfth century, was the work of monks in southern England. It varies in historic value, but the narrative is full of life and vigor.

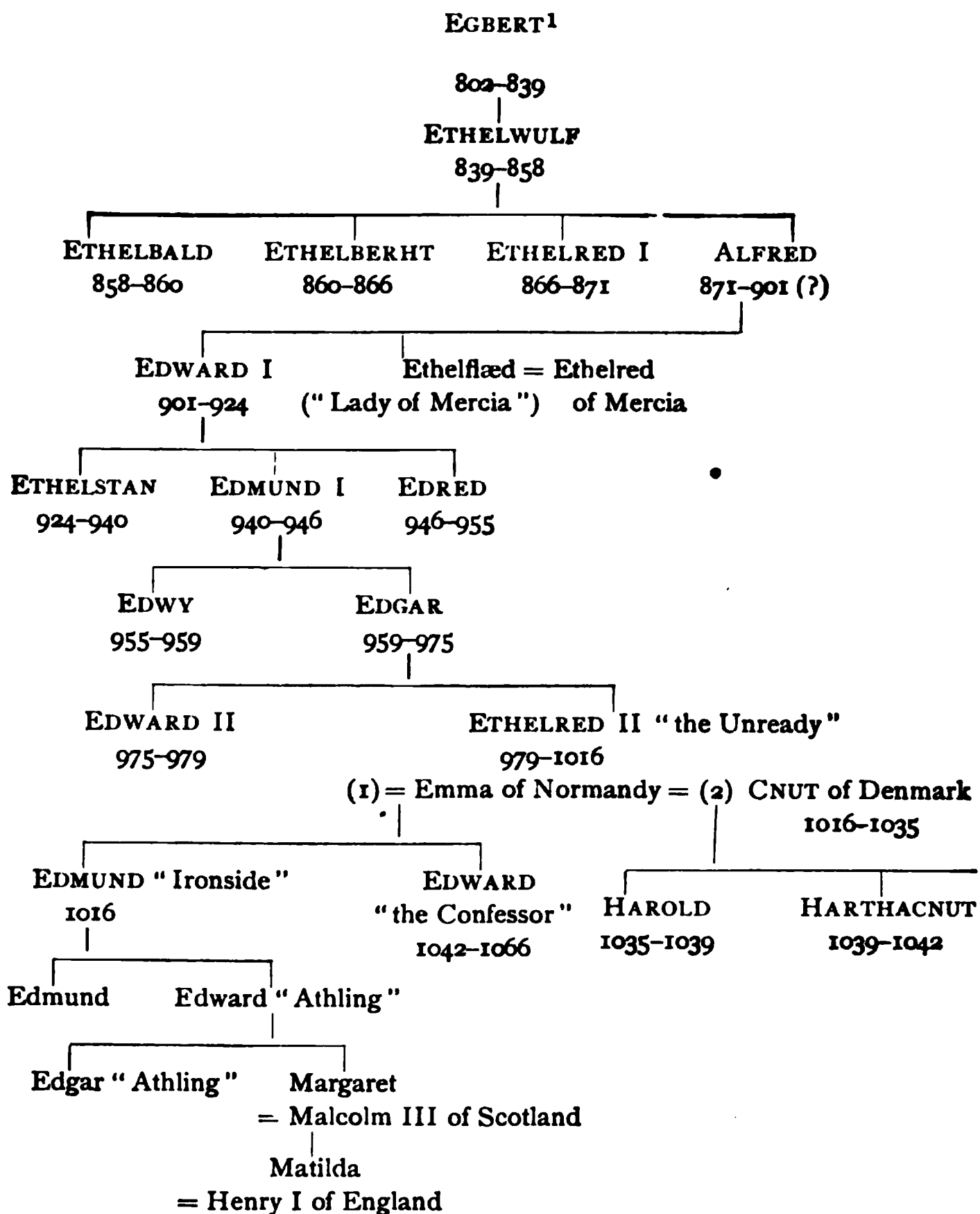
Alfred was by no means unmindful of the religious interests of his kingdom. He rebuilt monasteries and churches, and appointed one of his daughters the abbess of a convent. He sent messengers and gifts to the Pope and supported religion in every way. He also encouraged the industrial arts and we are told that he instructed "his workers of gold and artificers of all kinds" how to work to the best advantage.

Alfred had never been robust, and he died at the age of fifty-one or fifty-two.¹ He was a man whose life seems almost without a blot, to whom tradition ascribes no evil motive, and around whose memory nothing but good has clung. "England's Darling," "England's Shepherd," "Alfred the Great," are the names by which he is known. On the thousandth anniversary of his death (1901) a monument was dedicated to his memory at Wantage, his birthplace. It bears this inscription: —

"ALFRED FOUND LEARNING DEAD,
AND HE RESTORED IT;
EDUCATION NEGLECTED,
AND HE REVIVED IT;
THE LAWS POWERLESS,
AND HE GAVE THEM FORCE;
THE CHURCH DEBASED,
AND HE RAISED IT;
THE LAND RAVAGED BY A FEARFUL ENEMY,
FROM WHICH HE DELIVERED IT."

¹ The exact date of his death is disputed. It may have been 899, 900, or 901. The latter is the generally accepted date.

Anglo-Saxon Kings



References. — Green, *Short History*, chap. i, §§ 5-6; Gardiner, *Student's History*, chap. iv; Terry, *History*, Part I, chap. iv; Tout, *Advanced History*, chap. v; Grant Allen, *Anglo Saxon Britain*; Johnson, *Normans in Europe*, chaps. i-iii; Collingwood, *Scandinavian Britain*; Cheyney, *Readings*, chaps. v-vi; Colby, *Selections*, §§ 8-9; Kendall, *Source-Book*, §§ 6-7; Lee, *Source-Book*, chaps. v-vi, §§ 26-39.

¹ The names of those who reigned are printed in small capitals.

CHAPTER IV

ALFRED'S SUCCESSORS. DANISH CONQUEST. NORMAN CONQUEST

26. West Saxon Supremacy. 901-959.—Alfred died in 901 (?), leaving to his son Edward a compact, well-ordered kingdom. The Danes in Danelaw were by no means so well united as the English; and, moreover, many of the people even in that part of the country were English, and in case of a West Saxon success were ready to sympathize with the foes of the Danes. Edward, though a warrior, would have continued the peaceful policy of his father had he not been compelled to take the field against the Danes on his northern border, and against pirates on his southern coast. He set about the conquest of Danelaw, with the help of his able and brave sister Ethelflæd, the “Lady of Mercia,” who, unfortunately, died before success crowned his efforts.¹ By 924 nearly all England acknowledged him as king, while the Scots and Britons of Strathclyde and Northumbria crowned him as overlord.

27. Edgar the Peaceful. Dunstan.—The supremacy of the West Saxons was continued under Edward's successors. Of these the most celebrated is Edgar, who reigned, 959-975. Under him England was so quiet that he received the name of “the Peaceful.” It is likely that most of the success of Edgar's reign is due to Dunstan (924-988), Archbishop of Canterbury. Like Alfred, Dunstan was content to try to do only what was practicable, and his policy was one of conciliation. The Danes were allowed to

¹ Ethelflæd, or Ethelfleda, the daughter of Alfred, married Ethelred, ealdorman of Mercia. After the death of her husband, she became ruler and showed that she possessed in a marked degree the skill and ability of her family.

keep their own laws, and their rulers were Danes ; while over the Welsh, Welshmen were set in authority. Edgar was also an ardent reformer. He did much for education, which had been sadly neglected, and he encouraged changes for the better in the church. Commerce was revived, and it was in his reign that the foundation of London's commercial greatness was laid.

28. Edward. Ethelred the Unready. Swegen. New Danish Invasions. Edmund Ironside. Cnut (1016-1035). — Edgar died in 975, leaving young sons, and it was not unnatural that the nobles should quarrel about the succession. Through the influence of Dunstan, Edward, the elder son, was chosen king and was crowned ; but after a reign of four years he was murdered and his half-brother Ethelred, a boy of ten or twelve years, was chosen to succeed him (979). Ethelred has come down in history with the name of "Unready." The word really means "the Rede-less," or "without counsel." It has been said of him that "he was entirely without the qualities which befit a king. . . . He was always picking quarrels when he ought to have been making peace, and always making peace when he ought to have been fighting." His long reign of thirty-seven years is one of the most inglorious in English annals.

It will not do to ascribe all the evils of Ethelred's reign to his weakness. All Europe was in a state of transition during the tenth century, and conditions to many men seemed almost hopeless. "Old ties were loosening, old institutions were breaking down ; everywhere anarchy was taking the place of law." Dunstan had seen that the best thing for England was the strong rule of the king, and he had helped to build this up. Against this, the great nobles had risen. The succession of the young sons of Edgar was their chance, and they had not hesitated to avail themselves of it. Deprived of a strong head, the country found itself unable to present a united front against enemies. The Danes now began to make new attacks. Ethelred bought them off again and again, raising the money by a tax called *Danegeld* ;

that is, Dane-money. As might be expected, this policy brought more Danes, who finally came in numbers too great to be bought off. Swegen, or Sweyn, the Danish king, was determined to conquer and rule in England. The northern part of England, which was still Danish in feeling, submitted to him, but the south was not gained without a severe struggle. Swegen at last was successful, and "all the people held him for full king" (1013). Ethelred fled to the court of the Duke of Normandy, whose sister Emma he had married. The next year (1014) Swegen died, and his soldiers chose his son, Cnut,¹ to be king, but the English Witenagemote² sent word to Ethelred inviting him to return; but though he came back and resumed the throne, his authority was no longer unquestioned. He died in 1016.

Cnut had returned to Denmark, and, making himself king in that country, had collected a fleet to subdue England. As soon as his ships appeared, many of the English submitted to him. Ethelred's son and natural successor, Edmund, had shown himself so able a warrior that he received the name of Iron-side. Cnut, however, disputed Edmund's claim, and "a year of battles" (1016) followed without decisive results. The two claimants then agreed to divide the land between them, Edmund taking Wessex. Edmund died late in 1016,³ and Cnut became king of England.

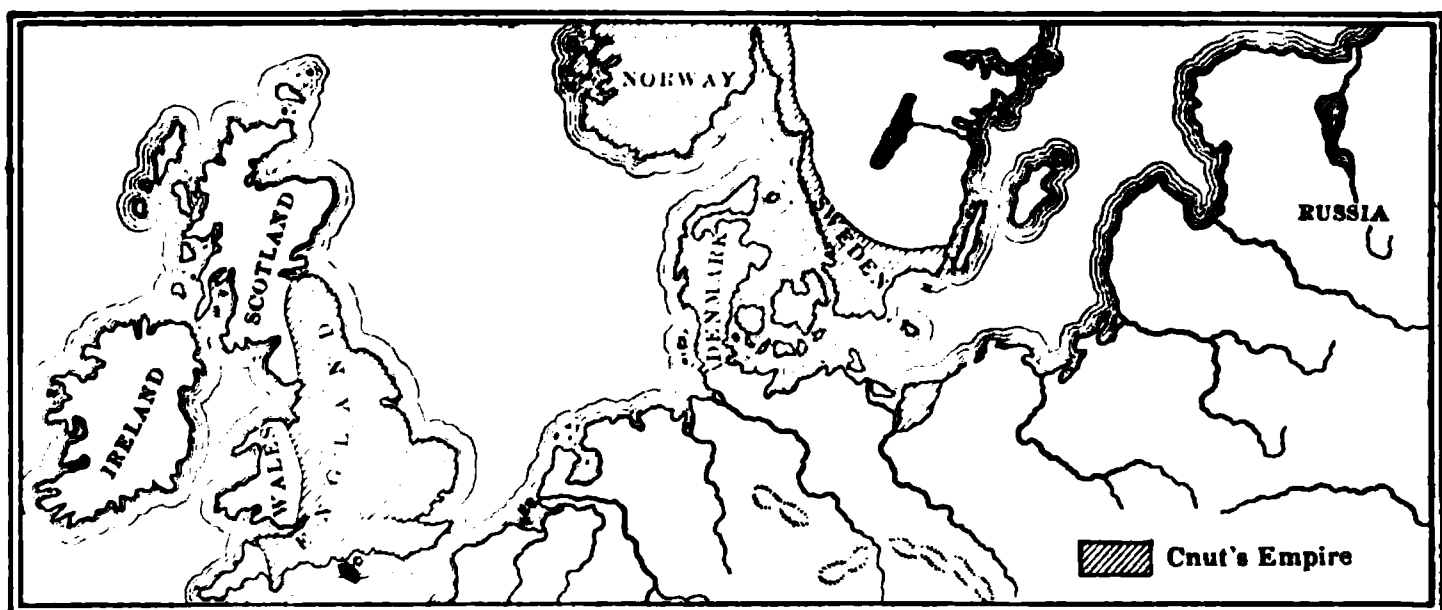
29. Cnut. 1016-1035.—Cnut has come down in history with the title of Great, and he deserves it. Like some other monarchs who have come to power in rough times, or by questionable means, he does not seem to have been naturally cruel. He spared no one whom he considered dangerous, but when such were out of the way, he was moderate, just, and even

¹ This name is spelled Cnut, Knut, and Canute, the last being the one by which he is familiarly known. The accent should be on the last syllable.

² The Witenagemote, or Council of Wise Men. (§ 38.)

³ At the time of his death Edmund was about twenty-three, and his rival about twenty-two. It is charged by later historians that Edmund was murdered, but contemporary writers make no such assertion.

gentle. He introduced the practice of having a bodyguard. This, which protected him from the attack of any of the nobles as well as from an open foe, was the nucleus of a standing army. He divided England into great districts,¹ over each of which he placed an officer called an Earl (from the Danish Jarl).



MAP OF CNUT'S EMPIRE

Cnut appointed Englishmen to many of these positions, thereby binding them to himself and avoiding the appearance of foreign rule. His kingdom did not extend beyond the Tweed, but the Scottish king acknowledged him as overlord. He conquered Norway and gained Denmark at his brother's death. Thus his dominions were more extensive than those of any king of England before him. Upon his marriage with Emma, the widow of Ethelred, friendly relations were established with Normandy.

Though his continental possessions were larger than his English holdings, he favored the latter. He is said to have restored the laws of Edgar, and he was a considerate and wise monarch as well as a strong one. He revered religion and went on a pilgrimage to Rome. From that city he wrote to his subjects: "I have vowed to God to live a right life in all things; to rule justly and piously my realms and subjects, and to administer just

¹ The principal divisions were Mercia, Northumberland, and Wessex, which included Kent. East Anglia was a fourth, but the boundaries of this varied. There were at times other earldoms set up, as seemed to be needful.

judgment to all. If, heretofore, I have done aught beyond what is just, through headiness or negligence of youth, I am ready, with God's help, to amend it utterly." There is no reason to doubt that he meant exactly what he said. He died in 1035,¹ to the great grief of his people.

30. Harthacnut and Harold ; Edward the Confessor ; Godwin. 1035-1066. — Cnut's two sons, Harthacnut and Harold, were unworthy of their father ; England was again troubled with civil war and the kingdom fell apart. The succession was disputed ; Harthacnut was recognized in the south, and Harold in the north. But as Harthacnut, who was in Denmark, remained there, he was deposed by the people, who gave their allegiance to Harold, who thus secured the kingdom. At Harold's death, Harthacnut became king. Both these men were rude, barbarous rulers, and the whole country was glad to be rid of them.

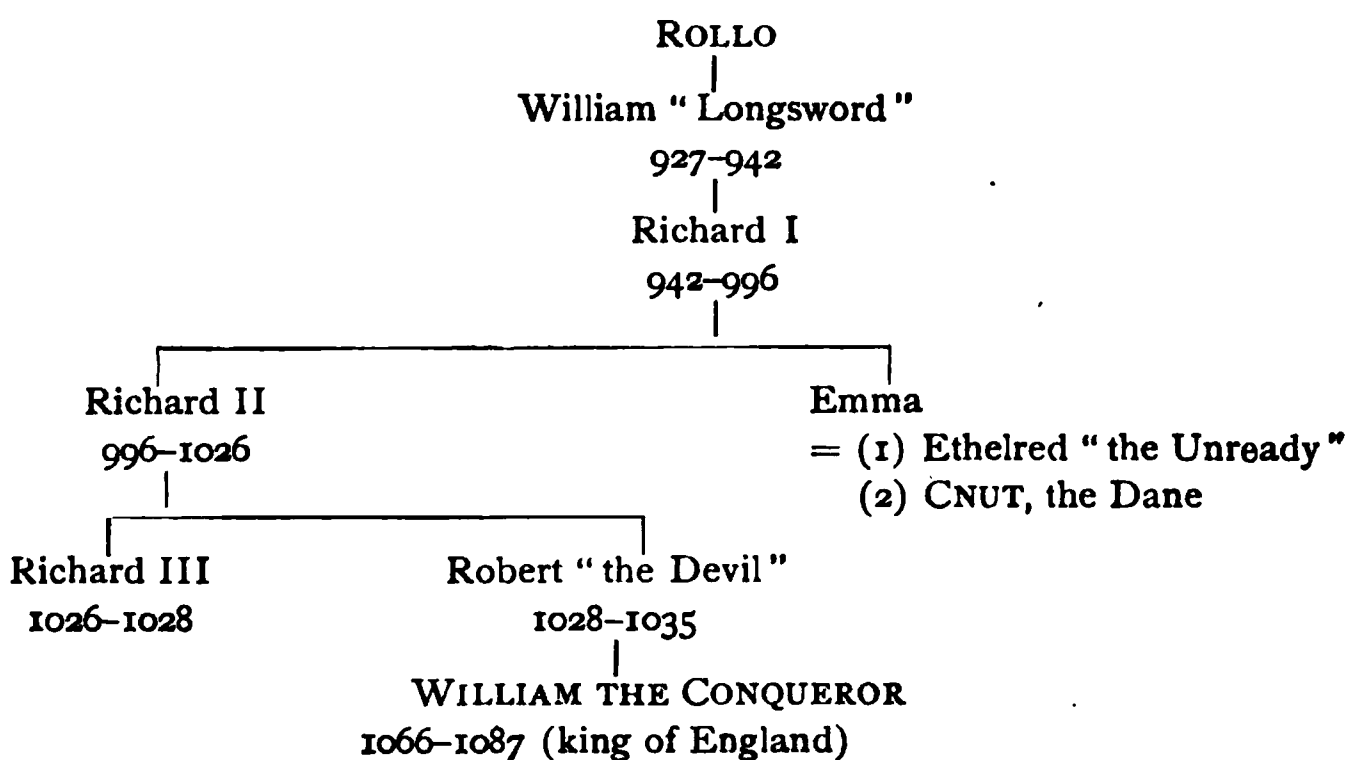
Through the influence of Earl Godwin, the most powerful English nobleman, Edward, the son of Ethelred and the Norman Emma, was chosen king. Known as "the Confessor," because of his piety, he probably would have made an excellent private citizen, but he was an unwise king. He had passed almost all his earlier years at the Norman court and was a thorough Norman in all his tastes. He filled his court with Normans and bestowed on them all the positions that he could. Though he married Godwin's daughter, his Norman tastes and his favoritism brought about strife between him and the stanch English earl. After nine years, Godwin and his family were forced to fly to the Continent, and Edward's wife was sent to a nunnery (1051). The next year Godwin came back, the tide of popular feeling turned in his favor, and many of the Norman favorites of Edward were banished. The same year Godwin died and his place was taken by Harold, one of his sons. Edward was under the influence of Godwin's family for the rest of his reign. Edward died in January, 1066, leaving no children.

¹ The date of Cnut's birth is not known ; it was probably not earlier than 994.

31. Harold II. 1066.—As Edward left no direct heirs the choice of a king fell lawfully upon the Witenagemote, or national assembly. This body chose Harold Godwinson, who was a skillful warrior and an able man. There was no one in England better fitted for the position. "He set himself," says one of the old chronicles, "to remove unjust laws, and to devise good ones . . . ; he showed himself dutiful, courteous and kindly to all good men, but a terror to ill doers . . . and set himself energetically to provide for the defense of the country by land and sea."¹

Harold's brief reign was chiefly taken up with efforts to retain his crown. His first difficulties were due to foes of his own household, for his brother, Tostig, who had been deprived of the earldom of Northumbria, had allied himself with a fierce sea-rover, and was trying to recover his earldom by force. The armies met at Stamford Bridge in Yorkshire, and Tostig was defeated. Three days after the battle, a new foe landed on the south coast of England, and Harold with all the forces he could collect marched south to meet him. This new foe was William, Duke of Normandy.

Norman Dukes



¹ Florence of Worcester; 1066.

32. William the Norman. 1066. — William, a descendant of Rollo, the Northman (§ 20), born in 1027, was the son of Robert "the Devil" and a tanner's daughter, and succeeded to the dukedom of Normandy when a boy. William was a man of extraordinary ability. "There was never a moment from his boyhood when he was not among the greatest of men. His life was one long mastering of difficulty after difficulty. . . . The very spirit of the 'seawolves' . . . seemed embodied in his gigantic form, his enormous strength, his savage countenance, his desperate bravery, the fury of his wrath, the ruthlessness of his revenge." Notwithstanding this inheritance from his Scandinavian forefathers, he was a friend to learning, a supporter of the church, and a statesman.

TOMB OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR
Westminster Abbey

William claimed the crown of England as soon as he heard of the death of Edward the Confessor. He based his claim chiefly on two circumstances: first, that when he had visited England, Edward had promised him the crown; and second, so William asserted, that when Harold some years before had been shipwrecked on the coast of France, he had sworn to William, in order to regain his liberty, that he would support the latter's claim to the crown on Edward's death.

Strictly speaking, William claimed rather the right of presenting himself to the Witenagemote for election, as commended by Edward the Confessor. Harold's election he regarded as invalid. Besides this, he claimed to be acting for the church, for the Norman Archbishop of Canterbury had been displaced and another consecrated by an antipope,¹ had been put in his place. To attack England, therefore, was to uphold the laws of the church. However plausible these reasons might seem to men on the Continent, they had no weight in England, and doubtless to William himself they were merely put forth as pretexts for a war of conquest on which he was resolved. According to English law and custom, the crown was not Edward's to promise, nor could Harold control the choice of the Witenagemote.

33. Norman Invasion ; Battle of Hastings ; William becomes King. 1066. — The Norman subjects of William felt little eagerness to support him in an invasion of England, but he was not a man to be hindered by small obstacles. During the whole summer of 1066 he was building ships and collecting forces for his great enterprise, not only from Normandy but from other countries also.² He sailed from Normandy with a large fleet, and landed (September 28, 1066) at Pevensey, on the south coast, not far from Hastings.

Harold hurried from the north to meet his antagonist. Had he been supported by a united England, it is possible that William might have been repulsed, but some of the powerful earls held aloof. The armies met at Senlac hill near Hastings, October 14, 1066. The battle was stubbornly contested, and it was not until sundown when Harold, pierced by an arrow in his right eye, fell dead, that the English were defeated. But the country was not yet conquered. The Witenagemote at London,

¹ An antipope was one who claimed to be the Pope, but whose claim was disputed.

² The fact that many of his followers were not Normans may partly explain the reason why William gave his followers so much land. They were actuated by mercenary motives and demanded their reward. William was compelled to seize and confiscate much property.

on receiving the news of Harold's death, elected Edgar Atheling, grandson of Edmund Ironside, as king. William marched on London, and cutting it off from communication with the rest of the country, had it at his mercy. On this, Edgar and those who had chosen him, yielded to William; another meeting of the Witenagemote was held, and William was chosen king. He was crowned on Christmas Day, 1066, in the abbey recently built by Edward the Confessor at Westminster.¹

PART OF THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS

Normans on the left and English on the right. After the Bayeux Tapestry.²

34. The Normans and their Influence. — It is generally claimed that the success of William was the best thing for England.³ But this view is open to question. It is true that the Normans

¹ This was not the abbey now at Westminster, which was built later. Since William's time, with but few exceptions, all English sovereigns have been crowned at Westminster.

² One of the most interesting authorities for the Norman Conquest is the Bayeux Tapestry, preserved for many years in the cathedral of Bayeux, Normandy, and now to be seen in the Bayeux Museum. It is a strip of coarse linen cloth 230 feet 9½ inches long by 19½ inches wide. It is embroidered in worsted thread of eight different colors, and the scenes illustrate the history of the Norman Conquest. It is supposed by some that it is the work of Matilda, the wife of William, but this is very unlikely. This tapestry is almost without doubt contemporaneous with the conquest. It has been photographed and published in reduced size. A full-sized reproduction, colored after the original, is in the South Kensington Museum, London.

³ It must not be overlooked that most of our authorities for the history of the conquest are Norman.

brought organization, a strong central government, and a closer intercourse with the Continent. But these benefits might have come in some other way. Harold was "wise, merciful, and stronghanded," and there is good reason for thinking that he would have ruled after the pattern of Alfred or of the later years of Cnut. It will not do to assume that he would not have been able to bring order out of the chaos. Very much that was gained by the mixture of Norman character might have come through the slower but more peaceful means of trade and normal intercourse with the Continent. So far as civilization is concerned, the English were ahead of the Normans. They had a superior literature of their own; they were skilled in the illumination of manuscripts, in weaving, goldsmith's work, and other arts. They were familiar with the natural sciences, the medicine, and the grammar of their day. In architecture also they were abreast of the times. Only in political development and organization do they seem to have been lacking. Even for political development it can hardly be doubted that the prolonged rule of men whose chief interests lay in France was in many ways hurtful. They involved England in long, expensive, and destructive wars in which the English had little if anything to gain, and they must have checked to a considerable degree that development under national influences which would have been England's lot. They did not even give England permanent order, for no Anglo-Saxon period equals in anarchy the reign of Stephen; nor did they guard personal liberty, for the tyranny of William Rufus, or John, or even of Henry I, is unmatched in Anglo-Saxon annals. The undoubted benefits of Norman rule were gained at a great cost. William was a conqueror, pure and simple, and what he did he did from selfish motives.

References. — Green, *Short History*, chap. i, § 6—chap. ii, § 4; Gardiner, *Student's History*, chaps. v–vi; Terry, *History*, Part I, chap. v – Part II, chap. i; Tout, *Advanced History*, chaps. vi–viii; Grant Allen, *Anglo-Saxon Britain*; Johnson, *Normans in Europe*, chaps. viii–xii; Cheyney, *Readings*, chaps. v–vi; Colby, *Selections*, §§ 10–13; Kendall, *Source-Book*, §§ 8–13; Lee, *Source-Book*, chap. vi, § 40—chap. vii, § 45.

CHAPTER V

ENGLAND AT THE TIME OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST

35. Old English Domestic Life. — By the middle of the eleventh century English life and customs had become well established. England was primarily an agricultural country, whose people, for mutual protection, lived in villages. The cottages of which these villages were composed had but one story and generally but one room. The walls were made of poles or branches of trees woven somewhat like a basket, and then covered with mud or plaster. The roof was thatched with straw. The floor was of earth, and in the single room was a rough table, two or three benches, and a litter of straw for a bed. Sometimes a place would be partitioned off for a sleeping apartment, but usually the inmates would throw themselves upon the straw for the night in the common room without undressing, for night garments are the product of a later age.

Poultry, pigs, and other domestic animals came in and out of the house pretty much as they pleased, especially in wet or cold weather. There were no chimneys, and when it was practicable, cooking was done out of doors ; at other times the smoke found its way through a hole in the roof or where it could. Wood was the fuel used. The waste and offal were thrown out without regard to neatness or health, for drainage and sanitary arrangements of all kinds were unknown.

Near the cottage was a small field where vegetables were raised for the family. Pork, poultry, eggs, vegetables, fruit, and cheese were the usual diet, to which must be added ale and beer. The English were great meat eaters ; bread, though not uncommon, was often costly owing to frequent bad crops, while from the

difficulty of transportation, grain could not be brought from other neighborhoods where there might be an abundant supply.

The dwellings of the better class were generally of timber. They were usually surrounded by an embankment or wall of earth, which itself was protected on the outside by a moat or ditch. The building was often of but one story. A large hall with a high roof was the most conspicuous feature. Here great feasts were held, and it was the common meeting place of the family. A long table occupied a prominent place ; at the raised upper end the lord and lady and favored guests sat. Round the walls were benches used at meals and sometimes for couches at night, though perhaps the ground was oftener the resting place. On the walls hung curtains embroidered by the women, and on pegs hung implements of the chase, arms and armor. A fire in the middle of the hall afforded heat and also light, though candles were sometimes used. Meals were breakfast, often about five ; dinner, usually at noon, though sometimes as early as nine, or as late as three o'clock ; and supper.¹ There was often a tablecloth, and a scanty supply of knives² and spoons, but the fingers were generally used. There was a saying, "Set never on fish, flesh, or fowl more than two fingers and a thumb." Even in wealthy homes pieces of bread not infrequently took the place of plates. Food was plentiful, consisting, besides vegetables, of mutton, pork, poultry, fish, eels, cheese, and honey. Tea and coffee were unknown, and honey took the place of the expensive sugar of that day.

There was much hard drinking and coarse revelry, especially

¹ An old French rime, although of a somewhat later period, probably represents this period also : —

Lever à cinque, diner à neuf,
Souper à cinque, coucher à neuf,
Fait vivre d'ans nonante et neuf.

Or in English : —

To rise at five, to dine at nine,
To sup at five, to bed at nine,
Makes a man live to ninety and nine.

² Forks did not come into general use until about 1610.

after the ladies had retired. Feasts were enlivened by the songs and music of wandering minstrels, harpers, and musicians of various kinds, and by jugglers and jesters.

Lower roofed rooms for the family, and particularly for the women, were ranged along the side walls, with entrances sometimes from the courtyard. Here, too, was the "ladies' bower," used both as a living and a sleeping room. The couches were often in recesses hidden by curtains, and were well furnished with

THE GREAT HALL IN AN ENGLISH NOBLE'S HOUSE IN THE TENTH CENTURY

pillows, bolsters, and coverings. There were stools and a table, but rarely chairs. Besides all this there were storerooms, kitchens, and other apartments. Glazed windows were almost unknown, and board shutters kept out rain and wind. The walls were of such poor construction that the hangings were not so much for ornament as to keep out draughts.

Linen and woollen materials were used for clothing, which in general was simple. The men wore next the body a close-fitting tunic reaching to the knees ; over this was a short cloak fastened with a brooch on the breast or right shoulder. The legs were

covered with tight breeches ; leather stockings, above which was wound something like a bandage, and long, black, pointed shoes completed the attire. The women wore a long gown, and over it a tunic with flowing sleeves, and above this a kind of mantle reaching nearly to the feet. A hood often of great length covered the head. The women wore their hair short and curled, while the men wore theirs long, parted in the middle, and hanging behind the ears. Both men and women were fond of jewelry.

Among the upper classes hunting, hawking, archery, and trials of athletic skill were common, the first two being the favorites. Chess, checkers, the feats of jugglers, songs and music were their indoor amusements.

36. Architecture ; Towns. — In early days even the churches were built of wood, but by the close of the tenth century these were often, if not usually, constructed of stone, and by 1066 England had a well-developed and characteristic architecture. The abbey church at Westminster built by Edward the Confessor was equal at the time to anything on the continent.¹

For many years towns were few, but by the beginning of the eleventh century they had increased in number. The buildings in these, except the church, were of wood and suffered much from fires. A town was surrounded by an earthen wall, a stockade, and a ditch. Sanitary measures were unknown, and diseases when they appeared made great ravages among the inhabitants. There was usually a market and some trade. But many of the inhabitants were farmers who came to the town at night and at other times for protection. Some of the towns grew up in the neighborhood of the great monasteries, as at Lichfield ; others, such as London, Chester, York, and Lincoln, were successors of the old Roman cities. In these towns there naturally grew up different industries, such as weaving, carving, working in wood and metal and leather, making jewelry, and other arts ; when the town was on or near the sea, fishing and commerce sprung up.

¹ It was destroyed by Henry III in 1275, to make room for the present abbey.

37. Land; Classes.—About half the surface of England was occupied by forests, heaths, and marsh or fen land. The forests afforded hunting for the kings and nobles, and in them too were large herds of swine which fed on acorns, etc. Agriculture was mostly confined to the lower lands. The population at the time of the Norman Conquest has been estimated at about 1,500,000. London had about 10,000; York and Winchester each about 5000. The system of landholding even by the middle of the tenth century had not become uniform in England. The northern

MILITARY, CIVIL, AND ECCLESIASTICAL COSTUMES IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

part was still a country of freeholders, men who owned their land and in local affairs practically ruled themselves. In the southern counties or shires the feudal system, or a modification of it, prevailed. Land was held on condition of a service of some kind to the king, the nobles, or the church. This service was called *trinoda necessitas*, or threefold duty, which was to serve in the army or navy, repair roads and bridges, and keep up the defenses of the country.

The land was divided into folkland, or "land held by common right without written evidence of ownership," and "bookland," or land over which the owner had full power or disposition by will, and his right to which rested on some 'book' or written document, not on folk right and immemorial custom." The natural tendency was to change folkland into bookland, and for the freemen to give

up their land to some powerful landholder by the owners "commending" themselves to his protection and then receiving the land back again on condition of rendering feudal service.

Besides folkland and bookland there was loanland. This was land lent, not given, and the man to whom it was lent paid rent for it, or rendered some specified service. The time of the loan was fixed by agreement, and often was for the period of the borrower's life and that of two others. This method was the forerunner of the more modern lease.

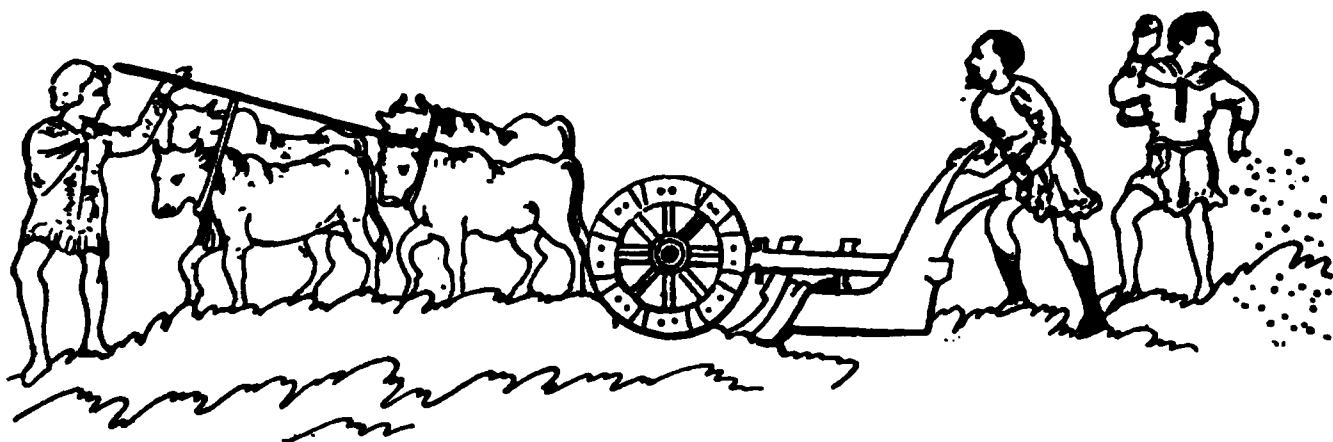
The early English people were divided into the eorls or nobles and ceorls or freemen, and besides these there were slaves. Later these classes became subdivided, and the distinction lay in rank rather than blood. There was the athling, or member of the royal family; eorl¹ or eoldorman, or ruler of one or more shires; thegn, originally the personal follower of the king, then also of an eorl or any powerful man.

Thegns might or might not possess lands of their own, and they often received gifts of land from their lord. It is easy to see that these thegns would naturally have great opportunities for advancement. Below these grades of society were the smaller owners of property, the freemen who had no property, and last of all the theows, or slaves. The tendency had been for the nobles to become more and more powerful, and for the lower and poorer classes to become less and less independent, owing to the necessity which they felt of having protection. In fact, if a man did not own land he was compelled to have a noble to answer for him in the courts. Men in extreme poverty would sell themselves for the sake of obtaining food and clothing, or to satisfy urgent creditors. Women held a high place, superior to that among the Normans. In England women, others than those of high rank, could be landowners, could make wills, and when becoming widows had a right to a share of their husband's property; and they had much influence in society.

¹ Afterward known as *earl*.

38. Government ; Kings ; Witenagemote. — The central power was vested in a king, whose power had been steadily growing. The king was usually chosen from the royal family, and if of suitable age, the eldest son of the late king was elected. The choice was made by the great eoldormen and ecclesiastics of the country acting together in a council known as the Witenagemote.

The word Witenagemote means literally the council of the Wise Men. It was composed of the eorls, archbishops, bishops, chief abbots, and sometimes subject princes, and later the athlings, and



ANGLO-SAXON PLOW TEAM

After a manuscript of the eleventh century

thegns of the kings. It answered in many respects to the modern Parliament, though it was not a representative body. It ratified the king's grant of lands, approved laws, civil as well as ecclesiastical ; levied taxes ; granted land ; and was the court of final appeal. It elected and could depose a monarch. Its power varied with the character of the king. Under a weak monarch its power was often great ; under a strong one but little. The great weakness both of the Witenagemote and the kings lay in the inability to enforce laws.

39. Shires ; Hundreds ; Townships. — The country was divided into shires or counties. In the south these were generally the ancient petty kingdoms, as Kent, Sussex, Surrey, while in the north the names sometimes followed the name of the people, as Norfolk (north folk) and Suffolk (south folk) ; others took their name from the chief town, as Yorkshire, and Lincolnshire ; while others had other origins. At first an eorl was placed over each shire ;

but later an eorl often governed several. In the later Saxon times there was in addition another officer appointed by the king, called shirereeve.¹ His duty was to represent the king. He collected taxes and in general was the executive officer.

The shires were subdivided into *hundreds*, called in the northern counties *wapentakes*, and each hundred was divided into townships.

40. Justice. — Each shire and hundred had its mote or court; that of the shire was held generally twice a year, and that of the hundred monthly. The laws were usually simple and based on custom. Almost every offense could be atoned for by a money payment, part of which went to the injured man or his family, and part to the king. A person charged before the mote with crime could defend himself in two ways: either by *compurgation*, that is by bringing before the court a satisfactory number of persons called compurgators, who would take an oath that the oath taken by the accused was true. If the accused could not produce these, he was allowed to appeal to the *ordeal*. This was to tread on red hot plowshares, or handle red hot iron, or thrust his hand into boiling water, and if he could show, after a fixed number of days, that he had received no injury, then he was considered to be guiltless.²

41. The Church; Monasteries. — In the first half of the eleventh century there was an absence of zeal in the church and in the monasteries. The connection with Rome was formal rather than real. One great reason for the lack of religious life was the fact that the archbishops, bishops, and abbots took far more interest in political affairs than in religious matters. They sat in the Witenagemote,

¹ Hence our word sheriff.

² Other forms of ordeal were used, among them that of water. The culprit was thrown into a pond or river; if he sank, he was considered innocent; if he floated, he was guilty. He was at once pulled out and either set free or received the punishment set for his crime. The idea in the ordeal was that God would indicate the innocent. The probability is that it was thought that an innocent or honest man could get compurgators, and therefore the ordeal was not an unfair method — that it was, indeed, giving a man another chance.

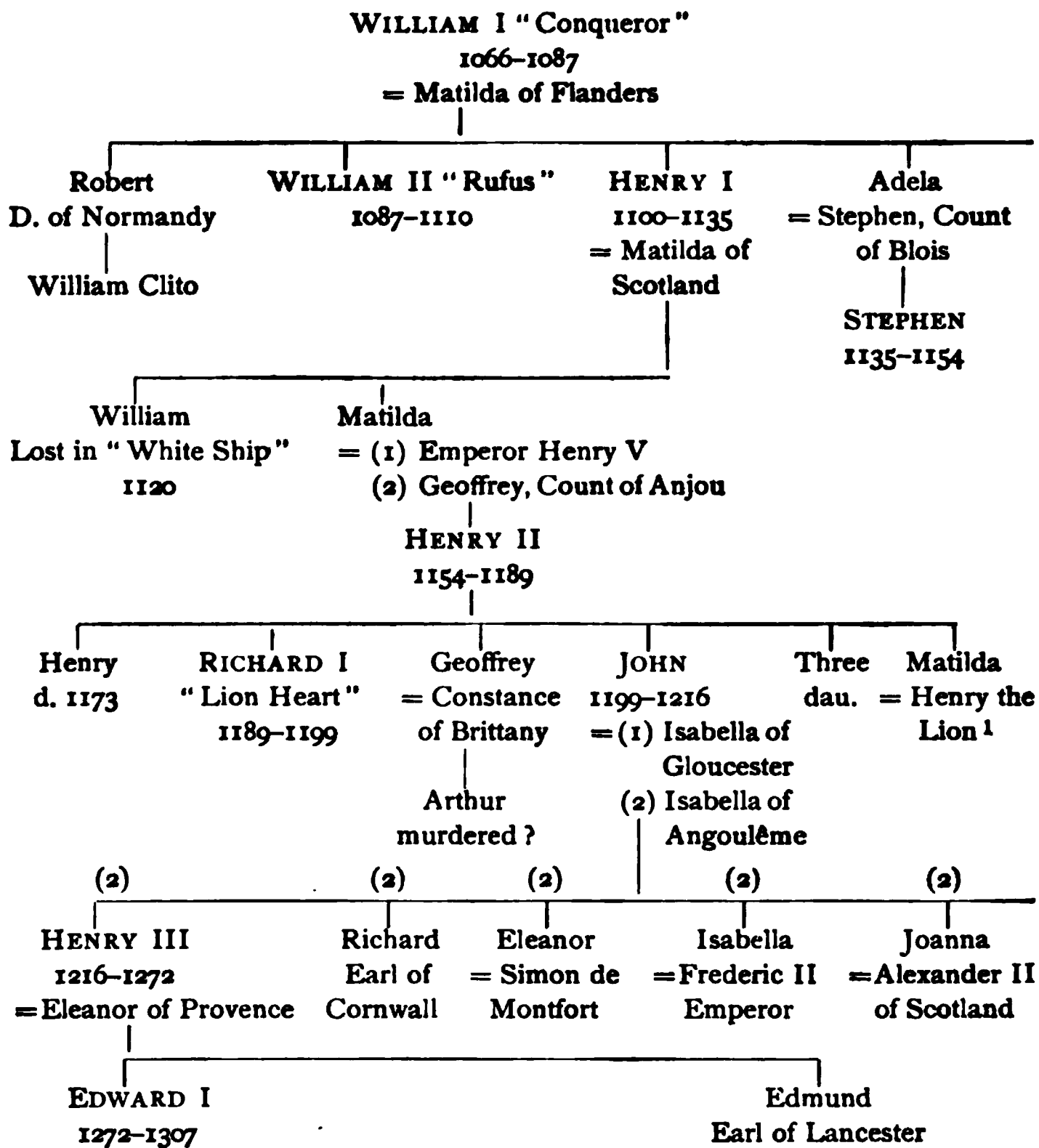
as has been seen, and shared in the duties of the shire and hundred moots or courts.

Monks played an important part in the development of Anglo-Saxon civilization. They owned a large share of the land, and possessed numerous buildings and churches. It is hard to overestimate the value of their influence in the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries. During the Danish supremacy monasticism suffered a temporary downfall. Revived largely through the efforts of Dunstan (§ 27), monasticism again became a great power, but by the eleventh century the discipline of the monasteries had become relaxed, and the monk had ceased to be a pattern of industry and active life. At one time the monastery was the abode of literature, art, the sciences, and of almost all knowledge; the monks were the farmers and mechanics as well as the architects and artists of their age. But this was changed, and kings and nobles came to treat monasteries, especially in the south of England, rather as places in which their younger sons and daughters could live comfortable lives.

42. Language and Literature.—By the time of the Norman Conquest the language had become simpler. It had lost many of its old forms and endings, and dropped much of its syntax in consequence. In literature there was a decided decline from Alfred's days. The chroniclers, however, had continued their work.

References.—Traill, *Social England*, vol. i, chap. ii; Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History*, chap. i, §§ 4–5; Gardiner, *Student's History*, chap. v; Tout, *Advanced History*, chap. ix; Cheyney, *Readings*, chap. v, § 3; Colby, *Selections*, § 13; Kendall, *Source-Book*, § 14; Lee, *Source-Book*, chap. v, chap. vi, §§ 41–43.

Norman and Angevin Kings to Edward I



¹ Ancestor of the Dukes of Brunswick and Electors of Hanover.

CHAPTER VI

NORMAN AND ANGEVIN KINGS ; WILLIAM I—HENRY II 1066–1189

43. Norman Conquest. 1066–1071. — It was fully five years before William could in truth call himself master of England. The struggle of these five years gave him the name of William the Conqueror. In 1067 William ventured to visit Normandy ; but the two regents whom he left in England were so severe and unjust that there were rebellions in various parts of the island. Late in 1067 William returned to England and set himself vigorously to put down the rebels. This task would have been much more difficult, perhaps impossible, had the English been united in their efforts at resistance ; as it was, William was able to attack and subdue his enemies one by one. In 1069 the northern English rose, called the king of Denmark to their aid, and were joined by some dissatisfied English nobles. Before this rebellion was suppressed much of the north country had been laid waste, and crops and cattle, farm buildings and tools, were destroyed to so great an extent that half a century later the still uncultivated fields bore witness to William's pitiless fury. Not even the old heathen Danish savages were as ruthless as William.

The only important uprising which took place after this was the revolt of the Saxon hero, Hereward the Wake. He retreated to the high ground, known as the Isle of Ely, rising in the midst of the almost impenetrable swamps of the fen land in eastern England. For a long time he defied attack, but at last he was forced to yield, and then all England acknowledged William as lord (1072).¹

¹ There are two legends concerning Hereward : one followed by Kingsley in his "Hereward the Wake," in which the hero is killed by a band of Normans ; the other, in which he makes submission and thereafter lives a peaceable, quiet life. The latter seems more likely to be the true version of the story.

thought their private interests would be benefited. The same thing was true of the Normans, as William had already found to his cost in Normandy. To remedy this state of affairs, he did away with all the great earldoms, and so distributed throughout the country the grants of land made to the barons and great nobles that if one of them should rebel, he could be put down before he could bring his scattered retainers together. William, moreover, made it clear to the English that if they were faithful to him, he would treat them justly.

45. William and the Church.—William found the English church a national one; that is, the bishops were appointed by the king in conjunction with the Witenagemote; and the clergy sat in the Witenagemote with the nobles. He took into his own hands the appointment of the bishops and abbots; he removed all the bishops who were Englishmen and appointed Normans in their place; he made the clergy independent of the civil courts, and punishments were inflicted by order of the ecclesiastical courts.

William's scheme added greatly to his power, for each of the three parties in the kingdom—the English people, the Norman people, and the church—was dependent upon him, and each distrusted the other. It was very unlikely that any two would unite against him. He made Lanfranc, an Italian, Archbishop of Canterbury. This was an excellent selection, for he was one of the most able, learned, and religious men of his day.

46. William and Feudalism.—In England feudalism prevailed but neither so extensively, nor in a form so fully developed, as on the continent. (App. I, §§ 34–36.) According to feudalism, in its perfected theory, all the land of a country belonged to the king, and the followers of the king were called his vassals and held their estates as the king's tenants. Their land was called a fief, and the oath they took was the oath of fealty to the king or overlord. In return for the gift of land the vassal was bound to render his king or lord certain personal or other service,¹ such as

¹ The amount and character of the service varied greatly.

to furnish and equip men to fight for him, in return for which his king or lord was bound to protect him and his property. He who held land direct from the king or ruler could grant it to vassals of his own, and so on ; thus feudalism became in time an exceedingly complicated institution. Each vassal's first duty was to his immediate overlord ; thus if his lord should rebel against the king, the vassal was bound to follow his lord rather than the king. The essence of feudalism was this dependence upon the overlord. William endeavored to change this in England, so that the vassal's first duty should be to the king and not to his overlord. Then if a noble rebelled and his men followed him, they were guilty of treason. In this way the people would be more closely bound to the king. It is likely that this change was gradually brought about, though from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,¹ it would seem that it was exacted for all the country at a great meeting held at Salisbury (1086), and hence called "The Oath of Salisbury." As a result of this policy England was saved in after years from many evils which the unmodified feudalism brought upon continental Europe.

47. Domesday Book. 1085-1086. — The methods of raising funds to meet the expenses of government were unsatisfactory, and much property escaped taxation. In order to remedy this defect, and to increase the revenue, William caused an extensive survey to be made of the taxable property of the kingdom (1085). The reports were set down in a book which was called the Domesday Book, because there was no more appeal from it than there would be from the Last Judgment. This book has been preserved, and is one of the most interesting historical records in existence. How full it was can be inferred from the following extract from the *Chronicle* : "So very narrow did he cause the survey to be made,

¹ The passage in the *Chronicle* reads : " He came to Salisbury at Lammas and his witan, and all the landholders of substance in England, whose vassals soever they were, repaired to him there, and they all submitted to him, and became his men, and swore oaths of allegiance, that they would be faithful to him against all others." A.D. 1086.

that there was not a single hide nor a rood of land, nor — it is shameful to relate that which he thought no shame to do — was there an ox, or a cow, or a pig, passed by, that was not set down in the accounts." That he was able to make such a survey is strong testimony to William's power, for there are few things which men resent more than an investigation into their private affairs.

Tempore Regis Edwardi Reddobar Arrybor
 ptheloneo / gablo / omib, alus c'suetudinib, pannu
 Regi qdem .xx. lib / v: .levax' mellis. Comiti u Algaro
 x. lib. adiunero molino que infra curia habetur
 Quando rex illu' in expeditione: burghens. xx. den
 al eo p omib, alus. uel. xx. lib dabat regi ut om' fecit libi.

BEGINNING OF THE DOMESDAY BOOK FOR OXFORD

William was passionately fond of hunting, and it was said of him "that he loved the tall stags as though he was their father." Perhaps the most unpopular thing which he did was to make a large royal hunting preserve in Hampshire called the New Forest. It is altogether probable that much of the land was "crown land," so that comparatively few people were deprived of their property; moreover, the soil is poor and it was sparsely inhabited; but the taking of any private property for selfish ends has always been distasteful to the Anglo-Saxon mind. The severe forest laws which he made for the preservation of game for his hunting were really a far more reasonable cause of discontent than the seizure of the land.

48. Death of William. 1087. — In 1087 William became involved in a quarrel with the king of France. As he rode through the town of Mantes, in Normandy, which had been burned by his own orders, his horse stepped on some burning embers, started, and threw William against the pommel of his saddle. As he had grown to be very stout he was seriously injured. In a few days he died, and was buried in Caen in Normandy.

William left Normandy, his hereditary possession, to his eldest son Robert ; to his second son, William, he left England ; and to his third son, Henry, he left 5000 pounds sterling and some private estates, telling him to bide his time.¹

49. William II, Rufus. 1087. — William, the son, hastened to England, secured the powerful influence of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, and was chosen king by the Witenagemote. Many of the barons would have preferred the easy-going Robert to the vigorous William, and in the very first year of his reign a conspiracy was formed against him. William called on the English people to aid him, promising them certain privileges if they did so. They responded to the call in such numbers that the rebellion was quelled.

50. William Rufus and the Church ; Anselm. 1093. — William Rufus, as he was called from his red face, was an exceedingly able man, but he had all the evil qualities of his father without his father's power of self-control. He was, moreover, an intensely selfish man, and no oath was too sacred for him to break if it suited his pleasure. He quarreled with the church, and after the death of Lanfranc, for whom he had some respect, he allowed the great see of Canterbury to continue vacant for nearly four years, in order that he might appropriate its revenues to his own uses. In 1093 William was seized with a serious illness and in his fright he agreed to appoint an Archbishop of Canterbury. He named Anselm, the prior of Bec in Normandy, a man so pure and holy in his living that he was already called a saint. Anselm was dragged to the king's bedside and the symbols of his office were forced into his unwilling hands. The most learned man of his day, "he was as righteous as he was learned, and as gentle as he was righteous," but like many other quiet and mild men he knew no fear where questions of duty were concerned, nor did he hesi-

¹ This arrangement was in accord with the custom of the times, which was, that hereditary possessions should go to the eldest son, and the acquired ones to the younger sons ; at the same time it was unusual for a younger son to be given the most valuable possession.

tate to warn the king against his sins. After four years of contest with the king, Anselm retired to Rome, but his example had borne fruit by encouraging in others a spirit of independence which showed itself later.

51. Death of William Rufus. Henry I. 1100.—The end of William Rufus was tragic. He was hunting in the New Forest when he was shot by an arrow which pierced him to the heart. Whether this was an accident or not has never been found out. William left no direct heirs; his elder brother Robert was on a crusade (App. 1, § 59) to the Holy Land; and so the way was open for the youngest brother, Henry, to make good his claim. Henry lost no time in seizing the royal treasure and in getting himself elected by an assembly of the nobles and prelates. In order to gain the good will of the English people, he married Eadgyth, afterward known as Matilda, the daughter of Malcolm, king of Scotland, and of Margaret, granddaughter of Edmund Ironside. This, together with the fact that he had been born in England, made him far more acceptable to the English than Robert. Still further to strengthen his position, he recalled Anselm from Rome, and granted a charter to the barons. This charter is one of the most important in early English history, for it was made the basis of many subsequent charters; it was the first which considered the grievances of the nobles and the clergy, and was the first which was granted at the time of the coronation of a sovereign of England.

In this charter Henry promised reforms and a return to the laws of Edward the Confessor, as amended by his father, William the Conqueror. He gave up the forests formed by William Rufus, but retained those of his father. Henry did not adhere at all times to the terms of this charter, but he did not recklessly violate it.

52. Henry and Robert. 1106.—The difficulties which Henry had to face were similar to those which had beset his father and brother; there was constant conflict with his rebellious barons, with

the French king, and with the church. When Henry's brother Robert returned from the crusade and found that for the second time he had failed to gain the English crown, he joined with some of the English nobles in trying to dethrone his brother. But the attempt was unsuccessful. The war was then carried into Normandy, and in 1106 at Tenchbrai, with an army largely composed of English troops, Henry defeated his brother and his allies. Robert was taken prisoner, conveyed to Great Britain, and kept in close confinement in Cardiff Castle, South Wales, until his death, a period of twenty-eight years. As a result of the victory, all Normandy fell into Henry's hands.

53. Henry and the Church ; Anselm. — Except where he thought his duty to the church interfered, Anselm loyally supported Henry ; but it was almost impossible that some conflicts should not arise, for in those days a great prelate was not only an officer of the church, but usually a great landholder as well. (App. 1, § 46.) Under the feudal laws, if called upon, he was bound under certain well-defined circumstances to supply knights for the king's army. He was also required to do the same homage for his lands that was exacted of a baron. When Henry asked Anselm to repeat the homage he had rendered to William Rufus, Anselm declined to do so ; and not only that, but he refused to consecrate the bishops whom Henry had appointed. His position was that of Gregory VII, one recently supported by a church council, which held that the church should be entirely independent of the state, and should appoint its own dignitaries. Neither Henry nor Anselm would yield, and Anselm left England for about three years. Then an honorable compromise reasonably satisfactory to both parties was reached (1106). (App. 1, § 54.)

54. Henry and France ; "The White Ship." 1120. — Henry's difficulties with the French king were connected with Normandy. Robert, Duke of Normandy, was in safe confinement, but his son, William Clito, claimed the duchy, and was supported by the king of France, who naturally preferred to have for his vassal and neigh-

bor a young man rather than the powerful king of England. For nearly twenty years there was almost constant warfare with France. At length Robert's son was killed in battle (1128), and then there was peace for Henry.

When Henry was returning from one of his visits to Normandy (1120), his only son, a youth of seventeen, with a crowd of nobles followed him in another vessel, *The White Ship*. They set sail from the town of Barfleur in the evening after a time of revelling. Probably there was not a sober seaman on board, and it is not surprising that the vessel struck on the rocks at the entrance of the harbor. Prince William was thrust into a boat and might have been saved had he not insisted on returning for his half sister. As his boat neared the rapidly sinking ship, it was swamped by crowds of men and passengers jumping into it, and Prince William and the rest were drowned. A butcher of Rouen who clung to the mast of the vessel was the sole survivor of all that gay company. At first, no one dared to carry the dreadful tidings to the king; then a little boy, falling down before him, told him the terrible news. Henry fell senseless, and, it is said, never smiled again.

55. Matilda and the Succession. — Henry determined to make his daughter his heir; and though no woman had as yet sat on the English throne, he succeeded in getting the barons to swear allegiance to Matilda as his successor. She had been the wife of Henry V, the Emperor of Germany, but had recently returned to England, a widow. Henry married her to Geoffrey, the son of the Count of Anjou, whose lands were south of Normandy. These added to the duchy of Normandy would greatly increase the continental possessions of the English king. Unfortunately, the match was highly unpopular with Henry's subjects, both English and Norman: with the former, because they disliked any foreign complications; and with the latter, because the Counts of Anjou had always been foes of the Normans. However, in 1133 the barons again swore fealty to Matilda and also to her infant son.

56. Death of Henry. · 1135. — In 1135 Henry died, after an active and successful reign of thirty-five years. He was a great king. Though naturally selfish, like the rest of his family, circumstances made many of his interests and those of the people coincide. England was suffering from the selfishness and turbulence of the large barons; they were also Henry's enemies, and so he did all in his power to keep them in check. He introduced a well-ordered administration of finance and justice, and the internal reforms which he brought about were favorable to a rapid increase in trade and commerce. He was a peace-loving king, with keen aptitude for organization and order. A scholar himself and familiar with French, English, and Latin, he was a patron of learning and encouraged the presence of famous scholars at his court. During his reign the monasteries became centers of education, and the monks busied themselves with chronicles. These were written in Latin, and are of the greatest value to modern students of history.

57. Stephen of Blois. 1135. — Though the barons had sworn that they would recognize Henry's daughter, Matilda, as queen, they broke all their promises and chose for their king, Stephen, Count of Blois, son of Adela, a daughter of William the Conqueror. Stephen did not seem like a foreigner, for he had been brought up at the English court and was well known to the English and was popular. He was a genial, pleasant man, handsome and generous. He had been a favorite with his uncle Henry, who had given him such large possessions as to make him one of the most powerful barons in England. His cause was especially supported by the Londoners, who desired peace above all things, and who thought that a woman would not be likely to govern well and to continue Henry's policy. Matilda, moreover, had spent only two years in England since she was eight years old. Her husband, Geoffrey, was an hereditary foe of the Normans. "We will not have a foreigner to reign over us," they said.

To make his tenure more secure, Stephen issued two charters

promising to maintain peace and justice, the freedom of the church, and other liberties. He also agreed to give up the forests which Henry had made. Stephen seems to have had neither the desire nor the ability to keep his promises. He was not a timid man, but he lacked both judgment and prudence. He had no control over the barons and he made enemies of the clergy.

58. The Barons and Stephen. — The barons soon erected castles all over the kingdom and defied the king. It was said of them : “ They fought among themselves with deadly hatred ; they spoiled the fairest lands with fire and rapine ; in what had been the most fertile of counties they had destroyed almost all the provision of bread. . . . They hanged up men by the feet and smoked them with foul smoke ; some were hanged by their thumbs, others by their heads, and burning things were hung to their feet. They knotted strings about men’s heads and twisted them till they went to the brain. They put men into prisons where adders and snakes and toads were crawling ; and so they tormented them.” These were only part of the cruelties which were perpetrated by the barons upon their enemies and upon those whose possessions they wished to seize. Stephen himself, on one occasion, it is related, having taken prisoner a son of the lady who held the castle he was besieging, put a rope around the neck of his prisoner, and threatened to hang him in sight of his mother unless the castle was surrendered. The unhappy mother could not bear the sight, and opened the gates to the king.

59. Stephen and Matilda ; Civil War. 1140. — Stephen came to the throne in 1135 ; by 1140 the kingdom was in a state of anarchy. Matilda thought it was a good opportunity to press her claim. She found supporters, but they were more interested in fighting Stephen than they were in her or in her success. Stephen, instead of appealing to the people for support, hired soldiers from the Continent to help him, an action which turned many from him. In a battle fought at Lincoln (1141) Stephen was taken

prisoner and all England submitted to Matilda, who was called by the barons the "Lady of England."¹ Matilda was harsh, and soon London, with many of the great barons, turned against her. Stephen had been set at liberty in exchange for Matilda's half brother who was held captive by Stephen's followers; civil war began and the land was in desperate straits. Bad as Stephen's rule had been, it was certainly better than Matilda's, so the cause of Stephen kept gaining, and in 1148 Matilda gave up the struggle and left England, and Stephen was again king. Two or three years later Matilda's son, Henry, a youth of sixteen,

RUINS OF RICHMOND CASTLE.

This was built in the time of the Normans

was sent to England to see what success he could attain. He had, however, to abandon the attempt to gain the crown.

60. Treaty of Wallingford; Death of Stephen. 1154.—In 1150 Geoffrey of Anjou, the husband of Matilda, died, and Henry succeeded to the large possessions of the Counts of Anjou. To these he added Aquitaine by marriage (1152) with Eleanor, the divorced wife of Louis VII of France. He now felt himself strong enough to make another attempt to secure the English crown.

¹ Matilda was not crowned.

Though only nineteen, Henry was more than the equal of Stephen, and was so successful that Stephen was compelled to treat for peace. By the Treaty of Wallingford (1153) it was agreed that Stephen should retain the crown until his death, but that Henry should be his heir. It was easier for Stephen to agree to this because his son Eustace, whom he had expected to succeed him, had lately died. It was also agreed that the castles which had been built during the reign of Stephen should be demolished.¹ After a few months Henry returned to his continental possessions. The next year (1154) Stephen died, and Henry succeeded to the English crown without opposition, the first peaceful succession since 1066.

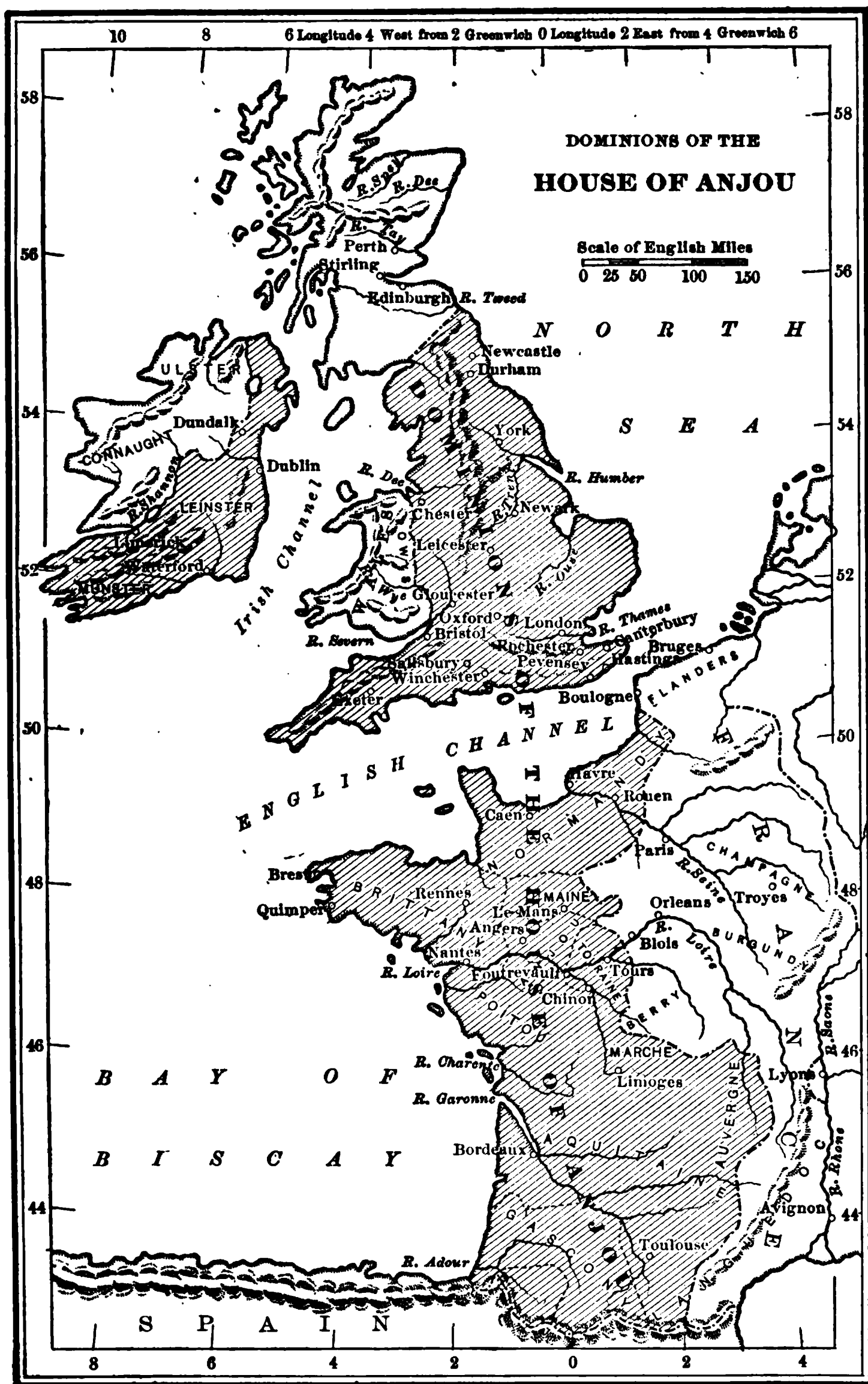
61. Henry II, Plantagenet. 1154. — Henry of Anjou, known in England as Henry II, was the first of the Angevin family to rule in England. He is also known as Plantagenet.²

In person he was a little above the middle height, stout, and with a thick neck. He had a round head and wore his hair closely cropped. He was a restless, active man, rarely sitting down except at meals or when he was on horseback. He was careless in his dress; his manner was usually pleasant and affable, but when he was crossed, he was rough and passionate; and it was said of him that he would sometimes roll on the ground in a rage and even bite at the straws and sticks near him. On the other hand, he was generally wise and far-seeing in his statesmanship, energetic and painstaking in carrying out his plans, and at the same time crafty and tenacious. He was perhaps the most learned monarch of his time and delighted in the society of scholars. Like his Norman ancestors, he was devoted to the chase and excelled in war. He had little regard for religion or for the church.

Though only twenty-one at the time of his succession, he was

¹ It is said that there were 1115 of these.

² Angevin, that is "of Anjou." The name Plantagenet is derived from *planta genista*; in French, *plantagenet*, the broom plant, a sprig of which Geoffrey, Henry's father, was accustomed to wear in his helmet.



wiser and abler than most men of twice his age. He was one of the most powerful monarchs of Europe, for besides England, his possessions in France were greater than those of the king of France himself. By inheritance or through marriage (§ 60) he ruled Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, Aquitaine, Poitou, Gascony, and several smaller states. So important were his continental interests that of his long reign of thirty-five years, only thirteen were spent in Britain, and his longest continuous stay there was two and one half years. But this did not prevent him from understanding the condition of his English kingdom and ruling it wisely. He was skillful in the choice of his ministers, and was always ready to listen to advice.

62. Thomas Becket. — In his efforts to reform the condition of affairs, Henry was greatly helped by Thomas Becket, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, the son of Gilbert Becket, a Norman merchant who had settled in London. Shortly after Henry's accession Thomas Becket was made chancellor¹ of the kingdom. Thomas of London, as he was then known, for the practice of having surnames had not been adopted, was fond of display and lived in great style; but in a licentious age and amid great temptations he appears to have kept himself free from every kind of vice. He and the king became close friends and jested with each other like boon companions. It is said that they were riding together one cold winter's day when they met an ill-clad beggar. "Would it not be a charity," said the king, "to give that fellow a cloak and cover him from the cold?" "Yes," said Becket. Whereupon the king snatched Becket's fine scarlet cloak edged with fur. Becket resisted, and in the struggle the two men were nearly thrown from their horses, but in the end Henry got the cloak and flung it to the beggar. Such were the familiar terms upon which these two men lived.

¹ The chancellor was the secretary of the King's Court, or *Curia Regis*. He issued writs and other public documents; kept the great seal of the kingdom; acted as judge; and held the right of appointment to many ecclesiastical benefices.

63. Henry's Reforms. — Henry's reforms were as thorough as it was possible to make them. He not only followed the plans of his grandfather, Henry I, but carried them still farther. He sent all foreign troops out of the kingdom; he ordered that the castles which had been built during Stephen's reign should be destroyed, and if, in any instance, his command was not obeyed, he sent troops against that stronghold and destroyed it. He saw clearly that his most dangerous enemies in England were the great barons, and to weaken these he hit upon a plan which strengthened his power on the Continent as well as in England. Henry needed an army to protect his continental possessions; his English subjects were not bound by feudal laws to fight except at home, and though feudal vassals were liable to foreign service, they could not be forced to serve more than forty days in any one year. This was far too short a time to suit Henry. He therefore encouraged a practice which had been gradually growing up. This was to make a money payment to the king in lieu of personal service. With this money the king was able to hire troops for as long a service as he might choose, and thus the English knights could stay at home. A further result of this practice, and a very important one, was that the knights, who in earlier times were warriors, now became landowners, who devoted much of their time to peaceful pursuits and thereby became vitally interested in local affairs. This custom also marked a step in the decline of feudalism, the essence of which was personal service in return for personal benefits.

The fact that Henry's long absences from England did not seriously weaken his authority was due to the skill with which he chose his representatives. He intrusted two laymen, Richard de Lucy and Robert of Leicester, with almost kingly power. These men, called Justiciars,¹ with Becket, carried out the king's policy

¹ The name *justiciar* had different meanings at different periods. In Henry's time the justiciars acted as "permanent prime ministers, as representatives of the monarch in all relations of state, as regents during the king's absence," etc.

so well that for ten years England had such a rest from turmoil as she had not known for many years.

64. Henry and the Church. — When Henry came to the throne the two foes of reform were the barons and the church; neither of them wished to be restrained, or to give up any of the power acquired during the reign of Stephen. Henry had reduced the barons to submission, but he had little opportunity to take from the church those powers gained in earlier times, or not rightly belonging to it.

Under the general system at that time if a member of the clergy committed a crime, he was to be tried in an ecclesiastical court. This system was open to great abuse, for it permitted persons to become members of the clergy simply to secure clerical privileges, or to escape the secular or ordinary laws. For instance, the ecclesiastical courts could not inflict the penalty of death, and so if one of the clergy or "clerks," as they were called, committed a murder, he escaped death. Moreover, the church courts were more lenient, it was claimed, than others, and criminals got off with lighter penalties. Henry believed that there should be one law for all his subjects, but so long as Archbishop Theobald lived, there seemed to be no opportunity to bring this about.

65. Henry and Archbishop Becket. 1162–1164. — Theobald died in 1162, and Henry at once determined to appoint as archbishop his friend and chancellor, Thomas Becket, expecting that through him he could carry out his plans. Becket did all in his power to prevent the king from making the nomination and from securing the appointment from the Pope. "I warn you," said Becket, "that if such a thing should be, our friendship would soon turn to bitter hate." But Henry insisted, and Thomas became Archbishop of Canterbury.¹

From the moment he became archbishop, all his interests were centered in the church and all his strength was given to it. He

¹ Becket though a deacon was not a priest, but was forthwith ordained one, and the very next day consecrated archbishop.

at once resigned the chancellorship, saying, "It is impossible for me to serve two masters," meaning the church and the king.

It was not long before a conflict arose between the king and the archbishop. Henry was determined that any "clerk" (member of the clergy) who was guilty of a crime should be tried, and in

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

The choir was built in the twelfth century, and the nave, transepts, and central tower date from the fifteenth century. Some of the glass is of the thirteenth century.

some instances sentenced, in a "lay" court, that is, in an ordinary court of justice. Becket insisted that all "clerks" should be tried in a church court, maintaining that Henry's claim was an introad upon the liberties of the church.

66. Constitutions of Clarendon. 1164.—Henry summoned a great council to meet at Clarendon near Salisbury, and at his command a committee of bishops and barons issued what are known as the Constitutions of Clarendon. These professed to set forth the customs of the king's grandfather, Henry I. No one

knew exactly what these were, but Becket and the bishops had agreed to observe them. When issued, they were found to be against the claims of the church. The most important of the sixteen articles provided in many cases that clerks and persons under the protection of the church should be tried in the lay courts; that bishops who held land as feudal tenants should do homage just as lay tenants were required to do; that no appeals should be made to the Pope without the king's leave; that no member of the royal household or "tenant in chief" (that is, a man who was the king's direct vassal) should be excommunicated from the church without the king's knowledge. It cannot be said that these requirements were unreasonable; for it was absolutely necessary, for the sake of common justice, to settle the questions continually arising between the lay and clerical courts, and to end, as far as possible, the frequent lawlessness arising from the conflicts of authority.

67. Becket's Refusal and Flight to France. 1164. — Becket, strongly opposed to any lessening of the power of the church, took time for consideration and then managed to evade signing the articles. Henry, angered at Becket's conduct, resolved not to yield. Nine months passed; Henry then summoned Becket to appear before a royal council held at Northampton to answer certain charges regarding his lands and his financial transactions as chancellor. Here Becket was found guilty of treason and declared to be a debtor to the crown for a very large amount.¹

With his crucifix in his hand, he awaited the decision in the hall. When he was informed of it, he appealed to the judgment of the Pope in defiance of the constitutions, and walked out. As he went along, some one said, "This is a fearful day." "Yes," said Becket, "but the Day of Judgment will be more fearful." He fled in disguise to the coast and crossed over to France. He

¹ It is hardly to be doubted that these charges were only technically true, if indeed they were that. The fact was that Henry wished to get rid of Becket and took this means of doing so.

remained in exile six years. Meanwhile Henry banished about four hundred of the archbishop's relatives and friends and confiscated the revenues of Becket's see.

68. Becket in France; Coronation of Prince Henry. 1170. — Becket did not find the support in France and from the Pope that he looked for. There were two rival Popes, and Alexander III who had the best claim, was too much afraid that Henry would recognize his rival to give active support to Becket; and the king of France, though he received Becket and showed him honor, did little more. Henry was now free to carry out his own plans, and from this time the Constitutions of Clarendon regulated the relations of church and state, and law gradually took the place of despotism.

Henry was anxious to have his eldest son follow him on the throne. But since the time of the Norman Conquest no eldest son of an English king had succeeded his father. Henry determined to have his eldest son crowned during his father's lifetime.¹ Accordingly, in 1170 Prince Henry was crowned by Roger, Archbishop of York. It was then, and still is, the special privilege of the Archbishop of Canterbury, as Primate of all England, to crown the monarchs of England. As soon, therefore, as Becket heard what was to be done, he sent word to Roger that all bishops about to take part in the coronation of the young Prince were excommunicated, and warned him that this order was approved by the Pope. The coronation took place, but Becket's action threw doubt on its validity. To meet this difficulty Henry resolved to make peace with Becket. Henry also feared lest the Pope should excommunicate him or lay an interdict² on the kingdom. At length, through the agency of the Pope, Henry and Becket met at Fréteval, not far from Tours, in France, and some sort of a reconciliation was reached. Becket returned to England.

¹ This was often done by continental monarchs. In medieval times coronation was held to be all-important, while in modern times it is considered a non-essential.

² Interdict, see § 79, note.

69. Return and Murder of Becket. 1170. — The archbishop landed at Sandwich (December 1, 1170) and was received with shouts of welcome from the people, who looked on him as a protector of their rights. He would not release from the ban of excommunication the bishops who had taken part in the coronation of the Prince, unless the confiscated estates of Canterbury were restored to him. On this, the bishops resolved to appeal to Henry, who was on the continent. Henry was very angry and cried out

impatiently, "What a parcel of fools and dastards have I nourished in my house that not one of them will avenge me of this one upstart clerk!" Four knights who heard him took him at his word and hastened to England and Canterbury. At first they went unarmed to the archbishop's palace, and had hot words with him, demanding that he should leave the kingdom. But Becket defied them. Then they went out for arms. In the meantime Becket's friends persuaded him to take refuge in the

THE MURDER OF THOMAS BECKET

After a Canterbury seal of the fourteenth century

cathedral. Here the knights found him and murdered him. Though Henry at once declared that he had no hand in the murder, and sent to the Pope assurance to that effect, this deed aroused deep indignation, not only in England, but throughout Europe. Thomas was looked upon as a martyr, was soon canonized, and became the most popular saint in England.¹

70. Henry and Ireland. 1171. — Henry was the first English king to make an attempt to conquer Ireland. That island was then

¹ To canonize is for the Catholic church to place a deceased person upon the canon or list of saints. St Thomas of Canterbury continued to be a popular saint down to the Protestant Reformation, when his shrine at Canterbury was destroyed. It was to this shrine that Chaucer, in his great poem, makes his pilgrims travel.

celebrated for its work in metal, and for the skillful illumination of manuscripts, but in almost everything else it was far behind the rest of Europe. There were a number of tribes, each ruled by a chieftain, and petty warfare was almost continual. The church and monasteries were also very much disorganized. It was in the hope that Henry's efforts would place the Irish church under Roman authority that Adrian IV (Nicholas Breakspear), the only Englishman who ever became Pope, is said to have given Ireland to the English king (1154).¹

Then, however, seemed to Henry a good time to make a serious effort to gain Ireland, and in 1171 he crossed the Irish Channel with that end in view. There were already Englishmen in Ireland, for Richard de Clare, afterwards known as Strongbow, with a number of followers, had gone to Ireland in 1169–1170 at the invitation of Dermot, an Irish chieftain, to assist him in regaining his possessions. They had been successful; Strongbow had married Dermot's daughter, and at his death seized upon his kingdom. His rule, like that of many foreign aggressors, was harsh. Henry, therefore, was welcomed by many of the Irish, and yielded to by the earlier English invaders, who lacked the courage and the strength to resist him. Unfortunately for Ireland, Henry was soon forced to leave the island to look after more important interests, and with his departure the old condition of petty warfare was renewed.

71. Henry and the Barons. — There had been in England, as on the Continent, a struggle between the barons and the crown. The tendency had been toward the increase of royal authority; this the barons naturally resisted, and from time to time, as opportunity offered, they rebelled. They had been most successful during the reign of Stephen, and the anarchy of that reign showed what might be expected if they should become the stronger party

¹ This grant, if made, for it has never been fully established as a historical fact, was made on the ground that all islands belong to the Pope. It may be taken as an example of the extensive claims of the Papacy at that time.

in the state. From the first Henry had done all that he could to lessen the strength of these barons and had accomplished much. The barons had chafed at their loss of power, and were determined to make a desperate effort to recover their lost position. The time was seemingly ripe for such an attempt. As Henry was lord of more than half of France, the kings of France were always ready to take advantage of any movement which might injure their English rival; so were the petty dukes and counts whose dominions were near by; the Scots also were alive to any opportunity for enlarging their borders. Besides all these, Henry had foes in his own household. His wife, Eleanor, was on bad terms with him, and sympathized with her sons, who, despite their father's affection for them, were dissatisfied with what he had given them, and were ready to plot against him. All these enemies conspired at the same time against the unfortunate king.

72. Henry's Reconciliation with the Church and his Penance.

1174. — Henry knew that as long as he was on ill terms with the church, his affairs could not prosper; therefore he resolved to be reconciled to it. He met the papal legates, swore that he was innocent of the death of Becket, and agreed to make certain important concessions. Upon this he received absolution.

Meanwhile, Henry had caused his eldest son, Henry, to be crowned again, and this time his son's wife, Margaret, daughter of the king of France, had been also crowned. To this son, Henry had given Normandy; for his son Geoffrey, he had secured Brittany;¹ and to Richard, his third son, he had given Aquitaine. All these countries were to be ruled under Henry and not independently. But this arrangement did not satisfy his sons; and the French king, hoping to gain thereby, joined with them and plotted a rebellion, to which Eleanor, Henry's wife, gave her aid. The barons attacked Henry almost simultaneously in Normandy, on the Scottish border, and in England. He was successful against the rebels

¹ He had done this by the marriage of Geoffrey to Constance, heiress of the duchy.

in Normandy, and his faithful justiciars, Richard de Lucy and William Mandeville, routed the barons in England.

The contest was still going on with the Scots when Henry landed in England on his way to Canterbury to do penance at the tomb of Becket. When he reached the entrance of the city, "he dismounted, put on a plain, woolen gown, bared his royal feet, and so walked through the rough and muddy streets to the cathedral. . . . At the threshold, he knelt down and said a prayer; on being led to the spot where Becket fell, he kissed it and bathed it with tears." The Bishop of London then spoke to the people on behalf of the king, expressing sorrow that hasty words of his should have led the knights to commit so vile

THE PENANCE OF HENRY II

After an old painting

a deed. He also stated that the king confirmed the see of Canterbury in all her rights. Henry then rose, satisfied with what had been said, and removing his outer garment, knelt down at the tomb to receive from the hands of the monks eighty or more stripes on his back. He was again absolved of the crime, but remained crouching on the bare floor of the crypt all night.

73. Henry's Success; Rebellion of his Sons.—In the eyes of the world Henry was richly rewarded for this act of humiliation, for he soon received news of the capture of the Scottish king, and the consequent defeat of his enemies in the north. The king of the Scots, William the Lion, was forced to make the treaty of

Falaise and to do homage to Henry as his overlord, an act which was to have an influence on future events. The few remaining rebellious barons were speedily put down, and all attempts to establish baronial independence were ended.

Henry's sons, instigated probably by the king of France, had begun active warfare again in Normandy. The king hurried back to the Continent and in a short time was successful in quelling the outbreak. His terms to the rebels were generous.

74. Legal and Other Reforms.— Henry now turned to matters of reform. The first thing which claimed his attention was the administration of justice. As early as 1166 he had directed the sheriffs in case of murder, robbery, and theft to summon men of the neighborhood to investigate the case, and ordered that the accused should be brought before a justice sent from the courts at Westminster to the counties. In 1176 he issued a new Assize, as the documents were called, in which the chief authority was given to the justices who traveled through the shires on their circuits. They were to gain their information regarding crime through twelve knights of the neighborhood, or, if this were not practicable, through twelve freemen and four others. Disputes regarding lands were to be settled in the royal courts, and, in general, the royal power was extended as much as possible. The effect of this legislation was to lead the freemen to look to the crown for justice rather than to the barons, and so to make legislation uniform throughout the kingdom.

By the Assize of Arms (1181) Henry reorganized the *fyrð* or militia which dated back to the time of William the Conqueror. Heretofore, it had been feudal in its character; Henry made it national. By this document every freeman was bound, according to his ability, to secure arms so that he might be ready at any time to defend the realm against rebels or invaders. This action of Henry is a proof of the strong position he had gained, in that by it he trusted himself, not to paid foreign troops or a standing army, but to the English freemen themselves.

75. The Crusades. Saladin Tax. 1188.—Among the great events in history are the crusades. (App. 1, §§ 59, 65.) These were military expeditions to rescue from infidels the Holy Land and particularly the Holy City, Jerusalem. They were begun in 1096, and in 1099 Jerusalem was captured and the kingdom of Jerusalem set up. This petty kingdom, owing chiefly to the dissensions of the enemies, had lasted until 1187, when it fell before Saladin, a great Mohammedan warrior and statesman. The Pope now proclaimed a new crusade and thousands enlisted in the holy enterprise. Among those who took the cross¹ were Henry, his son Richard, and Philip, King of France.

In order to raise money for the expenses of the war in the East, Henry laid a new tax upon his English subjects (1188), known as the Saladin Tax. This was levied upon movable or personal property and not upon land, as previous taxes had been. Each man was allowed to state the amount of his taxable property, but if any doubt arose as to the truth of his statement, a jury of his neighbors was summoned to testify.²

76. Rebellion of Henry's Sons. Death of Henry II. 1189.—Henry never went on the crusade. Before he was ready to start, those who had promised to go were warring among themselves; first Henry and his son Richard against Philip, and then Richard and Philip against Henry. At the time of this last conflict Henry was ill and did not show his accustomed skill. He was driven from place to place and finally was forced to submit to Philip's terms. Among other things he was required to agree that all who had followed Richard in his rebellions should be allowed to continue that allegiance. When the list of these was shown him, the first name was that of his favorite son, John. "Henry turned on his couch with a groan. 'Now,' said he, 'let all things go as they

¹ To take the cross meant to pledge oneself to become a crusader. "This was symbolized by a small cross of cloth or other material attached to the shoulder of the coat or other garment."

² The rate was one tenth upon all rents and movable or personal property for one year. This is the first known instance of an English tax on personal property.

will, I care no more for myself, nor for anything in the world.' ” He lingered for a few days, repeating again and again, “Shame, shame on a beaten king,” and then died (1189).

Henry II was one of the greatest kings of England, and he has left an enduring influence upon its history. It may be that this policy was often selfish, but it is at the same time true that very often his interests and those of the realm coincided. He changed feudalism in England from a system of government to a system of land tenure ; he brought the barons under control ; he vastly improved the administration of justice ; he laid the foundation of the jury system ; he made the militia national ; he brought the church under the general control of the state ; he gained the good will of the people at large ; “he established a footing in Ireland and effectively asserted the supremacy of England over Wales and Scotland.”

When it is remembered that Henry's continental holdings were far larger than his British possessions, the question at once arises, why was he not equally successful on the Continent? The answer is easily found. In England, he bent all his energies to make himself really king, and to free England from the hindrances of feudalism ; while on the Continent he was simply a feudal lord in regard to many of the lands over which he was scarcely more than nominal ruler ; and moreover he himself on the Continent upheld feudalism and was himself a vassal. Besides this, he apparently never expected to establish a continental kingdom, as is shown by the division of his dominion among his sons. His greatest errors were those in his family policy, which caused the misfortunes at the close of his reign and were responsible for his pathetic end.

References. Green, *Short History*, chap. ii, §§ 4-8 ; Gardiner, *Student's History*, chaps. vii-x ; Terry, *History*, Part II, chaps. ii-vi ; Tout, *Advanced History*, Book II, chaps. i-v ; Hunt, *Norman Britain* ; Johnson, *Normans in Europe*, chaps. xiii-xvi ; Stubbs, *Early Plantagenets*, chaps. i-v ; Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, 1-20 ; Cheyney, *Readings*, chap. vii, §§ i-vi ; Colby, *Selections*, §§ 14-24 ; Kendall, *Source-Book*, §§ 15-22 ; Lee, *Source-Book*, chaps. vii-viii.

CHAPTER VII

NORMAN AND ANGEVIN KINGS. RICHARD I — JOHN

77. Richard I. 1189. — Henry was succeeded without opposition by Richard, his eldest living son.¹ He was in many respects the opposite of his father, for while Henry was a soldier from necessity, Richard was a warrior by nature. The name by which he was best known, Richard Cœur de Lion, Richard of the Lion Heart, indicates this. Immediately after his coronation, he began to make ready to join the crusade, for he had already assumed the cross. To raise money for this purpose he sold office after office and privilege after privilege. He sold offices to those who wished to buy, and the right to resign offices to those who wished to give them up; he declared other offices vacant and put them up to the highest bidder; he sold charters to cities and towns; he allowed William of Scotland to buy release from the treaty of Falaise made with his father (§ 73); with the consent of the Pope, he sold the privilege of staying at home to those who, having assumed the cross, wished to be relieved of the obligation. Never, perhaps, was there a monarch who was so anxious to raise money as he.

Richard, though born at Oxford, had in him little of the Englishman, and only seven months of his reign of ten years were spent in England. Almost his whole life had been passed in Aquitaine. It was well that this was so, for it is almost certain that if he had lived in England, dominated as he was by foreign ideas, he would have insisted on introducing them into England.

¹ Prince Henry, who had been crowned before his father's death, and who had given so much trouble, died in 1183, leaving no children.

As it was, under his representatives England had a far better chance to develop on English lines than would have been possible had he himself taken active part in the government.

78. Richard and the Crusade. 1189. — Richard left England on the 11th of December, 1189. His adventures and warlike deeds of prowess have been the theme of many a romance and song, for he was the embodiment of the ideal hero of that age. He was thirty-two years old, full of the vigor of early manhood and thirsting for opportunity to show his strength and bravery. He started for the East in the latter part of June, 1190, and for three years, in company with Philip Augustus of France, he had all the adventures and intrigue that any one could wish. There was constant quarreling between the two kings from the start, for they were rivals and jealous of each other, at home as well as abroad, for Richard's dominions in France were more extensive than those of Philip, who was always ready to enlarge his boundaries at the expense of the English king.

Richard did not reach Syria until 1191, when he took part in the siege of Acre, the greatest stronghold in Palestine. This city was taken largely through his skill, but then, instead of a united effort to push on and take Jerusalem, the crusaders quarreled, and Philip returned to France to scheme against his rival. Richard continued his efforts to recapture Jerusalem; twice he was within a few miles of the city, but found himself unable to go farther because his fellow crusaders failed to give him support. Once, it is said, he gained a spot from which he could have seen the holy city, but he refused to look, saying that if he was not worthy to conquer the city, he was not worthy to see it.

At last a truce for three years was concluded with the Sultan Saladin, the most important feature of which was that the Christians were allowed to make pilgrimages to Jerusalem in safety.

79. Richard's Return and Capture. 1192. — Richard now prepared to return home. It was high time, for not only was Philip Augustus his active enemy, but his own brother John was

doing all in his power to seize the English throne, an attempt in which he was aided by Philip. Richard, on his return from Acre, was shipwrecked on the shores of the Adriatic, and attempting to make his way through Austria in disguise, was discovered, captured, and thrown into prison by Leopold, Duke of Austria, whom he had mortally offended at the siege of Acre (1192). To treat a crusader in this fashion was a serious offense against the church, and the Pope promptly excommunicated the duke and laid his lands under an interdict.¹

Leopold paid little attention to this action, for Richard was too valuable a prize lightly to be disposed of; but he consented to sell his interest in the prisoner's ransom to the Emperor of Germany, Henry VI, who was also a personal enemy of the English king.

The ransom demanded by the emperor was more than twice as much as the whole revenue of England for a year.² Enough was raised to secure Richard's liberation, and hostages were given to secure the payment of the balance. Richard was set free in 1194, after more than thirteen months of unjust imprisonment.



RICHARD I IN PRISON

After an illuminated manuscript of the thirteenth century

80. Richard in England. — Richard reached England early in 1194, after an absence of more than four years. His first act

¹ By this the clergy were forbidden to hold services or to perform certain religious rites, such as marriage, etc.

² The amount demanded was 150,000 marks, or about 100,000 pounds sterling, equal to several million dollars at present values. How much was actually paid is not certain, possibly a little more than half, most of which probably came from Richard's continental dominions. There is little foundation for the story that Richard's prison was discovered by Blondel, one of the minstrels, who, while singing a favorite ballad under the walls of the castle, heard the refrain repeated by his royal master.

was to go to Canterbury and pay his devotions at the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket. He then proceeded to London, where he was received with acclamation. To please his subjects, Richard was crowned again, this time at Winchester, "as if to wipe off the stain of his bondage." Most of the time of his brief stay in England was taken up with schemes to raise money to pay the balance of his ransom. The methods used were similar to those employed in collecting funds for the crusade, that is, by selling and by confiscating offices and privileges. England was almost in a state of war, owing to the plotting of Richard's brother, Prince John, and the French king. Richard appointed as justiciar, Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, and placed the administration of the kingdom in his hands. He was a faithful servant to Richard and a statesman well trained in the school of Henry II. Under his able rule rebellion was put down and the king's authority strengthened. Having raised all the money he could, after a stay of just two months, Richard left England, never to return.

81. Richard in France. 1194-1199. His Death. 1199. — Richard went to the Continent, not only to settle affairs with Philip Augustus, King of France, but because he had no fondness for England, and loved the sunny southern lands of Aquitaine. His continental possessions needed his presence, for they were split up by petty jealousies and grievances. It was owing to this fact that the French kings so often stirred up rebellions against the English kings in the hope that some of the territory would fall into their own hands. Richard was generally successful, but for five years he was almost continually at war. At length, hearing that a treasure had been found on the land of one of his vassals, he promptly claimed it, and when the baron refused to give it up, Richard besieged his castle. While reconnoitering, the king was shot in the shoulder by an arrow, and as the wound was badly treated, blood poisoning set in. Thus it happened that the great warrior, who had fought in many fierce battles, died from a hurt received in a petty quarrel.

82. John. 1199. — Richard left no children, and at his death but two legitimate male descendants of Henry II were living: Arthur, son of Geoffrey, third son of Henry II; and John, the fourth son. Arthur was the legal heir, but he was a boy of twelve years. The barons of England had to choose between a man and a boy, and it is not surprising that they chose the man. This was the last time in English history that a king was chosen in this way.

By common consent John is regarded as the worst king England ever had. He was a bad son, a bad brother, a bad father, a bad friend, and a bad king. It is said of him that "every night he lay down a worse man than he had risen up, and every morning he rose a worse man than he had lain down." He "was a selfish, cruel tyrant of the worst type, extortionate and unjust, treacherous and vindictive, without regard either for the spirit or the form of the law, and wholly destitute of religious feeling. . . . What distinguishes his rule from that of others is its pettiness, meanness, and spitefulness; its generally irritating character; and the utter absence of any redeeming features." His badness had one good result: it united against him, as probably nothing else would have done, the clergy, barons, and people, who forced him to grant liberties which benefited all classes in the kingdom.

ROYAL ARMS OF ENGLAND FROM
RICHARD I TO EDWARD III

83. Resistance in French Possessions. Arthur Murdered. 1203. — John was accepted king in England, but on the Continent Arthur was supported by Philip Augustus of France, for selfish reasons of his own. Many of the barons of John's provinces in France were hostile to him, and, angered by his marriage with Isabella of Angoulême, rose against him. John charged them with treason. The barons appealed to Philip of France, John's over-

lord. He summoned John to appear before a council. John refused to appear, and the council declared John guilty of felony. This meant the forfeiture of his fiefs in France. Arthur invaded Normandy. John's representative there was his mother, Eleanor, who though seventy-eight years old, was vigorous and shrewd. She promptly took up arms against her grandson Arthur, but was besieged by him until John came to the rescue. Arthur was carried a prisoner to Rouen by his uncle, and, according to popular belief, was stabbed and then thrown into the Seine by the same royal hand (1203). "No friend ever ventured to assert John's innocence, nor did he ever venture to assert it himself, though repeatedly taxed with the murder."

84. John and Philip Augustus. 1203. — The murder of Arthur gave Philip Augustus of France another excuse to attack the English king. He immediately invaded Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine and added them to his dominions on the ground that as John had been found guilty of felony, these fiefs were forfeited to him, who was John's liege lord.

85. John and the Church. Archbishop Langton. 1207. **The Interdict.** 1208. — John increased the number of his enemies by quarreling with the church. The occasion was the choice of an Archbishop of Canterbury, made necessary by the death of Hubert Walter (1205). John insisted on nominating the new archbishop, which was according to custom, but the bishops of the province of Canterbury claimed that to them belonged the right to nominate. Meanwhile, the monks of the chapter at Canterbury selected a man and sent him to Rome to be confirmed by the Pope. The Pope at this time was Innocent III, one of the ablest of all the Popes. (App. 1, §§ 74–75.) He declined to accept any of the candidates proposed, and appointed Stephen Langton, an English ecclesiastic residing at Rome. According to custom and tradition, the Pope had not power to make the appointment, but Innocent was always ready to seize an opportunity of extending the power of the Papacy. No better choice could have

been made, though Innocent could not have anticipated what would result from his action.

John, incensed at the Pope, swore that he would neither recognize Langton nor allow him to land in England. But he had in Innocent a wily and strong antagonist ready to use all the weapons which the church possessed. Innocent placed England under an interdict (1208).¹ John remained unmoved; then Innocent excommunicated him. John replied by seizing the estates of the bishops who published the decree. But Innocent, going to the extreme of power claimed by the Papacy, proclaimed the deposition of John from the throne (1212), and summoned Philip of France to head an expedition to England to carry out the decree of excommunication, and to assume the English crown.

86. John yields to the Pope. 1213. — John gathered an army to resist Philip, but suddenly John gave way. Around him on every side were hidden foes; his oppression of the barons had made enemies of them all; and Rome, France, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales were at war with him. He preferred to yield to the Pope rather than to Philip or to his own barons. He therefore invited the Pope's legate to come to England; he agreed to receive Langton as Archbishop of Canterbury; to give back all the estates of the church which he had confiscated; and to restore to clergy and laity all rights of which he had deprived them. Two days later he surrendered his kingdoms of England and Ireland to the Pope, and received them back again as fiefs of the Papacy, agreeing to pay for them a yearly rent of 1000 marks.²

By this humiliating act John purchased his peace with the church and his security from French attack, for the Pope now forbade further hostilities on Philip's part. But these gains were more than offset by the suspicions which filled the minds of the people in regard to their ruler.

¹ See § 79, note.

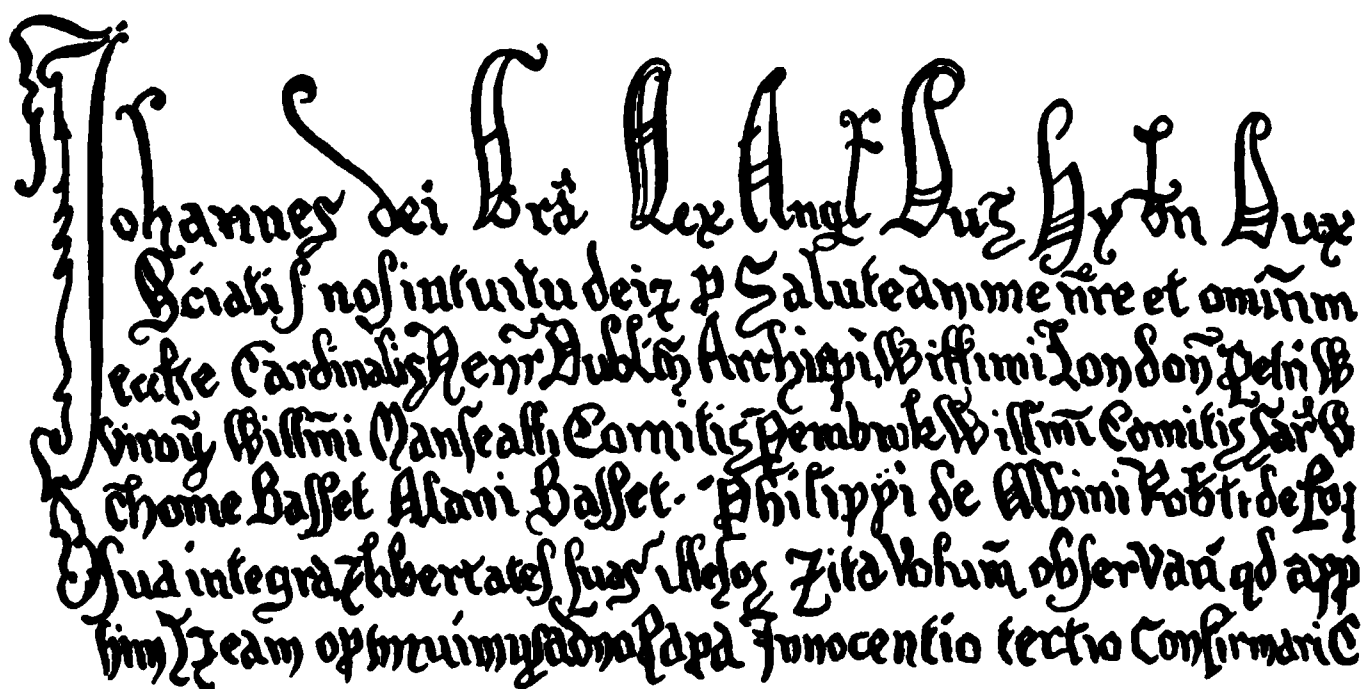
² This was equivalent to about £ 670, or more than \$ 12,000 in modern money.

87. John and the Barons. 1213-1215. Battle of Bouvines.
1214. — John, anxious now to retaliate on Philip, found that he could do nothing until he had made some settlement of matters at home. He therefore summoned four men from each county to meet at St. Albans (1213), to agree upon the damages which the clergy had suffered and which he had promised to make good. The council, however, turned its attention to matters of reform, and in the king's name promises of better things were made. The barons on their side claimed that the laws of Henry I should be made the basis of reform. John now tried to get the barons to follow him to Poitou, but they refused, first, because they could not serve under an excommunicated king ; and, when this objection had been removed by Langton, they refused on the ground of poverty, claiming also that they had already served the forty days which, under feudal law, were required of them ; nor could they be compelled to go beyond the seas. The real reason of their refusal was that though of Norman descent and still speaking French, these barons had become Englishmen, having all their interests in England, and no interest in the designs of John upon France. John was enraged at this action, but could do nothing. The movement to resist John had become general. It was headed by Langton, who, at a council held at St. Paul's, laid before those present the charter of Henry I, promising reforms. This was received with joy and with demands that this charter should be renewed by John.

In the meantime John had joined a league to support the Emperor Otto IV against the Emperor Frederick II and Philip of France ; he managed to take with him a number of troops from England, and was successful in regaining some of his lost lands south of the river Loire. But another army in connection with the forces of his allies met Philip's forces at Bouvines, in Flanders, and was routed, July 27, 1214. As a result, England lost all the Angevin territory. (App. 1, § 80.) John's power and prestige also were so much injured that the barons and their

associates were emboldened to persist in their demands, which were put in writing by Archbishop Langton and placed before the king. When he refused to accede to them, an army was raised to force him to yield. London ranged itself on the side of the barons, and so, deserted by almost all except the hired troops he had brought from the Continent, John was compelled to yield.

88. The Great Charter. 1215. — The king, clergy, and barons met at Runnymede on the Thames, not far from Windsor, and



*Johannes dei Gra Rex Angl Dux Hydn Dux
Sciatis nos intuitu dei p salute anime nre et omniū
eclie Cardinalis Henr Dubli Archiepi Willelmi London Petri
Wimou Willelmi Manseali Comitis Pembroke Willelmi Comitis Sar
thome Basset Alani Basset Philippi de Albini Robti de Ley
Sua integra libertates suas illis Zita volum observari qd app
tim Deam optinuimus ad nos papa Innocentio tectio Confirmari*

FACSIMILE OF THE BEGINNING OF THE GREAT CHARTER

there, on June 15, 1215, he signed Magna Carta, or the Great Charter, which became one of the most valuable guarantees of English liberty.

Previous charters had been granted with professed willingness ; the Great Charter was wrung from John. Moreover, it was gained by all the classes working together against the king. Though it was primarily for the benefit of the barons, it also concerned the rights and privileges of all classes. It contained little, if anything, that was new, but it brought together in one document many of the privileges which had been granted from time to time. The principle underlying all the sixty-three articles is that there should be fair dealing and justice, not only as between king and subject, but also as between man and man. It must not, how-

ever, be overlooked that in some points the charter was narrow and partial, as, for instance, in regard to the church.

The main provisions of the charter may be grouped under five heads: (1) The church: this was to be free and to have all its rights and privileges unimpaired. What these were, is not explained, and so an open door was left for doubt as to what rights and privileges were meant. (2) Feudal rights and customs: there had been great abuse of these, both by the kings and by the barons themselves in the treatment of their vassals. Some of these abuses were remedied or lessened. (3) The rights and privileges of the towns: London and all other cities, boroughs, villages, ports, etc., were to enjoy all their old liberties and customs by land and sea. (4) Trade and commerce: "Merchants from friendly states to be free to come and go, and trade subject only to the payment of established customs and duties." Native subjects to come and go as they pleased, except in time of war. (5) Certain general clauses, perhaps the most important of all. Some of these were, "Justice not to be sold or delayed or refused to any man." "No free man to be taken or imprisoned or disseized¹ or outlawed or in any way destroyed, except by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the laws of the land." Besides these matters, there were directions regarding the summoning of councils, the administration of justice, etc. Almost every important interest of the realm was at least touched upon.

89. Renewal of Struggle between John and the Barons.
1215.—Agreements are of little account unless some method is provided for carrying them out, and so the barons, for the first time, made such a provision. It was provided, first, that John should dismiss the foreign troops which he had hired and brought into England; and, second, that a body of twenty-five barons should be chosen by the barons to hear any complaints of infringements of the Charter by the king, and in case of failure

¹ "Disseized," that is, have his land taken from him. "Peers," his equals in rank.

to redress, they were to have the right to enforce by arms its provisions.

John had no intention of keeping the agreement into which he had entered. Pope Innocent, indignant that a matter which concerned his feudal authority should have been settled without appeal to him, absolved John from his oath of agreement, threatened to excommunicate the barons, and, a little later, suspended Archbishop Langton and summoned him to Rome. All this was a serious blow to the cause of liberty. The removal of Langton took away the real head of the movement and the barons became disorganized. Meanwhile John with his hired troops began to lay waste the lands of the barons, and for a time it seemed as if he was to be victor.

90. Louis of France invited to England.

Death of John. 1216.—The barons felt forced to call in foreign aid, and sent to Louis, son of the king of France, asking him to come to England and assume the English crown. As Louis had married John's niece, he had some slight support for his claim.

He asserted that John had forfeited the crown by the murder of Prince Arthur and by his failure to keep his coronation oath. These

EFFIGY OF KING JOHN
On his tomb in Worcester Cathedral

were flimsy pretexts; the only valid reason for the coming of Louis being the invitation of the barons and the English people.

Louis accepted the offer and came to England with an army in May, 1216. Fortunately for the English, John died suddenly, October 19, 1216, and the land was saved from civil war. John's eldest son, Henry, was about nine years old, and the barons felt that affairs would be safer in the hands of a young English prince controlled by Englishmen than in those of a foreigner. Louis,

finding that he was losing his adherents one after another, resigned his claim and returned to France. Meanwhile, William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, who had been appointed "Governor of the King and the Kingdom," issued in a somewhat revised form the Great Charter, thereby indicating the character of the government which might be expected.¹

The reign of John will always be remembered for two events of the utmost importance in the development of the English people. These were: (1) The loss of Normandy, which made England a kingdom whose chief interests lay in the British Isles, and therefore allowed the English to develop on their own lines, thus preserving the essential features of Anglo-Saxon institutions. (2) The signing of the Magna Carta, a document setting forth the most important constitutional privileges of Englishmen, arranged in a convenient form, which could be appealed to from time to time.

References.—Green, *Short History*, chap. ii, §§ 6–9; chap. iii, §§ 1–3; Gardiner, *Student's History*, chaps. xi–xii; Terry, *History*, Part II, chaps. vi–vii; Tout, *Advanced History*, Book III, chaps. vi–vii; Stubbs, *Early Plantagenets*, chaps. vi–vii; Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, §§ 19–29; Cheyney, *Readings*, chap. viii, §§ iv–v; Colby, *Selections*, §§ 27, 29–30; Kendall, *Source-Book*, § 24; Lee, *Source-Book*, chap. viii, §§ 64, 65, chaps. ix–x.

¹ The chief revision was the omission of the clauses which prohibited the raising of taxes without the consent of the Great Council, and those which related to the appointment of the body of twenty-five men to enforce the Charter. It was doubtless felt, now that John was out of the way, that these provisions, so contrary to the general ideas of the age, might be dropped.

CHAPTER VIII

NORMAN BRITAIN. 1066-1216

91. General Results of the Norman Conquest.—Among the results of the Norman Conquest and rule were a growth of unity among the people, and the establishment of an organized government with an almost despotic king, whose power was only occasionally held in check by the church and the nobles (or barons). The semifeudalism existing in England was modified and extended so as to increase the power of the king. “William made the title to all land depend on his own grant and bound every landowner to himself by a tie of allegiance.”

A marked difference from continental feudalism is seen in the fact that in England there was no privileged noble caste. The son of a noble did not share his father's honors or privileges, though he might have honors and privileges conferred on him independently of his father. This old English custom has never been changed.

The Conquest made England a European nation, and the Norman kings called themselves Kings of the English. Hurtful as her continental wars were in many regards, they certainly gave England a place in continental politics and increased her self-respect.

92. Domestic Life.—There was comparatively little change in the domestic life of the people, especially among the lower classes. In medieval times social habits and customs were far more stationary than in modern times. Among the upper classes the manners and customs were rather more refined than before the Conquest. The Norman was not as hearty an eater as the Englishman, and preferred lighter and more delicately prepared food. Continental

luxuries were introduced, and the dress of the upper classes became more elaborate. The tunics were richly embroidered, and the shoes had pointed toes carried out to an absurd length. The Englishman wore his hair long, the Norman cut his short, and shaved his face. The character of the houses and the general manner of living made social intercourse between men and women, the youth, and boys and girls easy, and these facts partly explain the low plane of morality which is found in the chronicles and romances of the age. The so-called chivalry of the Middle Ages was too often only on the surface. The medieval man and the "gallant" were often brutes in their treatment of women and of those whom they considered beneath them.

93. The People. — By the opening of the thirteenth century there was little distinction between the descendants of the Norman conquerors and the English. Thrown together in close association, intermarriages were a common occurrence among almost all classes, and the children of these marriages looked upon themselves as Englishmen, so that the conquerors and conquered very soon became like each other in manners and habits. Undoubtedly one reason of this was the difficulty of communication and transportation. The Norman was practically cut off from his old home, and was compelled willingly or unwillingly to adapt himself to his new surroundings. His children never knew the home of their fathers on the Continent, and with them of course English influences would prevail.

94. Classes. — Land continued to be the great source of wealth and position. As under Saxon rule, the earls came first, then the greater barons, and then the lesser barons, and next the knights.¹ Below the knights came the small freeholders or free tenants, who had houses and lands of their own and who made a small annual

¹ The *earl* was formerly the *eorl*; the *greater barons* were large landowners and received individual summons to the king's council; the *lesser barons* were smaller landowners and were summoned by means of a writ directed to the sheriff of their county or shire; the *knight* was originally an armed and mounted soldier and afterward a landowner smaller than a lesser baron.

payment, something like the modern ground rent, to the lord of the manor. The free tenant could not sell his land without making a payment to the lord of the manor for the privilege, and when he died his heirs had to make a payment on succession.

Next came the *villains*. These were like serfs; they could not move away from the manor or be married without the permission of the lord of the manor; they paid a small ground rent for the land they occupied, and were in addition bound to perform various services for the lord of the manor, such as to plow his land and carry in his grain at time of harvest. Their services were regulated not by law but by custom. Perhaps on the

MANOR HOUSE IN SHROPSHIRE
Built in the twelfth century

average more than half of the villein's time was given to the lord of the manor.

95. Manorial System.—The relation of the landowner to his tenants was rather that of a ruler than a simple owner; he was like the king of a little state. He not only controlled the land but had jurisdiction, also. There was a manorial court, where a great variety of cases were tried, such as disputes as to land, succession to property, failure to perform required or customary duties, and criminal cases.

The manors varied greatly in size, and one lord might have several manors, and the king several hundred. These manors were cultivated under the "open field system." The land was divided into strips containing an acre or less in each, a certain number of

which were held by the lord and were cultivated solely for his benefit. The strips were separated from each other by a narrow piece of unplowed land. These strips were cultivated according to some system of rotation of crops. The variety was small: wheat, rye, barley, field peas, and beans were the chief; root crops were generally neglected, and potatoes were as yet unknown. Hay for winter was obtained from meadow land, which was highly

valued and considered worth at least as much as arable land. Pasture was obtained on the uncultivated land and in the woods. After the hay was mown and cured, the meadows were also used for pasture and so were the fields after the crops were harvested. As a rule, the pasturage was common and the animals were under the care of shepherds or other guardians.

The land of any one man was not necessarily or usually in one place, but was scattered. He would own a strip here and another somewhere else, and still others at other places.¹ The land of his neighbors as well as that of the lord of the manor would be

MANOR WITH OPEN FIELDS

In Yorkshire the shaded strips were the share of the priest.

similarly scattered. The land, the woods, and meadows owned by the lord of the manor were called the "demesne," and not infrequently amounted to fully half of the whole manor. Systems of agriculture were poor; eight or nine bushels of wheat to the

¹ A modification of the open field system still survives in Germany. Within a very few years, in a village near Olmütz, Moravia, one man had eighteen different holdings of land, no two of which touched each other.

acre was considered a good yield. Tools were primitive and ineffective. Owing to the high cost of iron, even plows were often of wood and did little more than scratch the ground.¹

There was much that was ineffective and objectionable in this system. Life also was hard, and to us seems to have had few enjoyments. On the other hand, the close relationship between those who lived on the manor, the common pasture, the common woods, the strips of land inextricably mixed up, the tenants' share in the common service for the lord of the manor, their one church, and their one court, bound them closely together. When to this system is added the difficulty of communication with other parts of the country the result was a self-centered community which certainly must have been a powerful factor in making the country and its institutions stable.

96. Towns and Town Life.—Perhaps in no field of development was there greater change than in the towns. These under Norman rule increased greatly in number and importance. At the close of the reign of John (1216) there were about two hundred towns in England. Of these, London, with a possible population of 25,000, stood first, followed by York and Bristol with about 10,000 each. The average size was probably about 2500. These towns were generally protected by walls, gates, and sometimes by moats, also. Though the government of these towns varied somewhat, all held charters from the king, giving the town certain privileges or guaranteeing old customs. Each town regulated its own concerns, and paid taxes to the king as a community, so the townsman was free from the petty exactions of a lord of the manor. All inhabitants of the town, however, had not equal privileges, for these were based on ownership of property within the

¹ The "three field system" prevailed to a great extent. This was to let one third of the land lie fallow for a year; one third to be planted with spring-sown crops; and one third with autumn-sown crops. The next year the fallow land would be planted with an autumn or spring crop; that which had had a spring crop with an autumn crop or would be let lie fallow, and so on. In the fourth year the first field would lie fallow again.

town limits. As the business of the countryman was agriculture, so the business of the townsman was trade of some sort, or manufacturing, or both, though some townsmen owned land outside the town, which they farmed.

97. Merchant Gilds. — There had gradually grown up a system of organizations known as gilds, the object of which was to protect and regulate the trade and industries of the town. Every particular of trade was carefully regulated so as to preserve as far as possible the monopoly to each gild. Trading by foreigners was particularly guarded against, and they were allowed to buy and sell only under the most rigid rules. The merchant gilds were also somewhat of the nature of mutual benefit organizations.¹

98. Castles. — Very few castles appear to have existed in England before the Conquest, but one of the first actions of the Conqueror was to build a castle wherever he wished to secure obedience to his rule. This was, naturally, often near or in a town. The building was raised on a mound in a commanding situation, from which its garrison could keep watch and sally forth when occasion required. Besides royal castles a large number were erected by the great lords. These fortresses were at first made of wood, but soon stone was substituted. The prevailing type was a square keep of massive construction, with walls of great thickness,² and with small and high windows. Around this keep were often small structures of wood or stone used in times of peace. The White Tower of the Tower of London, begun by William I in 1078, and that of Newcastle built in 1080, are examples of the earlier type of stone castles, and Newark, Rochester, and Castle Rising, built during the troublous reign of Stephen, are examples of the later type.³

99. Architecture. — The English were by no means deficient in architecture. The prevailing type of the early Norman churches⁴

¹ Merchant Gilds must be distinguished from the Craft Gilds, which for the most part come later.

² The walls of the White Tower are fifteen feet thick.

³ See pictures on pages 54 and 65.

⁴ Fine architecture was almost confined to churches, monasteries, and castles.

was massive, with round arches and heavy round pillars, either severely plain, or but slightly ornamented. Among the finest remaining examples are the nave of Durham Cathedral, Norwich Cathedral, and parts of Winchester ; of the later period there are the cathedrals at Peterborough and Ely.

In the latter part of the twelfth century the pointed, or what is known as the Gothic, style came into use. This had the great

THE CHOIR OF DURHAM CATHEDRAL

advantage of allowing stone vaulted roofs, for which the Norman style was not as well suited. The Gothic also allowed slender and graceful columns, loftier ceilings, larger and pointed windows, greater ornamentation, and a lighter effect generally. The change was gradual, and one may see in the same cathedral two or more styles in close proximity.¹

The Normans were great builders, and hundreds of earlier churches were pulled down, and new ones built in their stead, often on the sites of the old.

¹ It is impossible to give exact dates when a change is gradual, but the Gothic was practically fixed by 1200.

100. Monasticism and Monasteries. — The growth of monasticism and of monasteries in Europe from the ninth to the twelfth century was very great (App. 1, §§ 47-50), and England was no exception. The Norman was fond of the system and greatly assisted in its development on English soil. Many monasteries

were set up and received large grants of land. It was said, and doubtless believed by many, that only in and through the cloister could the religious life of the people be reformed; to give to a monastery was held to be a duty. The Norman establishments were at first of the order of St. Benedict, or Benedictines; and afterwards, in the twelfth century, mostly Cistercians or White Monks, an offshoot of the Benedictines. These had a stricter and more ascetic rule than the Benedictines and their church services were much more simple. They generally sought quiet and retired places for their buildings.

Their advent was contemporaneous with a religious revival of wide extent, and the very severity of their rule attracted people of all classes. Their establishments were most frequent in the north of England. The remains of Tintern, Rievaulx, and Fountains abbeys

**EARLY ENGLISH GOTHIC
SPIRE**

bear eloquent testimony to the wealth and power which they attained. For, like all other foundations, prosperity was followed by relaxation in discipline and in habits of life. The Cistercians and the kindred orders undoubtedly did service in reclaiming waste lands, in carrying on and improving some arts and trades, and in preserving manuscripts and developing literature. But the system

was itself hurtful in that it tended to lessen the sense of social obligation, and the very charity of the monks, though well meaning, was often harmful rather than helpful. They seem to have done nothing in the twelfth century for secular education.

101. Education ; Universities.—The Norman period saw the revival of education, a part of the general European movement. (App. 1, § 73.) At first education was for those who expected to enter the church as clerks or clergy, but through many influ-

RUINS OF FOUNTAINS ABBEY

ences, among them that of the crusades, the desire for education spread, and secular education came into being. The teachers at first were churchmen, but afterwards laymen took up the task. Round these teachers gathered students of various ages, and in time permanent teaching centers were established. The greatest of those on the Continent was at Paris, to which thousands of students flocked.¹ The exact date of the founding of Oxford and Cambridge cannot be fixed. One Robert Pullein, who had been trained at Paris, began to lecture on the Scriptures at Oxford in 1133, and this is the first known date of instruction being given,

¹ For a fuller account of the rise of the universities, see § 122.

though a reference is made to Oxford as a place for students, and to a Norman, Theobald, as a lecturer, as early as 1117. Cambridge is said to have been begun by a secession of students from Oxford in 1209.

102. Language and Literature. — The effect of the Conquest on language was to make English the language of the people. The Norman landowners and those around the court spoke Norman French. Of the first seven Norman kings, from William I to

John, it is likely that only Henry II could both understand and speak English. Henry I is said to have been able to understand but not to speak it. The monks and clergy wrote and spoke Latin. This was the universal language of the church and of learned men, and all but the most elementary instruction was given in it. Most of the literary work that was done in England during the Norman period was in Latin.¹ The language of the English was less affected by the Norman than by the Danish conquest; but not having a literature to give it a standard, a number of dialects were the result. The three chief ones were the southern, the middle, and the northern. It is from the middle English that our modern English has sprung.

TOWER OF MAGDALEN
COLLEGE, OXFORD

The close of the twelfth century saw the beginning of a new literary movement which was to develop into a national English literature. The great pioneer in this development was Layamon (about 1200), a priest of Ernley-upon-Severn. His great work, *The Brut*, consisting of over 32,000 lines, is a history of Britain based on legends. The poet's chief object, he says himself,

¹ Such as the *Chronicles of William of Malmesbury* (d. 1143 (?)), *Geoffrey of Monmouth* (d. 1154), and *Roger of Hoveden* (d. 1201 (?)).

was to "tell the noble deeds of Englishmen" in their own tongue.¹

103. Government ; Courts ; etc. — Various changes in the government have been described in the previous chapters, but the greatest was in respect to the power of the king, which had become almost despotic. The old Witenagemote of the Anglo-Saxon times was replaced by the Great Council, which was composed of the greater tenants of the crown, but it had comparatively little real power. It criticised, but there is little evidence for supposing that any great laws were either begun or altered by it. The system of law courts was greatly developed, especially under Henry II. The great officers of government were the Justiciar, the king's chief adviser or minister, and his regent when absent from the country ; the Chancellor, who was the Secretary and holder of the great seal, and issuer of state documents ; and the Treasurer or financial officer. Up to the close of the twelfth century and later, these offices were generally held by church dignitaries. The reason for this was, partly because ecclesiastics were the best educated men, and partly because being unmarried there was no risk of the office becoming hereditary, which might be hurtful to kingly authority. Minor courts and local government have already been touched upon.

References. — Traill, *Social England*, vol. I, chap. iii; Cheyney, *Industrial and Social England*, chap. i, §§ 6-7; chaps. ii-iv; Tout, *Advanced History*, Book II, chap. viii; A. Jessop, *Coming of the Friars*, etc., Essays, ii-iii; Cheyney, *Readings*, chap. ix, §§ i-iv; Colby, *Selections*, §§ 25, 28; Kendall, *Source-Book*, § 23; Lee, *Source-Book*, chap. viii, §§ 63, 64; chap. ix, § 67.

¹ The opening lines of the poem are : —

"An preost wes on leoden,
Layamon wes ihoten,
He wes Leovenathes sone;
Li the him beo Drihte;
He wonede at Ernleye
Upon Severne Stothe."

Or in modern English : —

"A priest was on the land,
Layamon was he hight (called);
He was Lovenath's son;
Gracious to him be the Lord
He dwelled at Ernley,
On Severn's Bank."

CHAPTER IX

RISE OF THE ENGLISH NATION AND GROWTH OF PARLIAMENT

104. Henry III. 1216. — The reign of Henry III is one of the longest in English history,¹ and in the course of it Henry succeeded in getting the ill will of all classes. He was vain and untrustworthy, weak and vacillating; on the other hand he was, as compared with his father, King John, and his ancestors, moral and religious. He spent much money in the building and improvement of churches, and he was always ready to listen to the claims of the Papacy and yield to them, even at the expense of his own subjects. His heart was on the Continent rather than in England, and he filled his court with foreigners. He was fond of pomp and magnificence and was very extravagant. It is said that his debts amounted to four times his annual income, and to raise funds offices were sold and money wrung in every possible way from all classes.

His reign is divided into four fairly well-defined periods: (1) the period of his minority (1216–1227); (2) that of personal rule (1227–1258); (3) the period of the Barons' Wars and Provisions of Oxford (1258–1265); (4) a period of peace and prosperity for the country, a time when he was under the influence of his son, afterward Edward I (1265–1272).

105. Minority of Henry III. 1216–1227. — (1) During the early years of Henry's minority the government was under the strong hand of William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, who, before his death in 1219, had succeeded both in expelling the French and in restoring order; he had also more than once confirmed the

¹ Henry reigned fifty-six; George III, sixty; and Victoria, sixty-four years.

Great Charter. He was followed by Hubert de Burgh, an able, patriotic man, who was determined that England should be governed for the benefit of the English. He refused to admit the papal claims upon England and dismissed from the country the legates that the Pope had sent. He maintained the authority of the king as against the barons, and reoccupied the royal castles which, in the troublous times, some of the barons had seized.

106. Personal Rule of Henry III ; Foreign Favorites. — (2) In 1227 Henry declared himself of age and took the government into his own hands. The thirty-one years of Henry's personal rule are marked by misgovernment at home ; an unpatriotic, weak, and humiliating policy in regard to papal demands ; and a severe and irritating treatment of Aquitaine and Gascony.¹

In 1232 Hubert was dismissed by Henry, who came almost wholly under the influence of one of his father's Poitevin favorites, Peter de Roches, Bishop of Winchester. Two years later he also was dismissed, and Henry carried on the government himself. Almost hopeless disorder was the result. There was now a great influx of foreigners into England, and every possible office and gift was bestowed upon foreign favorites.

107. Personal Rule Continued. — In 1236 Henry married Eleanor of

HENRY III

After the effigy in Westminster Abbey

¹ That these provinces recognized the English rule was due to the fact that they knew it was better to be under a distant monarch like Henry, than under a near neighbor like the French king. They had practically to choose between these two : under the former there was a chance of gaining independence ; under the latter, none whatever. They were the only continental provinces remaining to England.

Provence, a sister of the French queen. This marriage brought a fresh swarm of greedy foreigners into the country. This led to the exaction of still larger sums from the barons and the people. In 1242 Henry made an ill-advised and costly expedition to France to recover Poitou from the French. He was defeated and had to make a shameful truce by which he gave up all claim to Poitou. He was followed home by still more foreigners eager to enrich themselves with English spoils.¹

108. Discontent of the Barons. 1244-1258.—The patience of the barons and of all patriotic men was nearly exhausted. Again and again had the barons, in return for concessions from the king, granted him money, only to find that the royal word was worthless. Matthew Paris, a chronicler of the time, writes, "The king breaks everything: the laws, his good faith, his promises." In 1244 the earls, barons, and bishops met in a great council, which about this time began to be called a Parliament,² and demanded control over the appointment of ministers who should carry on the government and be responsible to the council. Though they were not successful, the attempt shows the advance in public opinion. It was during these years of Henry's misgovernment that the English slowly and painfully learned that the king was really dependent upon the nation, and when this fact was clearly understood, there were but few steps to representative government. In 1257 there was a bad harvest, and then came a hard winter. It was quite in accord with his character for the king at this time to seize a quantity of grain which was imported from Germany, and sell it at high prices. He had, moreover, at the request of Pope Innocent, accepted the crown of Sicily for his youngest son, Edmund, and agreed to furnish the money required to win it for him.³ For four years (1254-1258) Henry used

¹ One of the results of this invasion of foreigners was a fresh introduction of French words into the English language.

² The first recorded instance is in 1246.

³ This scheme ended in a complete failure.

every means possible to furnish the treasury of the Pope with funds. He borrowed money from all who would lend, he wrung it from the unfortunate Jews, he raised all that he could by taxation, and he also demanded large sums from the clergy. This conduct exhausted the patience of all classes.

109. Mad Parliament; Provisions of Oxford. — (3) In the spring of 1258 a Parliament was held in London. The king's object in calling it was to get more money, but Parliament insisted on redress of grievances. From its character and determination, it has been termed the Mad Parliament. The king was forced to consent to the appointment of a committee of twenty-four persons to draw up a scheme of reform for the administration of affairs. This was to be presented to an adjourned session to be held at Oxford in the early summer. The Parliament met as appointed and presented a scheme known as the Provisions of Oxford, which arranged for a new government to be carried on practically by a council.¹ The king could not well do otherwise than give his oath to support the plan. Some good resulted from the Provisions of Oxford, but the arrangement was too clumsy to be successful, and the members of the committee soon quarreled among themselves. These dissensions gave the king and his friends new courage, and Henry obtained a dispensation from the Pope releasing him from his oath. The condition of affairs became very unsatisfactory, and both parties agreed to leave the whole question to the decision of Louis IX of France. Louis heard the case at Amiens, in France, and his award is known as the *Mise* of Amiens² (1264).

110. Mise of Amiens; Barons' Wars; Defeat of Henry. 1264. — Louis IX had such a reputation for honesty and purity of life that he is known as St. Louis, but unfortunately he knew little about conditions in England and could only apply the remedy that was obviously necessary in France at that time, which was

¹ The king was to be assisted by a council of fifteen chosen by the twenty-four named above. This council was to appoint all the important state officers, and to meet three times a year a committee of twelve men chosen by the barons.

² *Mise* (mēz), an award or arbitration.

the strengthening of the royal power. Nor could he bring himself to admit that kingly rule, which to his mind was divinely ordered, should be limited or restrained. He therefore decided almost wholly in favor of the king, and annulled the Provisions of Oxford together with all arrangements which had followed them. He decided, however, that all the charters which had been granted before the Provisions of Oxford should hold good. (App. 1, § 92.)

Neither party was satisfied with the decision; many of the barons deserted their leader, Simon de Montfort,¹ and went over to the king, but Simon had still a large following composed of most of the clergy, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the towns, and the great mass of the people. He therefore determined to resist the royal forces. War began in the spring of 1264, and at Lewes the king was defeated and taken prisoner, as was also his eldest son, Edward. The success of the movement was undoubtedly due to Simon de Montfort.

111. Simon de Montfort. — This remarkable man belonged to a Norman family, and for many years his interests were outside of England. He inherited the Duchy of Leicester, and by his private marriage with the king's sister roused the indignation of the barons, who were jealous of foreign intruders. Within a few months he quarreled with Henry and was driven from England, but he was soon received again at court. Prudence now led him to live for a time in retirement, and he thus had an opportunity to watch the workings of English rule. The result was to make him foremost among those interested in reform, so that Henry welcomed the chance to send him to a safe distance as Governor of Gascony.

¹ Simon de Montfort was the son of a Simon de Montfort who was celebrated for leading in 1209 a crusade against the Albigenses, an heretical sect in southern France. (App. 1, § 77.) The family was Norman, but the sons of Simon the elder had a claim on the Duchy of Leicester through their grandmother, and his brothers having resigned their rights, Simon, the fourth son, claimed and received the duchy. He did not take up his residence in England for some years, but in 1236 he was present at the marriage of the king, and two years after married Eleanor, the king's sister; the marriage was a private one, but took place, it is said, with the knowledge of the king.

For several years he gave that turbulent province severe but good government — the best it had known. In 1256 Simon returned to England and found the king as hostile toward him as ever.

112. Simon de Montfort, the Leader. — From this time Simon de Montfort was prominent in the councils and work of the baronial party. In comparison with those around him his life was pure and temperate, he was deeply religious, had a keen sense of honor, and was cheerful in his social intercourse ; but, on the other hand, he was of a quick and high temper and impatient of opposition. He was bold and determined, a brave and skillful soldier, a learned man and statesman. He was unquestionably a great man and, for his age, a good one ; but that all his ends were patriotic, or that he was not at times cruel, cannot be affirmed. Without question, he stands out above all others in Henry's reign as a leader against tyranny and as an advocate of a

SIMON DE MONTFORT

After a window in Chartres Cathedral

government in which the people should have a larger share of power. That the people believed him to be their friend is shown by the popular ballads of the time, in which he is styled "The Strong," "The True," "The Steadfast," "The Pillar of Righteousness." Such was the man who was the leader of the revolt against the king.

113. Mise of Lewes, 1264 ; Parliament. — The day after the defeat at Lewes the king was compelled to sign what is known as the *Mise* of Lewes. By this he promised to confirm the Provisions of Oxford, and to agree to a new arrangement by which the king-

dom should be governed. To devise this scheme a Parliament was called (1264). The important feature of the new plan was that there should be three electors or councilors appointed, in accordance with whose advice the king must act. Of these three Simon de Montfort was the chief. For about a year these three men were the real rulers of England, though they were nominally responsible to Parliament.

114. Parliament of 1265. 1265-1272. — (4) It became needful to call a new Parliament. To that of 1264 de Montfort had summoned, besides the bishops and abbots, earls and barons, four knights from each shire ; but now, in addition to these clergy and barons and knights of the shire, there were two representatives from each of certain towns. This is known as the Famous Parliament of 1265. In it, for the first time, all classes of free Englishmen were represented. It was not, however, like a modern Parliament, because only those were summoned who were favorable to Montfort and his government ; and also because the chief business of the Parliament was not to make laws, but to force the king to act in accordance with old customs. The chief importance of this Parliament is that it made a precedent for the future.

115. De Montfort's Failure and Death. 1265. — De Montfort was not a wise organizer or ruler. His imperious manner, and probably the insolence of his sons, together with the hostility of the Pope, the natural dislike of the English to have their king in captivity, and the jealousy of the barons all worked against him, and it was not many months before the country was in a state of civil war. Prince Edward escaped from his guardians and joined the army against de Montfort. The younger Simon was driven within the walls of Kenilworth Castle, while the Prince hurried to meet the earl, who was at Evesham, not far from Worcester. At first Simon thought it was his son come to help him, but when he saw that it was Prince Edward, he said : " They come on in wise fashion, but it was from me that they learnt it. Let us commend our souls to God, for our bodies are our foe's." The conflict was

a desperate one. When his horse was brought to the ground, the earl fought on foot until a blow from behind killed him. After the battle his body was horribly mutilated, but the monks of Evesham buried it with great honor. His tomb became an object of pilgrimage, for the people of England regarded him as a saint.¹

116. Dictum of Kenilworth. 1266. — Though the cause of the barons seemed lost there were many in the royal ranks who, while they hated Simon, shared his desire for greater political liberty. Among these was Prince Edward himself. The action of the king in immediately revoking the popular measures adopted during his captivity, and in confiscating the property of the de Montforts and their supporters, aroused widespread national indignation. Moreover, there was still active resistance from those who had little hope from yielding to the king. Prince Edward and others now saw that conciliation was absolutely necessary to restore peace, and so an agreement was drawn up, known as the *Dictum* of Kenilworth (1266), which allowed those whose estates had been confiscated to redeem them by a payment of money, while the king, on his part, was to restore the charters. It was not until 1267 that quiet was established. Then, at the Parliament of Marlborough, the king renewed the Provisions of Westminster,² by which most of the valuable reforms were made part of the law of the land, and Simon's cause, apparently lost, was really victorious.

117. Peaceful End of Henry's Reign. 1270-1272. — By 1270 England was so peaceful that Prince Edward felt that he could fulfill a long-cherished desire to go on a crusade. Accompanied by his wife, Eleanor of Castile, and by many English knights and

¹ One of the ballads of the times says : —

“ But by his death Earl Simon hath
In sooth the victory won,
Like Canterbury's martyr he
There to the death was done.” — *F. York Powell's version.*

² The Provisions of Westminster, issued in 1259, carried out in some respects more fully the Provisions of Oxford.

nobles, he went as far as Acre, but did not accomplish anything of importance.¹

In 1272 Henry died, but so quiet was the country that Edward did not hesitate to remain abroad about two years. Meantime, he was proclaimed king without any objection, and there was not, as hitherto, a formal choice of a king. It was the first time in English history that the succession of the eldest son had been acknowledged as a matter of course.

118. Coming of the Friars. — One of the significant movements of the thirteenth century was the coming of the Friars, or Mendicant Friars. (App. 1, §§ 69–72.) To these faithful, earnest missionaries is chiefly due the religious revival of that century. England shared in the results of the movement. The Dominicans made their first appearance in England in 1220. The Franciscans followed in 1224. “In five years from their first arrival the Friars had established themselves in almost every considerable town in England.”

Conditions in England were favorable for the coming of the Friars. The latter part of the reign of Henry II, and the whole of the reigns of Richard and John, were almost destructive of religious life and character, and the interdict in the reign of John had to a great extent taken away even the semblance of religion. Probably never has the religious life of England been at a lower ebb. Into this desert the Friars came. No wonder that their work was effective, or that their growth and influence were great. Like others before and after them, they later fell away from their earliest principles and practices, but the debt which Europe, and especially England, owed to them is incalculable.

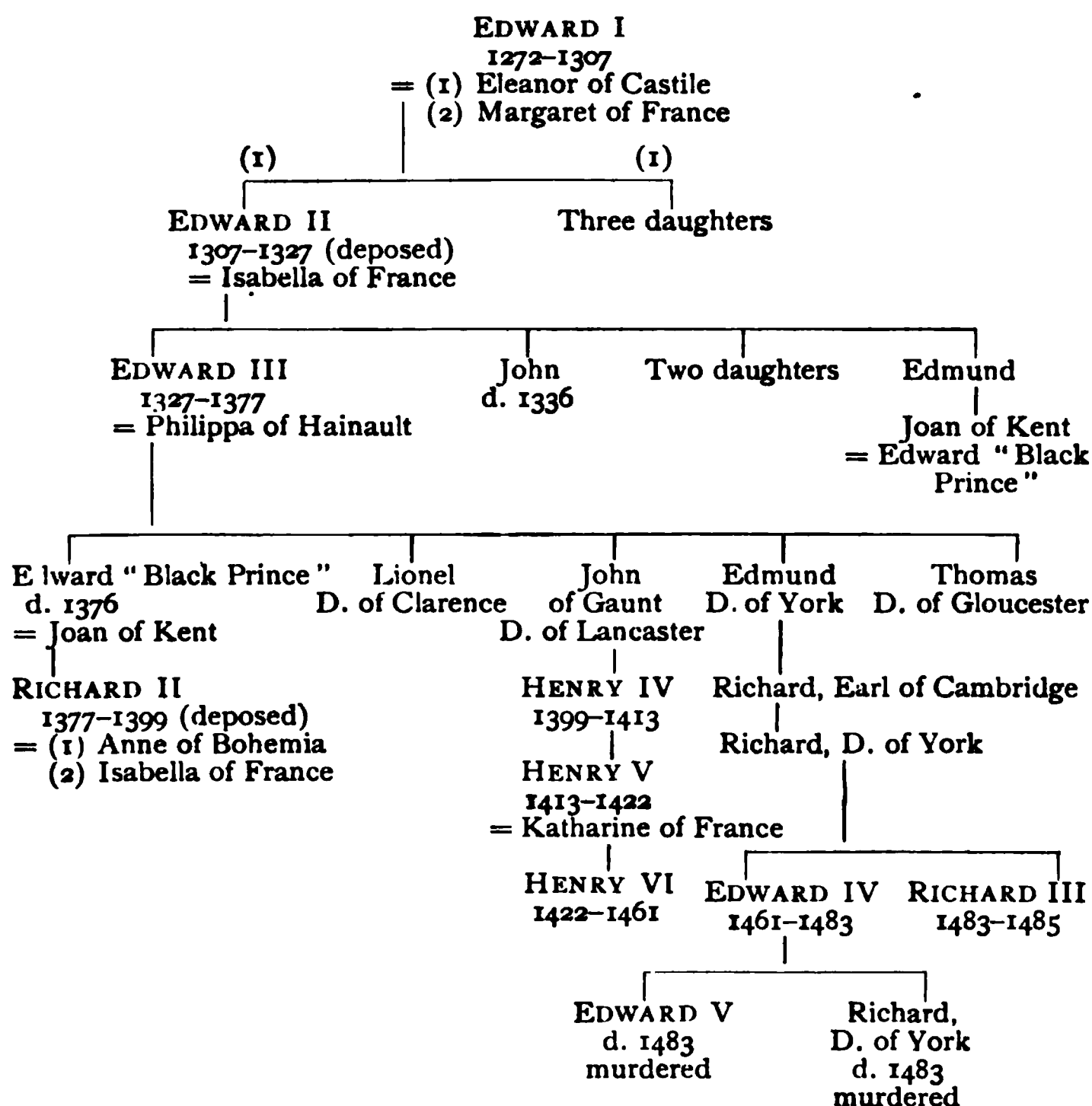
Two of their number were Roger Bacon (1214–1292), one of the most learned philosophers of the Middle Ages, and Adam Marsh, a great Oxford scholar and friend of Simon de Montfort. Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln (1175–1253), the ablest and best English churchman of the time, was their warm supporter. It was not long before the English Franciscans became the most

¹ This is generally known as the eighth and last crusade.

learned body in Europe, and not a few were chosen to the highest positions in the church.¹

References.—Green, *Short History*, chap. iii, §§ 4–7; chap. iv, § 1; Gardiner, *Student's History*, chap. xiii; Terry, *History*, Part II, chap. viii; Tout, *Advanced History*, Book III, chap. i; Stubbs, *Early Plantagenets*, chaps. viii–ix; A. Jessop, *The Coming of the Friars*, etc.; Traill, *Social England*, vol. I, chap. iv; Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, §§ 30–36; Cheyney, *Readings*, chap. viii, § v; chap. ix, §§ i–v; Colby, *Selections*, §§ 31–32; Kendall, *Source-Book*, §§ 25–27; Lee, *Source-Book*, chap. xi, § 81.

Norman and Angevin Kings from Edward I



¹ There were four great orders of Mendicant Friars: (1) the Dominicans, known from their black hoods as the Black Friars; (2) the Franciscans, known from their gray dress as the Gray Friars; (3) the Carmelites, known from their white dress as the White Friars; and (4) the Augustinian (or Austin) Friars.

CHAPTER X

RISE OF THE ENGLISH NATION AND GROWTH OF PARLIAMENT (*Continued*)

119. Edward I. 1272.—Edward I, “the greatest of all the Plantagenets,” was one of the ablest of English kings. He had, for the most part, a keen sense of what was practicable, and was willing to accept that and wait until he could do more. He was a brave warrior, an able general, a keen hunter, a statesman, a patron of art, and above all things a lawgiver. He was acquainted with Latin and French and probably Spanish. He was an Englishman in sympathy and in education. When he was a young man, not a few instances of cruelty were justly laid to his charge, and at various times during his reign he acted in a harsh and vindictive manner, but as a rule he held his fiery temper under perfect control. Far more than most of his predecessors, he had a high sense of honor, which was shown by his favorite motto: *Pactum serva*, “Keep troth.”

Edward's experience during the latter years of the reign of his father, Henry III, taught him much, and his association with the great Earl Simon made him familiar with the feelings of the barons and also of the people. From Earl Simon he also learned useful lessons of statesmanship. He recognized that new legislation could not succeed unless it was enacted by the advice and consent of those most interested in it. He therefore consulted the barons when he wished to modify or change the laws relating to them, and the townsmen when he wished to change the laws in which they were interested.

120. Legislation in Reign of Edward I.—Most of the legislation credited to Edward was a development of that already in use.

More important, even, than the legislation was the care he took that the justice administered in the courts should be real justice and not justice by favor; abuses were remedied, venal judges were brought to trial, and those found guilty were punished. Edward struck also at abuses of all kinds, such as unjust fines, excessive claims by the feudal lords, refusal to allow bail, and extortion in any form.

121. New Statutes. 1275.

— Edward's prime objects were to strengthen and increase the royal power, and to extend his rule over the whole of Great Britain. To accomplish the former, it would be necessary to restrict the power both of the church and of the barons.

EDWARD I

After an old painting

This was, of course, a gradual work, and was in a measure accomplished by the enactment of a number of statutes, passed as occasion called for, and when it was practicable.

122. Statute of Westminster, 1275; of Gloucester, 1278; the Nobles.—Some of the most important of the statutes are the following: the First Statute of Westminster (1275), by which certain abuses were remedied; the Statute of Gloucester (1278), which restricted the privileges of the nobles. A commission was sent through the country inquiring into the titles by which the nobles claimed to hold their property, and the authority by which they exercised special powers. Many had very insufficient grounds for their claims and were greatly alarmed at this order; others were rebellious. One of the barons, an Earl de Warrenne, drew a rusty old sword before the commissioners and said: "This

is my title. My ancestors came over with William the Conqueror and won their lands with the sword, and with the sword will I maintain them."

123. Compulsory Knighthood. 1278. — Edward, too wise to press matters to extremes, did not disturb any claims which dated back to Richard I; but he did enough to make his power felt and to pave the way for further restrictions. Another law required every man who owned property amounting to twenty pounds a year to assume knighthood or to pay a fine. This had two results: first, the expensive ceremonies attending the bestowal of knighthood and the fines of those who declined the honor, brought in large sums of money; and secondly, those who were thus knighted owed no feudal service to an overlord, but only to the king himself. They were, therefore, in the event of war, likely to support him rather than the barons.

124. Statutes: Mortmain, 1279; Winchester, 1285. — Another statute was that known as *De Religiosis*,¹ or *Mortmain*,² by which it was forbidden to give lands to the church, because such land escaped feudal and other dues.

By another statute, that of Winchester (1285), every man was compelled to do his share in maintaining law and order. Each district was made responsible for the crimes committed within it, and every citizen was required to aid in bringing criminals to justice. It was further commanded that highways leading from one market town to another should be enlarged so that there should be "neither dike, tree, nor bush, whereby a man may lurk to do hurt, within two hundred foot of the one side and two hundred foot on the other side of the way."

125. Statute of Westminster II, 1285; Entail; Quia Emp-

¹ The statutes were written in Latin and often took their name from the first words of the title of the act.

² *Mortmain*, from the Latin words *in manum mortuum* (into a dead hand); so called, some think, because the land was given into the hand of the dead patron saint of the abbey or monastery. As the church was a continuous corporation, such land was lost for revenue purposes.

tores, 1290. — The second Statute of Westminster (1285), among other provisions, began the system of entailed¹ lands which still prevails in England. It was enacted that an estate might be so granted to a man and his heirs that the man who held it would only be a life tenant and could not part with it because it belonged to his heirs. This law was favorable to the barons, for it prevented lands from being seized for debt, or from being alienated by the misconduct of the owner, and so estates could remain in the same family for generation after generation.²

Parliament House

Westminster Hall

Westminster Abbey

WHERE PARLIAMENT MET IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Another statute was that known as *Quia Emptores* (1290). This was to prevent the tenant of a feudal lord from granting land to a sub-tenant and himself taking the place of the feudal lord.

126. The Jews. — An incident of Edward's reign not so pleasant to record is his treatment of the Jews. When these first came to England is not known, but it was probably about the time of the Norman Conquest. They were then under the special protection of the king. They were required to live by themselves in quarters of the cities and towns called Jewries. Of course they

¹ Entailed land is land which cannot be sold, but descends, usually, from father to eldest son, or if there is no son to the nearest living male relative.

² It is possible, in some cases, to break an entail if the next heir is of age and is willing to give up his right of inheritance. But his father, or the owner for the time being, must join with him in the action.

paid the king liberally for their privilege ; otherwise, with the feeling against them which was universal at that time, they would have been driven from the country, if, indeed, they were so fortunate as to escape with their lives.

Then, as now, the Jews were among the great capitalists of the world. They were almost the only ones in the Middle Ages who were willing to lend money at interest (or usury, as it was then called), because, owing to a mistaken reading of certain passages of scripture, the practice was for a long time discountenanced by the Christian church. The kings found the Jews very useful in furnishing money, and it was for this reason that they were protected. As the power of the kings decreased, the position of the Jews became less secure. During the reigns of Henry I and Stephen their condition became steadily worse. Richard wrung large sums from them for his crusade.

127. Popular Hatred against the Jews. — Popular feeling became intensified and the Jewries were often exposed to pillage. John and Henry III, as might be expected, exacted large sums from the rich Jews and taxed them heavily. Edward seems to have shared the prejudices of his people, for in 1278 he seized many on the charge of clipping the coins, and in London alone two hundred and sixty-seven were executed. For financial reasons Edward might have permitted them to remain in England ; but so strong was the feeling against them that in 1290 they were formally expelled,¹ and for

¹ About sixteen thousand Jews are supposed to have been affected by this order. It would seem, however, that this expulsion was not complete, for notices of the presence of Jews in England are found from time to time. It was Oliver Cromwell who first, in 1655, publicly sanctioned their return.

The hatred toward them in the Middle Ages was due to several causes : first, of course, because it was the Jews who had caused Pilate to put Christ to death ; secondly, because of their lending money at high rates of interest. In this latter course the Jews were justified, as lenders were few and the risk of losing both principal and interest was serious. But the rate was often exorbitantly high, sometimes reaching sixty per cent. It is easy to see how envy, jealousy, and extortion might follow. No crime was considered too heinous for a Jew to commit, and as the law gave him no protection, he was absolutely dependent on the king for his defense. Despised by all, goaded by injustice, stung by ribald taunts, conscious of the ever present possibility of torture and perhaps a cruel death, it is not to be wondered at that some individuals of the race were guilty of evil practices.

about three hundred and fifty years they were not permitted to live openly in England. The exiles were allowed to take only their personal property ; all their real estate fell into the hands of the king.

128. Edward and Wales ; Statute of Wales, 1283 ; "Prince of Wales," 1301. — Edward recognized that his most important interests were in England, although he did not undervalue his continental possessions. There was much in Great Britain to claim his attention. Wales had submitted to William the Conqueror,

CARNARVON CASTLE

Founded by Edward I in 1283 After a photograph.

but the submission was formal rather than actual. To protect English lands, English kings had given to some of the barons on the border almost sovereign powers. These barons of the marches, or border lands, frequently rebelled and joined interests with the Welsh chieftains. One of these latter, Llewelyn, had aided Earl Simon against Henry III, and only after de Montfort was defeated did he give his allegiance to Henry. When Edward came to the throne, Llewelyn refused to do homage to him, but Edward invaded Wales with a strong force and compelled him to give up part of his territory and into this ceded land introduced English laws and English magistrates. It is not unlikely that these men were without skill or tact, for in 1282 a rebellion began under the lead of Llewelyn and his brother, David. Edward with a large force put it down. Llewelyn was killed in battle, and David, who was captured within a year, suffered a traitor's death.

Edward determined to rule Wales as a conquered country. By the Statute of Wales (1283), the country was placed under the direct rule of the crown, the land was divided into shires like England, and so far as was practicable, and with as little cause for irritation as possible, English laws and customs were introduced. To strengthen his position, Edward built a line of castles for defense; among them, Conway, Carnarvon, and Beaumaris. Later, to propitiate the Welsh, he gave (1301) the title Prince of Wales to his son Edward, who had been born in Carnarvon Castle (1284).¹

129. Continental Policy; Scottish Affairs. — Edward more than once crossed the channel to maintain his own rights and those of his wife, Eleanor of Castile. His policy on the Continent was peace, which he was very successful in securing.

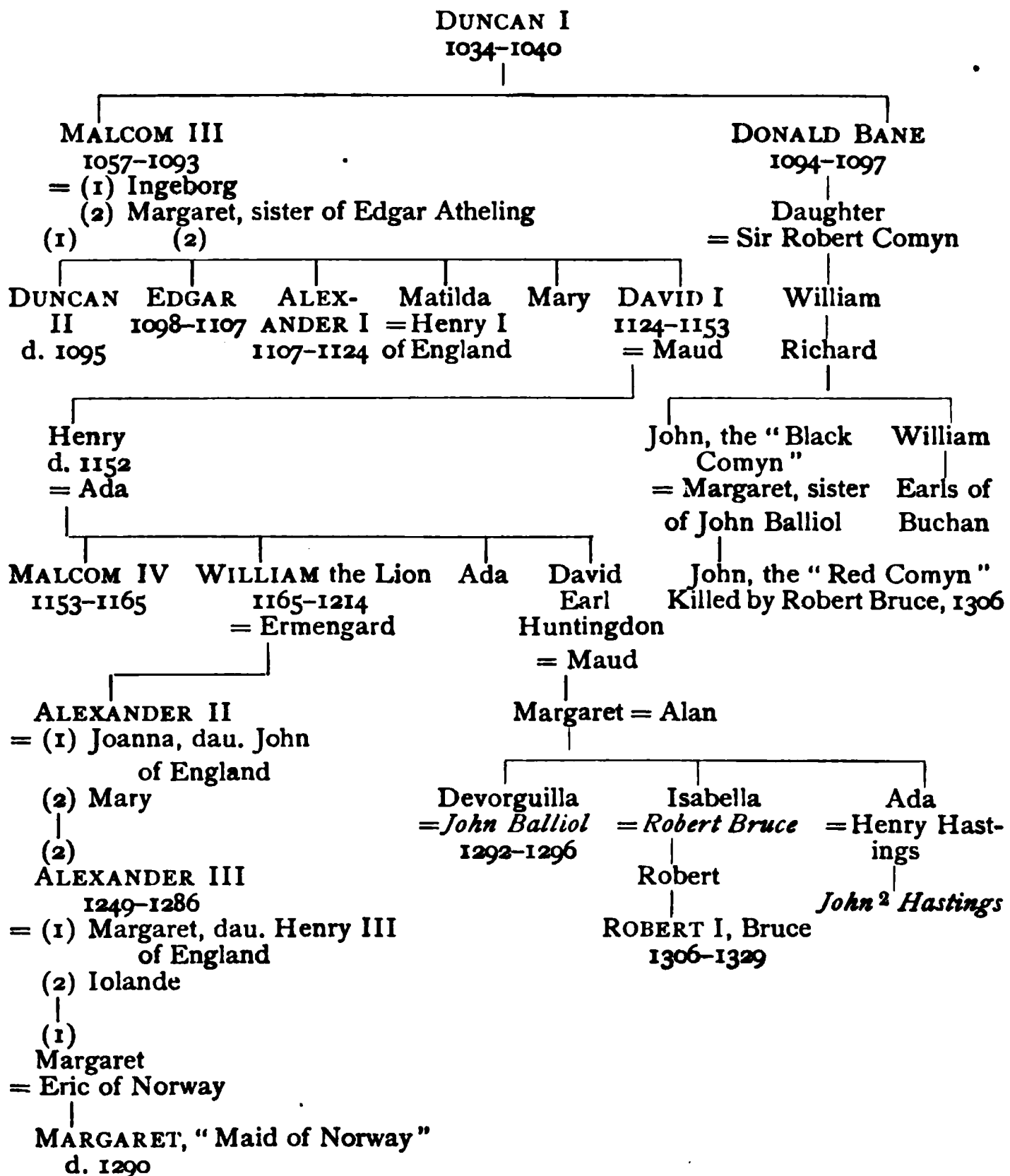
The relations of the Scots and the English were close; many nobles owned land on both sides of the border, and a large number of Norman barons had settled in the country near the Forth. The Scottish kings, moreover, had intermarried with the English royal families and had held lands in the north of England as vassals of the English king. When Henry II compelled William the Lion, of Scotland, who was his prisoner, to do homage for all Scotland (§ 73), the overlordship of England seemed assured. Richard I, however, in return for money had released Scotland from William's oath.

130. Scottish Succession. 1286–1292. — Alexander III of Scotland died in 1286, leaving as his nearest heir a little girl three years old, the child of his daughter, wife of Eric, king of Norway. As the Scots recognized the claim of this little Margaret, known as "The Maid of Norway," Edward saw a way to unite peacefully the two kingdoms by arranging a marriage between the "Maid" and his son. Unfortunately the little princess died on her way to Scotland (1290), and not only was Edward's plan broken up, but

¹ The title is not inherited by the English monarch's eldest son, but is conferred upon him, and carries with it no authority whatever. Wales did not become really incorporated with England until the reign of Henry VIII.

the right of succession to the Scottish crown became a matter of serious doubt. Of the thirteen claimants for the throne, only three had definite ground for their claims. These were descendants of David, a younger brother of William the Lion. They were John Balliol, Robert Bruce, and John Hastings.¹

Table of Scottish Kings to Robert I, showing the Claimants in 1290



¹ Balliol was the grandson of the eldest daughter, Bruce was the son of the second daughter, and Hastings was a grandson of the third daughter.

² The three chief claimants of the throne in 1290 are in italics.

The claimants agreed to refer the matter to Edward for settlement. After his overlordship was acknowledged by the Scottish nobles, he made his decision with wisdom and fairness, awarding the kingdom to John Balliol, who was forthwith crowned at Scone (1292). This award was accepted by the nobles, Balliol paid homage to Edward as his feudal lord, and for a time there was peace.

131. Death of Queen Eleanor. 1290.—Edward reached the summit of his power after the submission of Balliol. He had

conquered Wales, quieted and strengthened his continental possessions, and established a government strong at home, respected and influential abroad. It might reasonably have been expected that his last years would be spent in peace, but they were years of toil and trouble. While he was on the way to Scotland in 1290, his faithful wife, to whom he was devotedly attached, died in the north of England. The body was taken from Lincoln to Westminster, and at each place where it had rested, Edward ordered a rich cross to be erected.¹ About the same time he lost by death several of his most trusted and faithful counselors and ministers.

A QUEEN ELEANOR CROSS

132. England and France. 1293.—Philip IV of France, known as Philip the Fair, was always watching for an opportunity to increase his power. As he was the feudal overlord of Edward's continental possessions, it was not difficult to find a pretext for making trouble. One soon offered itself in a quarrel which took place between Gascon and Norman sailors, ending in a sea fight.

¹ There were originally seven crosses. The last resting place was Charing, now known from Eleanor's cross as Charing Cross. This is the center of modern London.

Philip demanded satisfaction for the injury done to his seamen, and ordered Edward to appear before him as a vassal. This Edward declined to do, whereupon Philip promptly invaded Gascony. Unfortunately for the English king, Scotland and Wales now grew rebellious. French envoys had brought promises of aid and friendship to the Scottish court and had fanned its smoldering discontent into a flame. (App. 1, § 93.)

133. The Famous Parliament of 1295. — Edward resolved to appeal to the people of England for support. The idea of an organized nation composed of several well-defined classes, each with definite rights, and each having the opportunity to express its will, was something new. Heretofore, notwithstanding Simon de Montfort's great Parliament of 1265, it was not thought necessary to summon knights or burgesses to attend Parliament, but Edward believed that the more national he could make his work, the stronger it would be. "It is," he said, "a most just law that what concerns all should be approved by all, and that common dangers should be met by measures provided in common." To the Parliament of 1295 he summoned, therefore, not only the barons, but also the clergy in greater numbers than before, besides two knights of each shire and two citizens from every city or borough; about four hundred in all. Thus, the three estates of the realm,¹ the clergy, the barons, and the commons, or the people, were all present by representatives² or in person.

This council, sometimes called the Model Parliament, was unlike a modern Parliament, in that it did not make laws, but only voted supplies of money. Its importance lies in the fact that all classes, except the laborers and the peasants, were brought together for a common purpose that they might act for the nation.

¹ "Estates of the realm," the three great divisions of the population of the kingdom.

² There were present, in fact, two archbishops, eighteen bishops with some of their lesser clergy, sixty-six abbots, three heads of religious orders, nine earls, forty-one barons, sixty-three knights of the shire, and one hundred and seventy-two citizens and burgesses.

From this time each of the three estates was recognized in summoning a Parliament.

The supplies granted enabled Edward to send an army to Gascony, and, later, one to Scotland.

134. Edward and the Church. 1296. — Edward did not willingly come into conflict with the church, but when disagreements occurred, he did not abate one jot of his authority. The grants made in 1295 were not sufficient, and at a Parliament in 1296 Edward asked for a contribution from the clergy. The archbishop refused on the ground that a recent bull¹ of the Pope forbade them to pay taxes to any lay authority.

The question was essentially the same as that between Henry II and Becket (§ 65). Edward, however, was shrewder than Henry, and met the difficulty in a characteristic way. He withdrew from the clergy the support of the law, so that they could be treated as aliens; that is, they would have no rights in the courts. They were thus practically outlawed, and anybody could plunder them, illtreat them, and even kill them, without fear of punishment. Moreover, the king declared that if they did not yield before a certain time, he would confiscate their lands. That he would be as good as his word, every one knew. So the clergy yielded, and in various ways, under the name of gifts, or through third parties, furnished the king with the money required.²

✓ **135. General Discontent ; Confirmatio Cartarum.** 1297. — Discontent, however, was spreading among all classes. Edward, in his need for money, had taxed the merchants heavily, laying duties on their goods, and even seizing their stores of wool and leather. The nobles felt that he had diminished their authority, and the clergy were indignant because they had been denied their legal rights. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Winchelsea, now came forward as a spokesman, asking Edward not only to confirm

¹ This bull was that known as *Clericis laicos*, and was issued by Boniface VIII in 1296. (App. I, § 94.)

² The archbishop himself refused to yield, but advised the clergy to act according to their individual judgment.

the Great Charter and other charters, but to add new provisions, so as to prevent monarchs from demanding taxes not approved by Parliament. This angered Edward, for he felt that what he had done was for the good of the whole country, and he thought that he should have been supported. He could not make up his mind to yield personally, though he saw that he must yield. So he started on an expedition to Flanders, leaving his son and councilors to consider the matter.

These found it needful to summon a Parliament in order to collect taxes, but the Parliament refused to consider anything until the grievances were settled. Accordingly, a document confirming the old charters was drawn up, and important clauses were added which made it clear that henceforth taxes and revenue were to be under the control of Parliament. It made the monarchs of England almost dependent upon Parliament, for without money it would be impossible to carry on the government or pay troops in time of war. This

CORONATION CHAIR, WESTMINSTER
ABBEY

Containing the stone from Soone

document was signed by Edward at Ghent, November 5, 1297.¹

136. Scottish Affairs ; Fall of Balliol and Conquest of Scotland.
1296. — Meanwhile Edward claimed that in Scotland appeals could be made from Balliol to him. The Scots felt that to allow this would be an infringement of national rights, and their resistance took shape in an alliance between France and Scotland which lasted

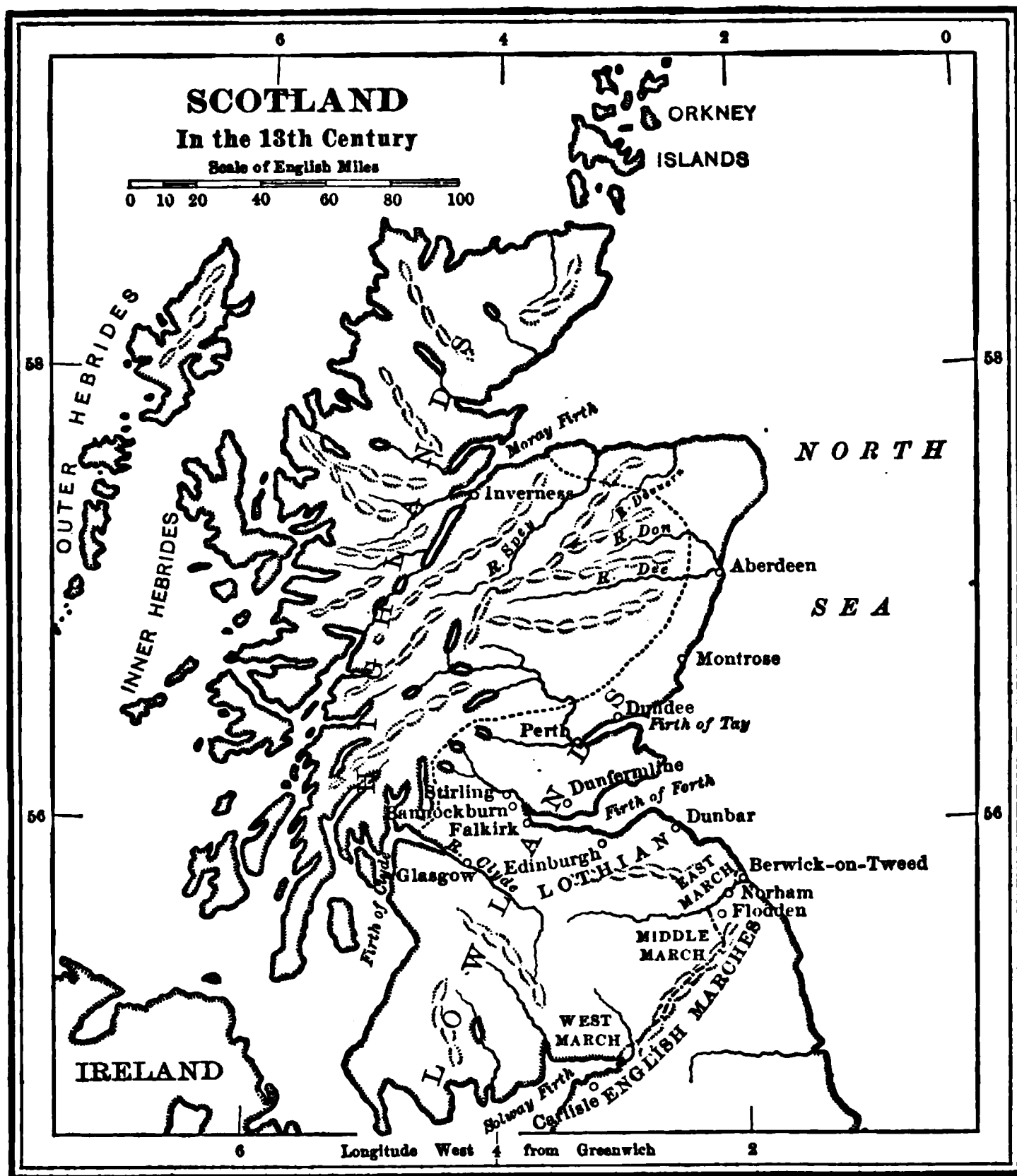
¹ This document is called the *Confirmatio Cartarum* (confirmation of the charters). As a matter of fact, it referred rather to general revenues than to royal privileges and prerogatives, many of which were retained for nearly four hundred years (1688).

three hundred years. Balliol, summoned to appear in London before the English king, sent instead a message of defiance. "Has the fool done this folly?" cried King Edward, when the message reached him. "If he will not come to us, we will come to him." The king's march northward was a triumphant one, for the English troops were everywhere successful. Balliol surrendered and was sent to London, where he was confined in the Tower. Later, he was allowed to retire to the Continent. The Scottish nobles and gentry now swore homage to Edward. He took from Scone the famous coronation stone of the Scottish kings and brought it to London, where it is still kept in Westminster Abbey under the seat of the coronation chair.¹

137. Scottish Rebellion under Wallace. 1297-1304.—Edward misjudged the Scottish people. His strict rule was disliked, the introduction of English priests was unpopular, grants of land to English barons became hateful, and the knowledge of being ruled by a conqueror intolerable. This was especially the case among the Lowlanders, who were really of English blood, for it must be remembered that Scotland was peopled by two races: the Gaelic, who inhabited the Highlands, and the Lowlanders, many of whose ancestors had come from England. There were also those of Norman blood among them. The resistance was headed by Sir William Wallace, a somewhat mythical character as we know him, who had gained the confidence of the people and of the lesser nobles by his bold and successful raids on the English. By 1297 the revolt had become almost general. The Scots were successful at Stirling, and for a time Wallace was master of the country.

Edward lost no time in marching against the rebellious Scots. Through treachery he came upon Wallace unexpectedly, forced him to join battle at Falkirk (July, 1298), and defeated him. Wallace, however, had succeeded in rousing a national spirit

¹ Legends asserted that this stone was the one which Jacob used for a pillow on his flight from Palestine. According to an old tradition, wherever that stone might be, Scottish kings should rule. Long afterwards, this prophecy was said to be fulfilled when James VI of Scotland became James I of England.



which was never wholly subdued. The Scots were not yet conquered, and it took Edward six years more to recover his lost ground. The surrender of Stirling, in 1304, completed the conquest of the country.

138. Edward's Scottish Policy; Robert Bruce; Death of Edward. 1307.—Wallace, who refused to avail himself of Edward's mercy, was betrayed by one of his countrymen, taken to London, condemned as a traitor, and executed. His head,

crowned in mockery with a wreath of laurel, was set upon a pole on London Bridge.

Edward planned an excellent scheme of government for Scotland, but found that it is one thing to make a government for a people and quite another thing to make them like it or obey it. There is no doubt that he acted with moderation, and, except in the case of Wallace, with clemency; but the Scots wished for independence, not merely for justice and law. The representative of national feeling at this time was Robert Bruce, grandson of one of the claimants of the crown after the death of "The Maid of Norway" (§ 130). Bruce had yielded to Edward and had taken part in his scheme for the government of Scotland. In some way, however, he roused the king's jealousy and was obliged to take refuge across the border. Early in 1306 he quarreled with Balliol's nephew, "Red Comyn," whom he suspected of treachery, and, in the heat of his anger, killed him. Knowing that King Edward would never forgive such a deed, Bruce, almost in self-defense, got himself crowned king of Scotland at Scone.

Edward, moved to deep anger by the murder of Comyn, vowed vengeance on all concerned in the deed. Bruce, meanwhile, had been attacked by a small force, his disorderly bands were scattered, and he himself became a fugitive among the western islands. Edward carried out his vow. "Noble after noble was hurried to death. The Earl of Athole pleaded kindred with royalty. 'His only privilege,' burst forth the king, 'shall be that of being hanged on a higher gallows than the rest.'" The old king was on a sick bed, but, full of vengeance, he rose to lead his army toward Scotland. His strength failed, and on the very borders of the country he was striving to reach he died, July 7, 1307.

139. Edward II, 1307; Gaveston. — Edward II was the unworthy son of a worthy father. He seems to have regarded little but his own pleasure, and to have thought that "to have a good time" was the end and aim of life. He was not so much wicked

as weak and self-indulgent, and the misfortunes which befell him were of his own making. A man of his character generally leans upon some one stronger than himself, and has favorites. Edward II was no exception. The first of his favorites was Piers Gaveston, a Gascon noble, the companion of his youth, banished by Edward I, but recalled by Edward II on his accession to the throne. Gaveston, an unprincipled, scheming man, had a low opinion of the English and determined to get all he could out of England.

After some feeble attempts to carry on the war in Scotland, Edward went to France to marry Isabella, daughter of the French king, Philip the Fair, leaving Gaveston as regent. The gay courtier showed little prudence or tact, but the king on his return heaped honors and estates upon him.

140. Opposition and Protest of the Barons, 1308; Death of Gaveston, 1312.—The English nobles deeply resented the favor bestowed on Gaveston, whose reckless and insolent jests at their expense had added insult to injury. The leader of the barons, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, was a cousin of the king and the wealthiest lord in the realm. He was an unscrupulous man, devoid of patriotism and political ability, but his wealth and rank gained him his position at the head of the dissatisfied nobles. Under the lead of Lancaster, the barons presented their protest to Parliament. They complained of the unjust taxes and of Edward's extravagance and favoritism. Parliament appointed twenty-one "Lords Ordainers" to act for the king, and Edward was forced to accept the new arrangement. It closely resembled the Provisions of Oxford (§ 109) (1258). All power was in the hands of the barons and the king was forbidden to lay taxes, to go to war, or even to leave the country without their consent. Parliament was to meet at least once a year to consider any such requests from the king. The decrees which the "Lords Ordainers" issued were called "Ordinances." By these Gaveston was permanently banished, and some special abuses were abolished.

The barons, however, were shortsighted. In the assembly

which made these decrees there were no representatives of the commons. This fact led to the ultimate overthrow of baronial power. By this time it was too late to ignore the Third estate. (§ 133, note.)

141. Robert Bruce; Bannockburn, 1314; Loss of Scotland, 1323. — Edward's weakness and the internal troubles of England gave Robert Bruce (§§ 130, 138) the opportunity he needed to establish the independence of Scotland. The strongholds, which Edward I had retained, were taken one after another, until Stirling alone remained. After being besieged for some time, the English officer who held it agreed to surrender if he was not relieved by a certain day (June 24, 1314). Edward, whose submission to the ordinances had gained for him a grant from Parliament, was stirred to action by this news and marched to the relief of the besieged castle. Bruce had drawn up his troops behind the little stream known as Bannockburn, and had skillfully prepared the surrounding fields by digging pits, planting stakes in them, and then covering the pits with turf. Into these pits the English horsemen plunged and their advance was checked. The English army was thrown into confusion, most of the men turned and fled, Edward himself setting the example. Stirling surrendered and the English power in Scotland for a time was at an end.

Edward refused to give up his claims upon Scotland, and it was not until 1323, after Bruce had made frequent raids, burning Scarborough, Skipton, and other places, and penetrating as far as York, that the English monarch agreed to a truce for thirteen years, Bruce meantime assuming the title of king.

142. Lancaster and the Despensers. 1314-1322. — After Bannockburn, Edward was forced to accept as his adviser Lancaster, who unfortunately was a selfish, incompetent man so far as ruling was concerned. Edward found another personal favorite in Hugh le Despenser. Despenser was of a noble English family. His father had been councilor to Edward I and was a steady supporter of Edward II; he was not, however, liked by the barons. The

two Despensers, father and son, resolved to destroy the influence of Lancaster, but he succeeded in getting a decree passed (1321) which banished the Despensers and forfeited their estates. Later, Lancaster was tried for disloyal dealings with the Scots and for fighting against the king, and was condemned and executed.

143. Parliament of York.—In 1322 Edward held a Parliament at York which revoked the "Ordinances" (§ 140), but laid down the important constitutional statement, "all matters to be established for the estate of our lord the king and his heirs,

STIRLING CASTLE

the realm, and the people, shall be treated, granted, and established in Parliament by our lord the king, and by the consent of the clergy, earls, and barons, and by the commonalty of the realm." Some of the "Ordinances" were reënacted, and it seemed for a time as if Edward was about to reform. But his weakness and incompetency could not be cured.

144. Mortimer. Deposition and Death of Edward II. 1327.—In 1324 Edward sent Queen Isabella and their young son, Edward, whom he had created Duke of Aquitaine, to do homage to the new king of France for the French possessions of the English crown. Here the queen met Roger Mortimer, one of the chief nobles of the Welsh marches. With him she plotted not

only to overthrow the Despensers, who had returned, but also to depose the king. Isabella landed in Suffolk (September, 1326). London and the barons supported her, and Edward found no one to help him. He fled to the west; there the king and the Despensers were captured; the latter were executed, while the king was taken to Kenilworth for safe keeping.

The young prince, Edward, now about fourteen years old, was proclaimed "Guardian of the Kingdom," and a Parliament was summoned in his name. This met in January, 1327, and the king was forced to abdicate, after signing a declaration of his own misdeeds and incompetency. "Parliament renounced the homage and fealty of its members, and the steward of the household publicly broke his staff as a token that Edward II had ceased to reign." After eight months of imprisonment in various places, the unhappy ex-king was confined in Berkeley castle, where he was murdered, by whose order or by whom is not positively known.¹ The deposition of Edward was effected in orderly fashion through an act of Parliament setting forth the doctrine that an unworthy king should not rule. There had been no deposition of a king since the Norman Conquest, but this established a precedent, and strengthened the position of Parliament.

References. — Green, *Short History*, chap. iv, §§ 1–6; Gardiner, *Student's History*, chap. xiv; Terry, *History*, Part II, chap. ix; Part III, Book I, chaps. i–ii; Tout, *Advanced History*, Book III, chaps. ii–iii; Stubbs, *Early Plantagenets*, chaps. x–xii; Traill, *Social England*, vol. II, chap. v; Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, §§ 37–55; Cheyney, *Readings*, chap. ix, § vi; Colby, *Selections*, §§ 33–37; Kendall, *Source-Book*, §§ 28–29; Lee, *Source-Book*, chap. xi, §§ 81–89.

¹ Whether he was actually murdered is doubted by some.

CHAPTER XI

BEGINNING OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR AND CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

145. Edward III, 1327; Independence of Scotland, 1328. — Edward III was about fourteen years old when he succeeded to the throne, and the affairs of the kingdom were administered by a council which was wholly under the control of Isabella and her favorite, Roger Mortimer. King Robert Bruce (§§ 130, 138, 141), believing that this was a good time to strengthen his position, made raids into England which it seemed impossible to prevent, as the Scots had no regular army and avoided direct conflict. At last a treaty was made with Scotland (1328) which recognized the complete independence of that country. This treaty, known as the Treaty of Northampton, though really a wise act, was very unpopular, and the peace obtained by it was considered shameful. Mortimer also managed to have Edmund, Earl of Kent, brother of Edward II, executed on a charge of treason. Edmund was popular and his execution was generally resented.

146. Fall of Isabella and Mortimer. 1330. — The barons, taking it as a warning of what might be their fate at the hands of the arrogant favorite of the queen, turned for a leader to the young king. Edward had married Philippa of Hainault at the early age of fifteen, and now, at seventeen, was a father and mature for his years. Isabella and Mortimer, suspecting danger, had retired to Nottingham Castle. Indignant at the disregard and disdain with which he was treated by his mother and her favorite, Edward willingly lent himself to a plot to destroy their power. At the head of a band of soldiers he entered the castle

by a secret passage, and arrested Mortimer with his own hands. The prisoner was taken to London, tried, condemned, and executed. Isabella was sent to Castle Rising, Yorkshire, where she was kept in confinement for the rest of her life, a period of twenty-eight years.

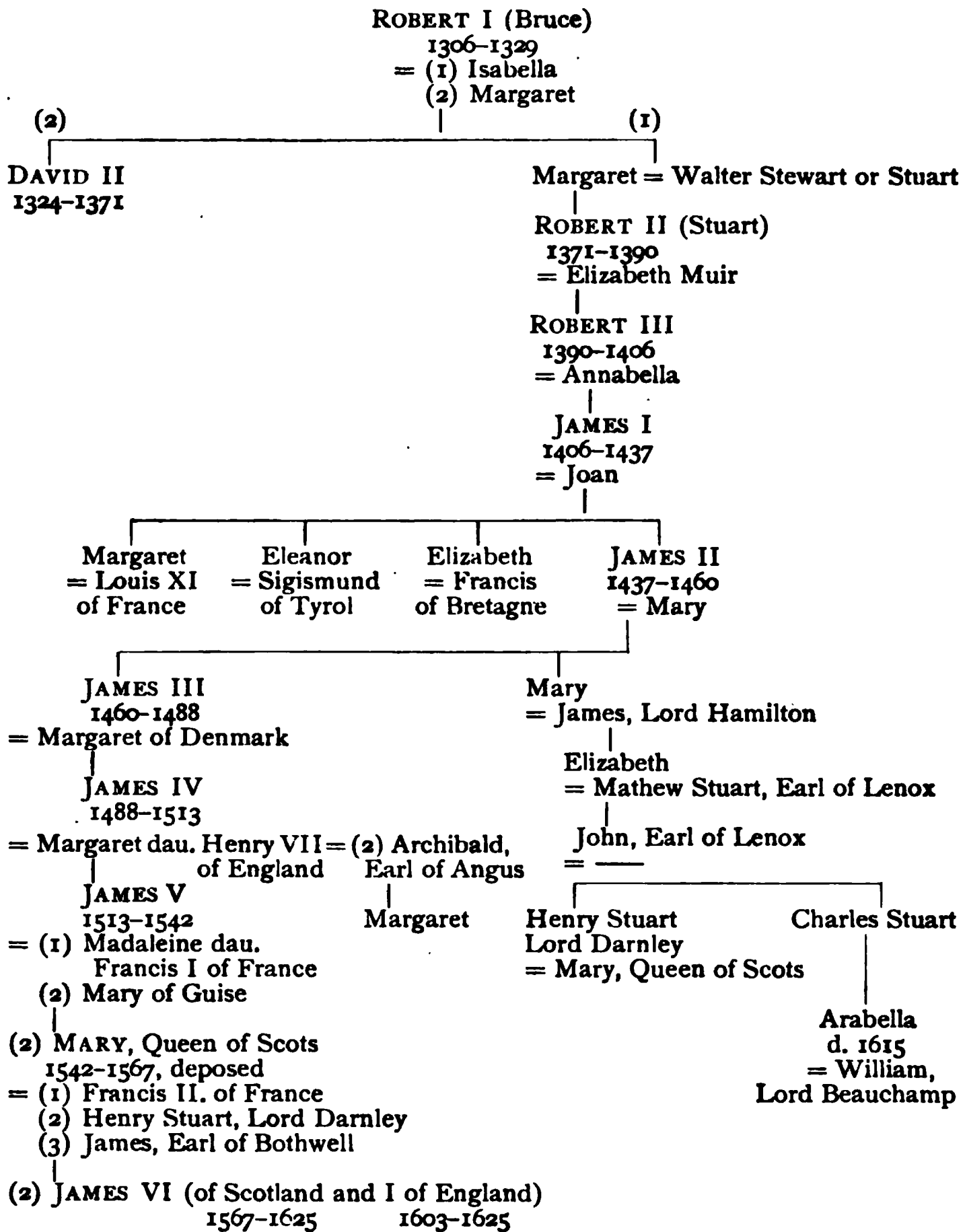
147. Character of Edward III. — Edward was now about eighteen years old (1330). He was handsome, accomplished, pleasing and chivalrous in his manners, and a patron of the arts. He was strong and energetic, and a brave soldier. On the other hand, he was extravagant and thriftless, fond of display, and, like most nobles of his time, indifferent to the rights of the common people. He was, moreover, untrustworthy, for the royal word was frequently broken.

148. Scottish Succession, 1329; Scottish War, 1333. — On the death of Robert Bruce, in 1329, the kingdom of Scotland had passed to his young son, David, and the government was carried on during his childhood by a regency.¹ Certain barons, dissatisfied with conditions in Scotland, resolved to put on the Scottish throne Edward Balliol, son of John Balliol, the former king (§ 130). The attempt was successful and Balliol was crowned at Scone (1332). He accepted Edward as his feudal lord, and the English king gave his support to the new claimant. The Scottish nobles, however, soon rebelled against Balliol, and England was involved in another war. After varying fortunes, the Scots were defeated at Halidon Hill (July 19, 1333), and were forced to submit to Edward, giving up to him all their country south of the Firth of Forth. Six years later France, roused to jealousy by Edward's successes, decided to come to the aid of Scotland in accordance with the old treaty of alliance (§ 132). Troops were hired for the invasion of England, and Edward's forces were all needed on the southern coast. Scotland was now freed from

¹ Regency, a government carried on by a regent, one who governs a country in the minority, absence, or disability of the king or ruler. There may be more than one regent.

his oversight, and the nobles, driving Balliol from the throne, brought back from France, where he had taken refuge, the youthful king, David, to be their ruler (1339). This time Edward was too busy on the Continent to interfere.

Scottish Kings from Robert I



149. England and France. 1328–1338.—The French king, Philip VI, like his predecessors, desired to lessen the power of the great vassals of the crown and to bring them and their lands under royal sway. While the French kings may have pursued this policy from selfish motives, it was one of the leading tendencies of the age, and plays an important part in the history of succeeding centuries.

Philip had shrewdly calculated upon the help that his Scottish alliance might give, and began a series of aggressions which Edward was bound to resist. The French had attacked the English shipping and even landed upon the Isle of Wight (1336). The English king made alliances, so far as he could, with all the governments whose dominions bordered on those of France, and he even succeeded in persuading the Emperor of Germany to join him. These alliances were gained chiefly by the payment of large sums of money.

150. Edward and the Flemings ; War begun. 1338.—The relations of England with Flanders (part of modern Belgium) were very close. Taking advantage of business interests and of political hatred, Edward arranged a treaty with the Flemish burghers, who were eager to cast off their allegiance to the Count of Flanders and to maintain peace with the island kingdom which supplied their cities with wool for their prosperous industries.

Edward landed in Flanders in 1338, intending to attack France from that side, but he soon found that he could not depend upon his allies, for while they were eager to get all the money out of him that they could, they would do little fighting. They told him that as the king of France was their overlord, they could only fight for a king of France. Edward had, at one time, claimed this title, but had given it up in 1331. Now he formally reasserted it (1340), and declared that he was fighting for his crown. But the real reason was that he thought by this claim that he would please the Flemings and thereby gain something in his struggle with France.¹

¹ Charles IV of France died (1328) without a son, and was succeeded by his nephew, Philip VI. The French naturally preferred Philip, a Frenchman, to the other claimants, who were foreigners. Isabella, mother of Edward III, however, set up a claim to the French crown on behalf of her son, on the ground that she was a

151. Beginning of the Hundred Years' War. 1338.—By this attack Edward began what is called The Hundred Years' War, a war with even less to justify it than most wars have had. On the English side, the war was almost wholly one of conquest; on that of the French, a struggle against foreign rule. That Philip provoked war is evident, and if the character of the age can be taken into consideration, Edward can hardly be blamed for retaliation; his fault lies in the fact that when there was an opportunity to make an honorable peace, he declined to embrace it.

152. England supports Edward; French Defeat at Sluys. 1340.—The

COAT OF ARMS ADOPTED
BY EDWARD III

English Parliament and people supported Edward for several reasons: they wished to preserve their trade with Flanders;

The French *fleurs-de-lis*
quartered with the English
lions

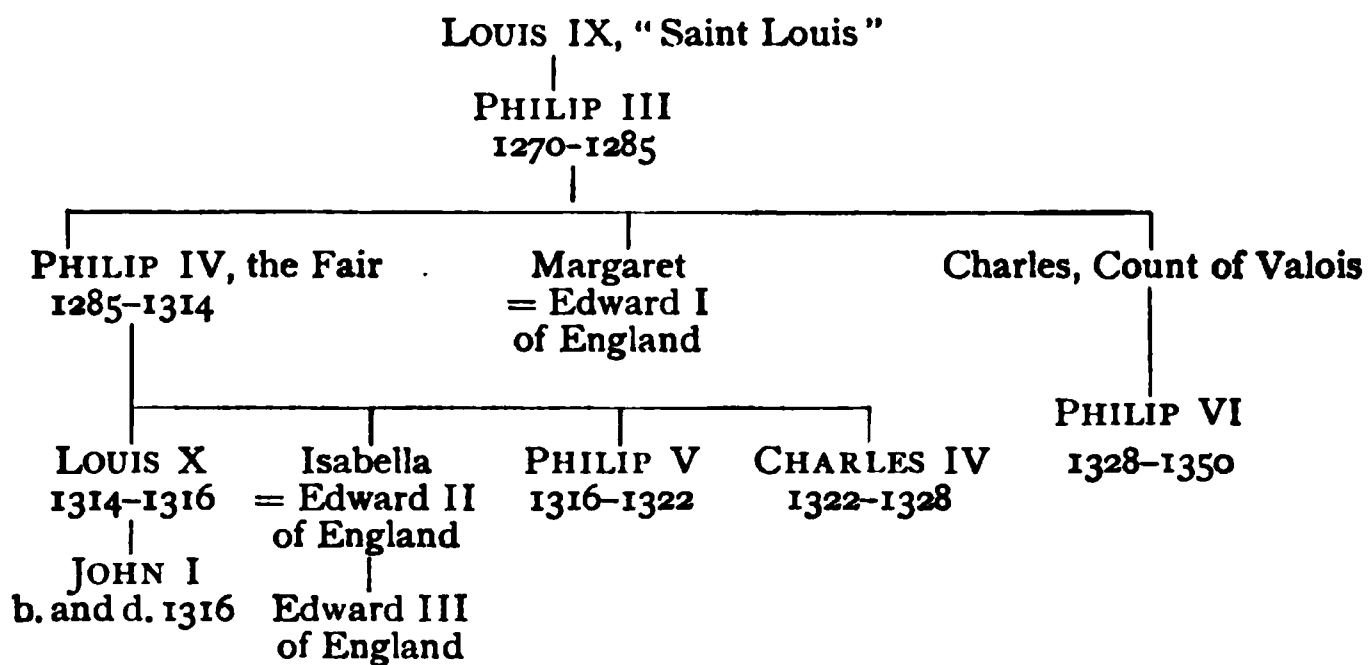
they resented the aid given by France to Scotland; they were angry at the damage done to English shipping, and at the descent of the French upon the Isle of Wight. Parliament voted Edward supplies after he had promised some reforms. He had come back to England to raise funds, but Philip, hoping to prevent his return to the continent, gathered a great fleet at Sluys in Flanders. Edward, not unprepared, attacked the French fleet (1340). As the

sister of Charles, and therefore nearer than a nephew. The French asserted that under the law, the succession could come only through a male heir. Edward now revived this old claim, saying that though his mother might not inherit, he could. The claim was not as flimsy in that age as it would be now, but Edward had already, on account of his French possessions, done homage to Philip as king of France, his overlord, and, moreover, a grandson of Louis X, afterwards Charles the Bad of Navarre, had been born since 1328, and his claim according to Edward's own argument was better than his. But Edward took the title to please the Flemings and added the French fleur-de-lis to his coat of arms, took as his motto *Dieu et mon Droit* (God and my Right), and styled himself king of England and France. The lilies of France remained in the arms, and France in the official title, of the English monarchs until 1801. The motto is still retained.

vessels drew near one another, the English archers swept the decks of the French ships with their arrows and won the day. The French fleet was almost annihilated and thousands of men perished. So great was the disaster, according to the story, that for a time no one dared to report it to the French king. At length, the court jester said to him, "What cowards these English are!" and when asked why, replied, "Because they dare not leap into the sea as our brave Frenchmen did." For thirty years or more after this victory, England was supreme at sea and all fear of a French invasion was dispelled.

153. Policy of Philip of France.—Edward, for some unexplained reason, did not follow up his victory. He besieged a city and spent months in vainly trying to get Philip to agree to settle their differences in a fair fight, but Philip's policy was to avoid an open battle.¹ In this way he tired out his adversary and caused him to spend large sums of money in maintaining his army. At length Edward was glad to make a truce for nine months and return home (1341). Beyond the destruction of the French fleet, he had gained nothing, but had rather lost.

French Kings, Showing Claim of Edward III



¹ It was much easier to do this in that age than now, for the strength of a country lay in its fortified towns. Many of these it was almost impossible to take except after a long siege in which hunger was the chief weapon. If a king did not wish to fight, he simply kept his forces in the castles or fortified cities and let his enemy ravage the land.

154. The Breton Succession ; Renewal of French War ; Crécy, 1346.—The Duke of Brittany had died leaving no direct male heir, and according to Breton law the daughter inherited ; but with absolute inconsistency, Edward supported the indirect male claimant. His reason, doubtless, was that Brittany would be a good place from which to attack France. Accordingly, in 1346, he took a large army into France by way of Brittany. Philip pursued his old policy of avoiding an open battle. After ravaging Normandy, Edward marched in the direction of Paris. At last Philip, having a much larger army, attacked him at Crécy. Here Edward, who had chosen his position skillfully, gained one of the greatest victories in English history (August 26, 1346).

ENGLISH ARCHER

"It was a victory of foot-soldiers over horse-soldiers, of a nation in which all ranks joined heartily together, over one in which all ranks, except that of the gentry, were despised." It was chiefly to the archers that the success was due. The battle was a death blow to the strictly feudal idea that the knight was all in all.

It was at this battle that Edward's son, afterwards known as the "Black Prince," won his spurs and was knighted, though only about sixteen years old.¹

155. Capture of Calais. 1347.—Edward had punished Normandy ; it was now the turn of Calais. He found it necessary to besiege the city, which, after holding out for nearly a year, at last

¹ So called, probably, from the color of his armor. The armor of the Black Prince still hangs in Canterbury Cathedral.

surrendered on account of lack of food (August 4, 1347). At the intercession, it is said, of Queen Philippa, Edward treated the inhabitants with reasonable clemency. Those who took the oath of allegiance to him were allowed to remain, the others were expelled. English colonists were brought over, the walls were repaired, a strong garrison was stationed there, and a market for wool, tin, lead, etc., was established. Calais became a prosperous city, remaining in the hands of the English for two hundred and ten years (§ 281). Soon after the surrender of Calais, a truce for six years was arranged.¹

The Scots, who had practically regained their independence, took advantage of Edward's absence to invade England; but they were badly defeated at Nevil's Cross (October 17, 1346), and their king, David Bruce, was taken prisoner.

156. Advent of Luxury ; Chivalry. — Edward was received by the English with enthusiasm. The spoils of war were rich, and reckless extravagance, especially among the upper classes, prevailed.² Tournaments, shows, celebrations of various kinds, were frequent; and the effect of foreign influences was seen in domestic and church architecture, as well as in household living.

One of the influential institutions of the age was what is known as Chivalry. The word is hard to define, but chivalry itself may be described as a code of rules based upon certain ideals of conduct, as, that every knight should be courageous; devoted to his lord; respectful to ladies and eager to serve them; that he should be generous, loyal, and true, and strive to render justice. Nominally high in its ideals, its rules applied only to persons having the rank of a knight or a higher rank; it set forth fighting as the noblest occupation that a man could follow, but too often under

¹ It was at the siege of Calais that cannon were used for the first time. They appear to have been of little value owing to their faulty construction and the gunners' ignorance of how to use them. It has been said that they were first employed at Crécy, but this seems to be an error.

² It was at this time (1348) that Edward established the well-known order of the Garter by decorating a selected band of his knights with a blue garter.

color of chivalry men were brutal and immoral. On the other hand, it can be hardly questioned that, where the rules were applicable, life was somewhat less coarse, woman was held in higher esteem, and courtesy and consideration were more common than they would otherwise have been.¹ Perhaps its worst fault, if no stronger word be used, was the utter disregard of the rights of those outside its pale; for in the view of the knight the common people had no rights.

157. The Black Death. 1349. — In the midst of the rejoicing and the luxurious living in England came a devastating pestilence known as the Black Death. Like most similar visitations, it appears to have started in Asia and moved gradually westward. In the early part of 1348 it was in central France, and by August it made its appearance in England. So far as is known, it was the most destructive of all pestilences.² It is estimated that, before it ran its course, about half the population of England perished.³

Though great economic changes would have come about in any case, this terrible disaster had of necessity important effects upon the social and economic life of England. The plague had fallen most heavily upon the working classes, on account of the unsanitary conditions of their home surroundings. The supply of agricultural laborers decreased at least one half and wages rose. By this time rents and wages were generally paid in money. There were, however, many who were still under the old feudal laws, and these were unable to demand an increase in wages as the others could. They therefore refused to work for their lords. The land-

¹ Tennyson's poem "Sir Galahad" is the picture of an ideal knight of the most lofty character.

² Some authorities believe that the Black Death was what is now known as the bubonic plague.

³ Augustus Jessopp tells us that the records show that in one Norfolk Manor Court five law cases in 1349 were adjourned from the 20th of March to the 23d of April. When the cases were called, out of the sixteen persons concerned, principals and witnesses, eleven were dead of the plague. In a single year upwards of eight hundred parishes of Norfolk and Suffolk lost their parsons, eighty-three of them twice, and ten three times.

lords, owing to scarcity of help, were often obliged to accede to the demands of the laborers. In this trouble they appealed to the king, who issued an ordinance requiring laborers to work for the same wages that were paid before the Black Death. Those who refused to comply were to be imprisoned, and the landlords or masters who offered to pay higher wages were to forfeit twice the amount paid.

158. Statute of Laborers. 1351.—When Parliament met (1351) it passed the first Statute of Laborers, practically confirming what the king had already ordered. It is not surprising that some such law was enacted, for the working classes were wholly unrepresented in Parliament and were generally held to exist chiefly for the benefit of the upper classes. This legislation did not indicate any special feeling against the lower classes, for the landlords were simply trying to preserve that which they had been brought up to consider as their right, and which generations of laborers had never thought of contesting.

It was found impossible to enforce the Statute of Laborers, for the landholders themselves preferred to pay high wages and even fines rather than lose their crops altogether. But these laws caused hard feeling between the classes and ultimately led to rebellion (1381).

159. Poitiers. 1356.—Philip of France died in 1350, and was succeeded by his son John. In 1355 the war with France was renewed. The Black Prince landed in Bordeaux and began a campaign which was little better than a pillaging expedition. While he was on his way back to Bordeaux, he was met near Poitiers by King John with a force about four times as large as his own. John, sure that he had the English in his power, demanded severe terms of surrender. The Black Prince could not accept them, and resolved to fight. As at Crécy (§ 154) the English chose a strong position and stationed their troops skillfully, again trusting mainly to the archers. In the battle which followed, the French were defeated with heavy losses, and King John and his younger son with hundreds of knights were taken

prisoners. A truce was made for two years and the Black Prince returned to England with his captives. Meanwhile peace was made with Scotland and David Bruce was released on the promise of paying a large sum of money.

160. France in 1359. Treaty of Brétigny. 1360. — Edward offered to make peace with France, but his terms were too hard for the Dauphin, the king's son and regent, to accept. Edward accordingly again invaded France in 1359. He found the country in a sad state, peasants in revolt, and nobles oppressing the peasants in order to obtain funds to redeem their relatives held in captivity. The Italian poet, Petrarch, who visited France about this time, says, "I could not believe that this was the same kingdom which I had seen so rich and flourishing. Nothing presented itself to my eyes but a fearful solitude, an extreme poverty, land uncultivated, houses in ruins, even the neighborhood of Paris manifested everywhere marks of destruction and conflagration. The streets were deserted; the roads overgrown with weeds; the whole is a vast solitude."

Finally, in 1360, the Treaty of Brétigny was made, by which Edward, giving up his claims to the French crown and to the lands north of Aquitaine, was to receive all Aquitaine and the districts around Calais and Ponthieu, these to be held absolutely and with no feudal obligations. King John died a captive.

References. — Green, *Short History*, chap. v, § 1; Gardiner, *Student's History*, chap. xv; Terry, *History*, Part III, Book I, chap. iii; Tout, *Advanced History*, Book III, chap. iv, § 1-18; A. Jessopp, *Coming of the Friars*, etc., Essay iv; Traill, *Social England*, vol. II, chap. vi, in part; Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, §§ 55-76; Cheyney, *Readings*, chap. x, §§ i-iv; Colby, *Selections*, §§ 38-40; Kendall, *Source-Book*, §§ 28-33; Lee, *Source-Book*, chap. xi, §§ 90-93, chap. xii.

CHAPTER XII

HUNDRED YEARS' WAR (*Continued*); SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES IN ENGLAND

161. English Failure in France. 1368–1375. — It was impossible for the Treaty of Brétigny to be a permanent settlement, for Aquitaine was French and would not rest quietly under English rule.

Edward, the Black Prince, was made Duke of Aquitaine and sent to rule the country. His rule was far from wise; he suffered himself to be entangled in Spanish affairs; and he aided with troops the wicked Pedro the Cruel who had been driven from the Spanish throne. Though successful at first, the campaign ended disastrously. Edward, with but a fifth of his army, returned to Bordeaux, broken in health and owing large sums of money for which Pedro had failed to reimburse him. To get funds he laid a hearth tax¹ on the Gascons; but they refused to pay it and appealed to the king of France, as their liege lord, for redress. Although such an appeal was contrary to the provisions of the Treaty of Brétigny (§ 160), which expressly gave Aquitaine and the other province to Edward free of feudal obligations, Charles V (§ 160, note) summoned the Black Prince to appear before him at Paris.

The Prince replied, "We will go to the court of Paris, since the king orders it; but it shall be with helmet on head and sixty thousand men behind us." The war now broke out again. Charles the Fifth was a wiser man than his father, and he had able generals, perhaps the best of whom was Bernard Du Guesclin. Their policy was the old one of avoiding battle, and of letting the

¹ A hearth tax was a tax upon every fireplace, and so fell upon rich and poor alike. It was always an unpopular way of raising revenue.



English use up their strength by marching hither and thither through the country. Though hard on the French people, it was wise from a military point of view. In the course of the campaign, the Black Prince recaptured Limoges, since so celebrated for its manufacture of china, and in revenge ordered more than three thousand of its inhabitants, men, women, and children, to be butchered; so little did chivalry, in that day, count for those who according to its code were not gentlefolk.

The Black Prince was now forced to return to England on account of his failing health. The war was continued under the command of John of Gaunt (Ghent) a younger son of Edward III. The English were unsuccessful everywhere, and in 1375, when a truce was made, only Calais, Cherbourg, Bayonne, Brest, and Bordeaux were left in English hands.

162. Last Years of Edward III. — The last years of the reign of Edward III were years of trouble, if not of disgrace. The good Queen Philippa had died and the king came under the influence of a certain Alice Perrers, who wheedled the prematurely old man into doing just what she and her favorites wished. The Black Prince was ill of an incurable disease, which prevented him from taking part in public affairs, and the younger son of Edward, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, was a selfish, unprincipled man who clung to the old narrow policy of the barons.

The wars in France and the extravagance of the court had so exhausted the treasury and the ordinary means of raising money that it was found necessary to call a Parliament in 1376. This is known as the "Good Parliament." The Black Prince, now on a sick bed, supported as far as possible this body, which took unexpectedly strong measures of reform. They elected a Speaker to represent them, and impeached two members of the royal council together with Alice Perrers.¹

163. The "Good Parliament," (1376), Death of Edward III, 1377. — Unfortunately the Black Prince died, and the Parliament

¹ This is the first case of impeachment by Parliament (1376).

then in session, fearing the power of John of Gaunt, begged the king to recognize Richard, the little son of the Black Prince, as heir to the crown. The Commons insisted on having Richard brought before them (1376), "that they might see and honor him as the very heir apparent." The "Good Parliament" adjourned, having done a good work, but hardly had the members reached their homes, before John of Gaunt took the reins again,

TOMB OF THE BLACK PRINCE IN CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

recalled Alice Perrers, arrested the Speaker of the late Parliament, and did all he could to nullify its reforms. A new Parliament was called which, so far as it could, reversed the work of its predecessor. In 1377 Edward III died, after a reign of fifty-one years. He had long outlived his usefulness and at the time of his death was practically imbecile. His good fortune in following such a weak man as Edward II, with his military successes in the earlier years of his reign, and a certain amount of personal dignity, have given him an unduly high rank in history.

164. Growth of Parliament. — The real interest of Edward's reign lies, not in the brilliant victories of Crécy (§ 154) and Poitiers (§ 159), or in the successes in Scotland, but in the

growth and development of the national feeling as shown in the political, literary, religious, and social conditions of England. The most important political feature is the increase in the power of Parliament. Practically annual sessions were held throughout the reign. The knights of the shire sat beside the representatives of the towns and greatly aided in establishing the dignity and importance of the Commons. The growing feeling of distrust toward the king made Parliament watchful of legislation, and helped to establish precedents that were very useful. The power of the Commons became greater, and, in time, the consent of both houses was necessary for legislation. As Edward's needs forced him to yield more and more, it came about that, by the end of his reign, no money could be raised by taxation except with the consent of Parliament. Furthermore, the royal ministers and officers were held responsible to Parliament and could be impeached for misconduct. These were great constitutional gains.

165. The English Language.—Another striking feature of Edward's reign is the growth in the use of the English language. The Norman influence had been so strong that Edward himself never learned to speak English fluently, and French was still the language of the court.¹ Latin was the language of the church and the universities, and French that of the law courts. By 1362 the proceedings in the law courts were ordered to be carried on in English; the dislike felt toward the French on account of the Hundred Years' War greatly decreased the use of the French tongue, and English began to be generally used for all purposes. Scarcely any attempt had been made to reproduce English speech in literary form, and the writings of Langland and Chaucer (§ 167) were at once a result and a cause of the greater use of the English language.

166. England and the Papacy.—But not only in political and literary matters was the reign of Edward III an epoch. Some of the social movements have already been noticed (§ 156), to these

¹ It is not likely that Edward I understood English.

must be added a great religious movement as well, though, as was the case with the social movements, the most important features belong to the next reign.

The Popes of Rome had, since 1309, resided at Avignon on the borders of eastern France. As they were under French influence, the English, already more than restive under the requirements of the church, became more and more averse to contributing to the expenses of the papal court. The intervention of the Pope in English ecclesiastical matters was, moreover, increasingly disliked, not so much because he was the Pope as because he was a foreigner. For a long time the bishops, abbots, and various members of the clergy had been appointed by persons who were granted the privilege by the Pope. This privilege was called the "right of provision." In 1351 Parliament passed the first Statute of Provisors, which made all persons receiving such "provisions" liable to imprisonment, and forfeited the office itself to the crown. The first Statute of Præmunire, passed in 1353, forbade any appeal to foreign courts, and punished with forfeiture and imprisonment any who should appeal.

The abuses, moreover, which had crept into the church were too evident to be denied. But the opposition to the churchmen was not wholly on account of their worldliness; many envied them their power, for they frequently held political as well as clerical positions. "In the Parliament of 1371, bishops were declared unfit to hold offices of state." Among those who were thus deprived of political office was the great William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, "who used his wealth to found (1379) at Winchester the first great public school in England," now known as Winchester College.

167. Langland and Chaucer.—That the opposition was not against the church, but against unfaithful churchmen, and that there was a real desire in England for a better life, is clearly shown by the writings of William Langland. His poem, "The Vision of Piers Plowman," first appeared in 1362. It is a satire, in the form of a vision, in which the narrator sees the selfishness of those in

power, and especially the evil practices of those who hold offices in the church. His idea is not destruction, but reform. His sympathies are wholly with the common people, though he recognizes the need of all classes to make up an ideal community, a community in which justice and right shall rule. His great contemporary, Chaucer, on the contrary, is rather the poet of the upper classes. He is neither a reformer nor a moralist. He pictures life as he sees it, and the portraits which he draws are unsurpassed for vividness and truthfulness. He is unmistakably modern in his point of view and belongs to the period that we are accustomed to call the Renaissance (§ 223). He seems to have almost equal pleasure in depicting the "poor parson of the town" whose life was an ideal one, and the wanton "wife of Bath." Still it must be said that Chaucer never makes vice attractive; he simply portrays life as it exists and leaves the reader to draw the moral lesson.

168. Ireland. 1367-1377.—The English kings had not been successful in firmly establishing their rule in Ireland. The Irish were a collection of tribes varying in their customs and laws and in the degree of their civilization. Banding together at one time against a common foe, they would at another be at enmity among themselves. The English power at no period extended much beyond the neighborhood of Dublin. The war with France took so much of the attention of the English that Ireland was practically neglected, but after the Treaty of Brétigny (§ 160) it was felt that the English interests in that island should be preserved and extended. After about six years of effort, attended with but little success, a Parliament of the English colonists was called in 1367. This body passed what is known as the Statute of Kilkenny, to define the relations which should exist between the English residents and the native Irish. A line was fixed, though it was changed afterwards from time to time, within which English customs and laws were to prevail. Englishmen living within the Pale (see map of Ireland, page 219), as it was called, were forbid-

den to use the Irish language, to marry Irish wives, or to adopt Irish customs and laws, and equally strict regulations were made regarding the Irish living within the Pale. The legislators seemed to have thought it was better to be actual rulers over a little, than nominal ones over much.

It was found impossible to enforce the statute. There was rebellion among the English settlers, and incursions on the part of the Irish were frequent; while the war with France, which had broken out at this time, made it impracticable for the English to do much in the way of organizing a strong government.

169. Richard II; Taxes. 1377.—Richard II was about eleven years old when he came to the throne. There was no opposition to his succession, and a council was appointed to govern the country until he should come of age. This included members of the opposing factions, but the king's uncles, including the Duke of Lancaster, were excluded, though this fact did not much interfere with the latter's influence with the government.

The war with France continued, the French pillaged the southern coasts of England, the English armies in France were unsuccessful, and expenses were heavy. Parliament, it is true, had granted large sums, but had limited the expenditure more strictly than had been attempted before. Taxes did not bring in so large an amount as had been anticipated, and other taxes were levied, among them a poll tax¹ (1379, 1380). This tax, laid on every one over twelve years old, was one which could not easily be evaded and was levied on rich and poor alike, and of course was relatively much higher for the poor than for the rich. Its imposition at once aroused class feeling.

170. Peasants' Revolt. 1381.—The Black Death, as we have seen (§ 157), exercised no small influence upon wages and upon the condition of the laborers, but there were also large numbers of villeins (small farmers) who had good reason for discontent. Two burdens were especially grievous: (1) the villein

¹ Parliament had laid a small poll tax (a tax on persons) in 1377.

could not plead in court against his lord, and so had no legal means of redress against injustice at the hands of him with whom he had most to do; (2) he could not legally sell the land he occupied, or leave the farm, without permission from his lord.

The legislation which had attempted to regulate labor had failed, owing to natural causes; but it had stirred up a strong class feeling which needed very little to rouse it into action. These taxes were the match that lighted the fire. The revolt began in Essex (May, 1381), and before a month had passed, it had spread through the southern counties of England. Manor houses were burnt, legal records destroyed, landlords, law officers, and others murdered, and scenes of violence enacted far and near. Before the middle of June, a large band of Kentish rebels approached London and encamped on Blackheath, about five miles from London Bridge.

John Ball, a popular preacher, and Walter Tyler, commonly known as Wat Tyler, were among the leaders. John Ball, the principal agitator, was a religious zealot who had been traveling around the country for twenty years or more preaching his doctrine of equality for all men. He attacked church and state alike, for he believed that all existing institutions were wrong. All things, he said, should be in common, and there should be neither lord nor vassal. "Are we not," he would say, "all descended from Adam and Eve?" This caught the popular ear, and the great burden of the day became:

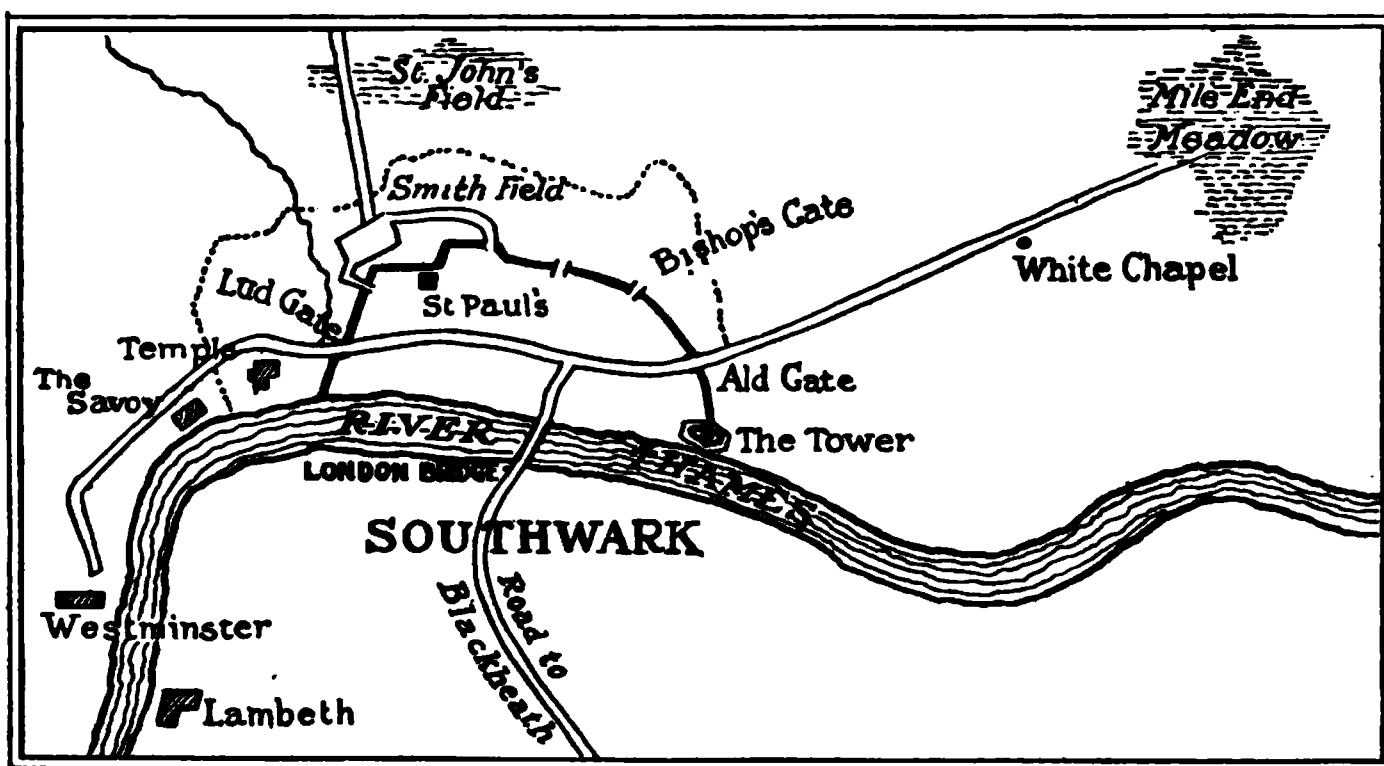
"When Adam delved and Evé span
Who was then a gentleman?"¹

171. Attack upon London. 1381. — The mob was swelled by recruits from other counties, and on the 13th of June² London

¹ John Ball had been imprisoned at Maidstone, Kent, for his attacks on the church, but had been released by the rebels a few days before, and had joined the mob in front of London. He delivered a sermon before the great gathering, taking for his text, it is said, the couplet quoted above.

² It is thought that the mob at this time numbered 100,000 men.

opened its gates. Fortunately for himself, John of Gaunt, who was the special object of hatred by the rebels, was absent in the north of England, but they burned his splendid palace of the Savoy, together with the Temple and Inns of Court, the abode of the lawyers, against whom they felt a strong grudge. The king and his followers took refuge in the Tower. Around this stronghold the mob howled, crying for the blood of their enemies. At



last the assailants agreed to retire to Mile End, if the king would meet them there on the next day and listen to their grievances. This he readily promised to do, and was as good as his word, for, the next morning, accompanied by only a small retinue, he rode to the place. He heard their complaints, agreed to their demands, and promised them charters which would carry out their wishes. "You shall never again," he is reported to have said, "be named or held for serfs."¹

While the conference was going on at Mile End, the insurgents

¹ Among the demands were: that all customary services (feudal) should be abolished; that the rent for land should be fourpence per acre; and that trading in fairs and markets should be open and free to all. At that period, almost all buying and selling in the country was carried on at fairs and markets held periodically, and tolls were levied on every bridge and roadway to the fair, and brought in a large revenue. At Winchester when the fair was held nothing but food was allowed to be sold in the city.

who had remained in London broke into the Tower and murdered Archbishop Sudbury, Hales, the Treasurer, and Legge, the collector of the poll tax, besides others.

172. Richard pacifies the Rioters. 1381. — Richard met the rioters, with Wat Tyler at their head, the next day at Smithfield. Here Tyler was struck down by the Lord Mayor and was dispatched by the king's attendants. Instantly the crowd was in an uproar, shouting, "Kill! Kill! They have slain our captain!" Richard, with a boldness and courage hardly to be expected, rode among the mob, crying: "What need you, my masters? I am your captain and your king! Follow me!" The mob was pacified, and then, overawed by the royal troops who soon came up, retired peaceably after receiving promises of redress. Thus ended the first stage in the peasant revolt of 1381. It was the first great struggle in England between labor and capital.

173. Results of Peasants' Revolt. 1381. — The nobles and wealthier classes soon recovered from their surprise and the insurrections were rigidly put down. When Parliament met, it revoked the charters granted by the king, on the ground that he was too young to be responsible for them. The ringleaders in the revolts were treated without mercy, and, to outward appearance, the laborers had gained little or nothing; in fact, for a time, their cause seemed lost. One effect of the uprising was that the wealthier classes found themselves striving together against those whom they now regarded as a common enemy. Natural causes, however, worked for the benefit of the laboring classes. Employers soon discovered that it was for their own advantage to have contented workmen, and therefore allowed privileges which, in the course of years, helped to put an end to villeinage itself.

174. Religious Conditions. — There was need of reform in religious as well as in social and political matters. While there were many self-sacrificing and truly pious men among the clergy,

such as described by Chaucer,¹ there can be no doubt that, during the latter part of the fourteenth and the earlier part of the fifteenth centuries, the spiritual state of the church was exceedingly low. Simony,² luxury and worldliness were common. The people distrusted priests and looked upon them as enemies. The influence of the clergy for good was also severely injured by an unfortunate division in the church itself, known as the Great Schism, which lasted thirty-eight years and which brought reproach upon the church and injury to true Christianity. (App. 1, § 96.)

175. Wycliffe.—One of the most remarkable men of the fourteenth century was John Wycliffe, often called the "Morning Star of the Reformation."³ In him scholastic⁴ learning and modern ideas were curi-

JOHN WYCLIFFE

After an old print

¹ A bettre preest, I trowe that nowher noon is.
He wayted after no pompe and reverence,
Ne maked him a spyced conscience,
But Christes lore, and his apostles twelve,
He taughte, and first he folwed it himselve.

— *Prologue, Canterbury Tales*. Skeat's Chaucer.

² "Simony is the act or practice of trafficking in sacred things; particularly, the buying or selling of ecclesiastical preferment."

³ He was born in Yorkshire about 1320 and was educated at Oxford. He became Master of Balliol College about 1370. He was sent as an ambassador to Bruges in 1374 to negotiate regarding papal and royal claims to grant benefices. On his return he was presented with the royal living of Lutterworth, not far from Oxford. Here he died in 1384. His name is variously spelled: Wycliffe, Wyclif, Wickliffe, Wicklif, Wiclif.

⁴ *Scholastic*, a term used to describe a needlessly minute division of a subject; a method much used in the Middle Ages.

ously combined. His character was pure, and he seems to have had an attractive personality. He had early denied the claims of the Popes to draw funds from England. His great doctrine was that all possessions were held directly from God, and that failure to obey God forfeited one's right to these worldly possessions. This implied the teaching that kings held their realms by divine right. It may have been this latter doctrine which explains how it was that John of Gaunt supported Wycliffe, and how it was that Wycliffe became a follower of John of Gaunt; though it is difficult to understand how a man like Wycliffe could have identified himself with the cause of Lancaster.

176. Teachings of Wycliffe; His English Bible. 1378.—Wycliffe believed that the abuses in the church were largely due to the connection between the church and the state, and therefore urged the clergy to confine themselves to spiritual duties and leave secular matters alone. He attacked the Friars, who had, in the course of years, lost much of their original simplicity, and who, though individually poor, belonged to rich and powerful orders. He believed in poverty, though not in asceticism, and he urged the priests to a life of active benevolence. He encouraged, if he did not himself organize, bands of preachers who went about the country preaching in the English language and addressing themselves especially to the lower classes. These men were called "poor priests." They lived upon frugal fare, and by their simplicity and earnestness did a vast amount of good.

Wycliffe, moreover, attacked church doctrines which had been generally accepted. He laid great stress on the Bible as the ground of faith, and, probably with the help of some of his friends, translated it into English.¹ Heretofore the Latin Bible had been

¹ Parts of the Bible had already been translated into English and into French, but these manuscripts were rare. Copies of the whole volume and of parts were now made especially for circulation among the people. The fact that there are still in existence over one hundred and fifty copies more or less complete indicates that a large number must have been in circulation. The translation was made from the Latin version known as the Vulgate, and not from the Hebrew and Greek texts, as were Tyndal's and King James's versions, and the Revised Version of 1881-1885.

the only one available for ordinary use, and Latin was an unknown language to the mass of the people. Wycliffe's translation was executed about 1378, and, considering the great expense of producing manuscripts, it had a large circulation. His teaching and that of his "poor priests" met a popular need, and the effect of the movement was correspondingly great. Indeed, it was said at one time that every other man one met was a Lollard,¹ as a follower of Wycliffe was called.

177. Wycliffe's Teaching in Bohemia.—The movement received much support from Richard's wife, Anne of Bohemia, who embraced Wycliffe's views. When, upon her early death (1394), her followers returned to Bohemia, they carried with them Wycliffe's doctrines and books. These were one of the sources of the great movement of John Hus in the next century (App. 1, § 98). Wycliffe died in 1384. At the Council of Constance (1414-1428) (App. 1, § 97) at which John Hus was condemned to be burned at the stake, a decree was passed denouncing Wycliffe's teaching, and ordering that his bones should be exhumed and burned and cast into a stream. This was done, and the old church historian, Fuller, thus speaks of it: "This brook did convey his ashes into the Severn, Severn into the narrow sea, and that into the wide ocean. And so the ashes of Wycliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which is now dispersed all the world over."

178. Suppression of Lollardry.—Though the Lollards were not accused of taking part in the Peasants' Revolt, it was natural that the effort to put down the social uprising should suggest the suppression of the Lollards. As a result Lollardry became almost confined to the lower classes and the tradesmen and mechanics of the towns. Owing to the severity of the laws against heresy² the Lollards kept very quiet, but they were far from being crushed

¹ The origin of the name given to Wycliffe's followers is uncertain. It seems to have come from Germany, where it was applied to those who "mumbled" church music. Others think it means "babblers," and others "heretics."

² For the medieval feeling in regard to heresy see App. 1, § 76.

out. During the reign of Henry VII (1485–1509) the increasing number of men burnt for Lollardry indicates the prevalence of its teachings, and there can be no question that Lollardry was a powerful though quiet influence until the middle of the reign of Henry VIII (§ 189).

179. Richard and the Nobles ; Lords Appellant ; “Merciless Parliament.” 1386. — The reign of Richard II was a period of strife between the nobles and the king for control. The action of the young king at the time of the attack of the mob on London had shown that he was by no means a man who could be easily led, and had revealed unexpected strength of character. After the Peasants’ Revolt, Richard, to a considerable degree, acted independently of the council by which the realm was supposed to be governed. He soon began to gather around him favorites who counseled him to assume that position of independence and high prerogative to which his natural disposition inclined him.

The war with France continued with ill success, and the French, in 1386, threatened an invasion. The men whom Richard had raised to a high place were disliked by the country ; and when Parliament demanded their removal, Richard replied that he would not dismiss a scullion from his kitchen at such a request. Times had changed, however, and it was too late for an English king to take such a position. An unacceptable minister was impeached, fined, and imprisoned, and a Commission was chosen to rule the country.

Richard released his minister as soon as Parliament adjourned. Hearing that Richard was about to maintain his position by force, the leaders of the opposition appeared with an army of 40,000 men and effectually put an end to the king’s plans. The five lords who headed this movement were called the Lords Appellant because they appealed or accused of treason Richard’s councilors. A Parliament, known as the “Merciless Parliament,” met in 1388 and finished the work of the five Lords Appellant.

180. Richard II takes the Government into his Own Hands. 1389. — Richard had submitted, it is true, but the rule of the nobles was not agreeable to the country; if the choice was between selfish nobles and a selfish king, the people preferred the latter. Without any warning of his intention, Richard, in 1389, asked his uncle before the whole council of regents, how old he was. "Your Highness," replied the Duke of Gloucester, "is in your twenty-second year." "Then," said Richard, "I must be old enough to manage my own affairs, as every beir is at liberty to do when he is twenty-one." Richard dismissed the council, and from that time began to rule alone. For the next eight years he ruled as a constitutional monarch, and the kingdom was well administered. In 1394 his wife, Anne of Bohemia, died without children. The same year Richard concluded a truce with France and Scotland for four years.

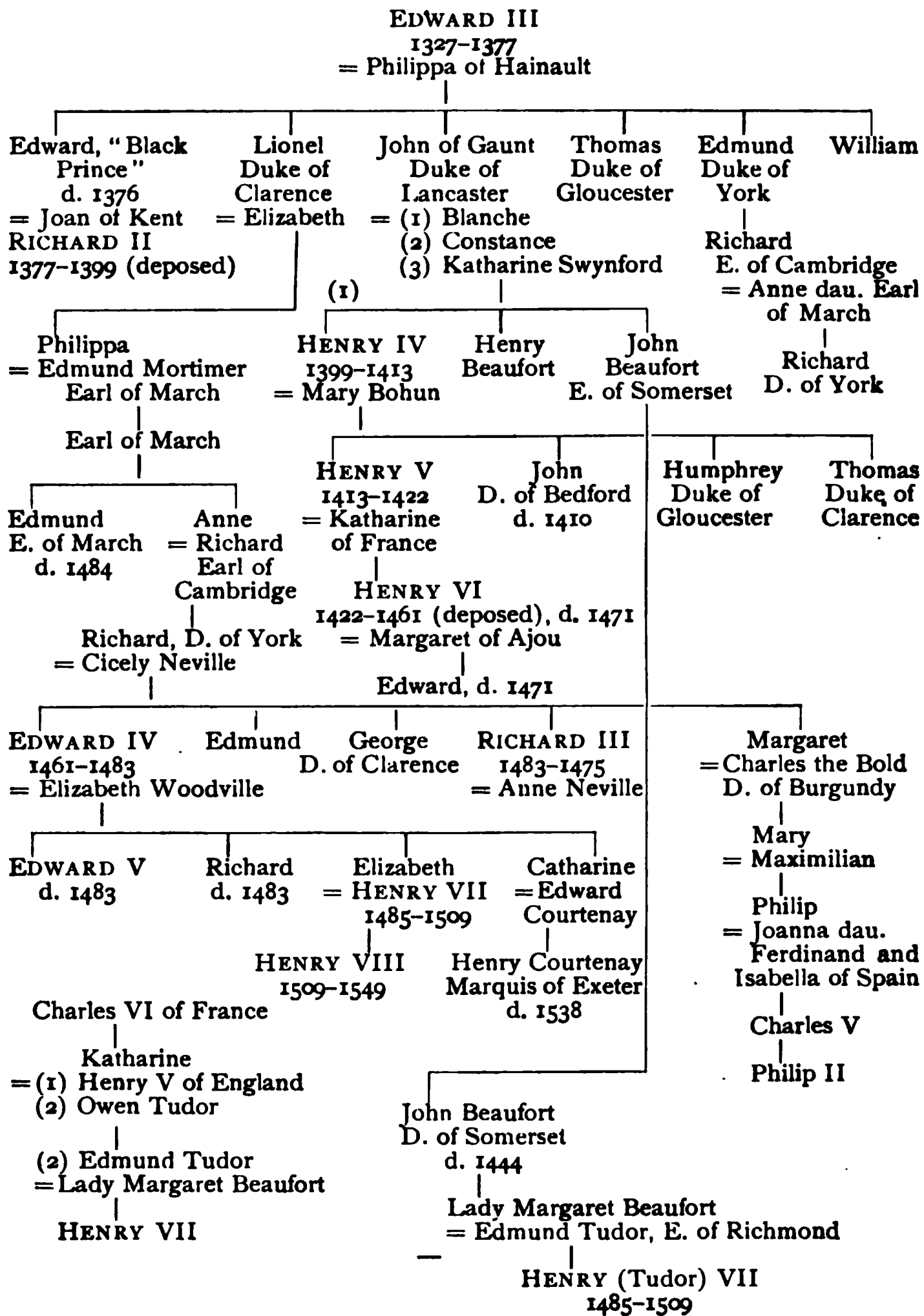
RICHARD II

After an engraving based on the original in Westminster Abbey. Probably the oldest authentic portrait in England

181. Richard an Absolute Monarch. 1397–1399. — In 1396 Richard entered upon negotiations which resulted in his marriage with Isabella, the eight-year-old daughter of the French king, when a further truce for twenty-eight years was agreed upon. From this time his character seems to have changed. He became suspicious, and began a career of absolutism and unconstitutional acts. Intimidated by a body of Cheshire archers,

the Parliament of Shrewsbury (1398) granted subsidies to the king for life, and the authority of Parliament itself was delegated

Descendants of Edward III, showing Claims of Lancaster and York



to a small committee of eighteen lords, two bishops, and six members of the House of Commons. This made the king practically an absolute monarch.

It was impossible that such a change should be made without challenge. The party of opposition found its leader in Henry Bolingbroke, Earl of Derby, son of John of Gaunt. On the death of John of Gaunt (1399), Richard had seized his lands, Henry having been banished without apparent cause, the year previous. Henry was bitter against Richard, and well fitted to lead the opposing forces. The king, meanwhile, had organized an expedition against the Irish, who were invading the lands within the Pale (§ 168). Henry landed in Yorkshire in July, 1399, first proclaiming that he came to recover his family estates which had been illegally taken from him; then that he had come to redress the wrongs of the nation. The rebellious commoners hailed him as their deliverer; one powerful noble after another joined him, and the Duke of York, whom Richard had left as regent, deserted the royal cause and went over to Henry.

182. Richard Deposed; His Death. 1400. — When Richard heard what had taken place, he strove to raise forces to resist the rebellion, but the greater part of his army disappeared in a single day, and at last he found himself almost alone in Conway castle, Wales. He was persuaded to meet Henry for conference at Flint, where he was surrounded and betrayed into the hands of his enemy. He was taken to London, confined in the Tower, and compelled to sign his abdication. When Parliament came together, the Act of Deposition with its twenty-three reasons was read, and the throne declared vacant. Henry now came forward, and in a speech delivered in English, claimed the crown by virtue of being a descendant of Henry III.¹ No dis-

¹ Henry's claim to the throne had little to support it. He was descended on his mother's side from Edmund, the younger son of Henry III. A lad, Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, who was descended from Lionel, younger son of Edward III (see Genealogy, p. 160), was the legal heir, and Richard, who was childless, had so recognized him. As has been well said: "The real importance . . .

senting voice was heard, and Henry of Lancaster became Henry IV of England, and Richard was imprisoned in Pontefract Castle, Yorkshire. The change was the work of the nobles, and the people had but little hand in it. Like the Revolution of 1688, it was almost a "bloodless revolution, for three of Richard's councilors were the only lives sacrificed."

Richard's character is a difficult one to understand. It is hard to believe that his constitutional rule for eight years was all a pretense for the sake of gaining a position which would enable him to seize absolute power. It is possible that his mind became affected, and that this led to his change of conduct; at the same time it must be confessed that all his life he was subject to great fluctuations of character. A conspiracy against Henry in favor of Richard took place early in 1400, but it was suppressed. Soon afterwards it was learned that Richard was dead.¹ To disprove ugly rumors against himself, Henry exhibited Richard's body, but as only the face was shown, it proved nothing. It is still believed that the unfortunate prisoner met his death by Henry's orders. Henry was also careful to keep the young Earl of March, the hereditary heir to the throne, in confinement during the whole reign. The young heir to the Scottish throne, Prince James, who had fallen into English hands, was also imprisoned, and was not released for about nineteen years (§ 185).

References. — Green, *Short History*, chap. v, §§ 1–5; Gardiner, *Student's History*, chaps. xvii, xviii; Terry, *History*, Part III, Book I, chaps. iv–v; Tout, *Advanced History*, Book III, chap. iv, §§ 19–28; Traill, *Social England*, Vol. II, chap. vi (in part); Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, §§ 79–105; Cheyney, *Readings*, chap. x, §§ v–vii; chap. xi, § i; Colby, *Selections*, §§ 41–43; Kendall, *Source-Book*, §§ 34–35; Lee, *Source-Book*, chap. xiii, §§ 96–98.

lay not in what Henry said, but in what he avoided saying. It was a reversion to the old right of election and to the precedent set in the deposition of Edward II."

¹ Henry gave out that Richard had voluntarily starved himself to death in Pontefract Castle, his place of confinement; but few believed this.

CHAPTER XIII

HUNDRED YEARS' WAR (*Concluded*). WARS OF THE ROSES

183. Henry IV (of Lancaster). 1399. — Henry of Lancaster was king by virtue of the authority of a Parliament controlled by the more conservative and aristocratic party of the baronage, and he knew that the only way he could maintain himself on the throne was by submission to the wishes of Parliament. The same is true of all monarchs of the Lancastrian house. They were kings by sufferance, not by divine right. Henry laid down as his policy strict obedience to law, regard for Parliament, and alliance with the church and with the nobility. We see him, then, endeavoring to suppress the Lollards (§§ 176–178), upholding the temporal power of the clergy, and, in general, opposing the movements which led toward greater freedom for the lower classes. He was a shrewd man and possessed considerable political insight; he was temperate in his habits, religious in disposition, and though not naturally vindictive, he could on occasion use stern measures to make his word respected. He had declared himself in favor of vigorous reforms, and this, together with the fact that the nearest heir by hereditary descent was a child (§ 182, note), made the country willing to accept him. It was recognized that a strong king was needed, and the country was tired of government by councils or regents. Notwithstanding this, during his reign of fourteen years Henry had his full share of conspiracies and invasions of greater or less importance.

184. Rebellions; The Percys; Owen Glendower. 1403. — A truce with Scotland expired in 1399 and the Scots assumed a hostile attitude. As it was needful to prevent them from forming

an active alliance with France, Henry invaded Scotland, getting as far as Edinburgh. He was, however, compelled to leave in order to hurry to Wales, where a rebellion to establish the independence of that country had broken out under Owen Glendower, or Glyndwr, a descendant of the old Welsh princes. The danger was increased by the outbreak of a conspiracy against Henry, in which the Percys, who were among the most powerful nobles, took part. They had been supporters of Henry, but became estranged from him, and proclaiming the Earl of March to be the rightful king, they joined Glendower as the best way of securing their ends. But in July, 1403, the Percys and their supporters were defeated at Shrewsbury, and Henry Percy, known as "Hotspur," was slain. Glendower, however, continued to hold out. In 1406 a French force landed at Milford Haven, but the French, disappointed at the weakness of their Welsh allies, returned to France, and the Welsh uprising came to an end. Glendower went into retirement and died some years later a free man.

Henry put down all conspiracies, and guarded against future ones by executing the leaders without mercy.¹ Among those who were thus executed was Archbishop Scrope of York, whose death showed clearly that Henry would stop at nothing to secure his crown.

185. Seizure of James I of Scotland, 1406 ; His Captivity.— Domestic troubles in France took away fear of that country, and difficulties with Scotland were averted through the capture by an English ship of the young son and heir of the Scottish king as he was going to France (1406 ?), ostensibly to be educated, but really to escape his uncle, who wished to gain the Scottish throne for himself. Henry kept the boy as a hostage for the good behavior of the Scots, saying that the prince should have been sent to him in the first instance, as he could speak French as well as his brother of France. Not long after this, King Robert of Scotland died,

¹ Conscious of the danger from the hereditary claims of young Mortimer, Earl of March, Henry imprisoned him in the Tower.

and the boy became James I ; but even then Henry would not let him go, and for about nineteen years the young man remained in honorable confinement at Windsor Castle. While there he fell in love with Lady Jane Beaufort, a member of the royal family. James afterwards married her, and she became queen of Scotland. James was one of Scotland's ablest rulers.¹

COURT COSTUMES IN THE TIME OF HENRY IV

186. Henry and the Church ; Heretics.—Partly from personal reasons and partly from policy, Henry supported the church. The church was active in attempting to root out heresy of all kinds. The ecclesiastical courts could condemn men as heretics, but had no power to burn them, which was considered the proper method of punishment. The bishops and abbots at this time formed a majority in the House of Lords, but though there was in the House of Commons a strong feeling against the church on account of its wealth, there was little or no sympathy with heresy.

¹ James I was no mean poet, and when in captivity composed a long poem, "The King's Quair" (King's Quire or Book). The story of his life is one of the most romantic in English and Scottish annals. His uncle, the Duke of Albany, was regent in his absence, and because he desired the throne for himself, he made little effort for the release of his nephew. Lady Jane Beaufort was a sister of John Beaufort, from whom Henry VII was descended.

So when a statute for the burning of heretics (*De haeretico comburendo*) was brought forward, it met with little opposition (1401). This was the first act of the kind passed in England. Even while it was under consideration by Parliament, a priest, William Sawtre, or Sautre, convicted of heresy by the Convocation of Canterbury, was burned alive by the order of the king. This famous statute was used against the Lollards and several suffered under it.

187. Death of Henry IV; Henry V. 1413-1422.—In maintaining himself upon the throne, Henry had been ably assisted by his young son, Prince Henry, who also took his place in the Council and showed himself as able there as on the battlefield, but there arose between him and his father a quarrel, which had not ceased at the king's death. Henry IV, who had suffered much from ill health, died in 1413 and was succeeded without opposition by his son, who became Henry V.

Henry V was twenty-five at the time of his succession. He is regarded as one of the most brilliant and popular of English monarchs. "He was temperate, chaste, and frugal, serious and consistent in his devotions, generous and courteous in his dealings with others." He spoke little, but was well educated and well informed. He was the most successful general of his time, equally good in strategy and in the campaign. His personal appearance was comely, and he was so swift of foot that it was said he could run down a deer. According to later authorities¹ his youth was wild and even dissolute, but contemporary writers make no mention of these reports.

188. Henry and Parliament.—His first acts show that he had confidence in his title to the crown, for he liberated the Earl of March, the legal heir (§ 182, note), and entered into friendly relations with him; he also brought the remains of Richard II from where they had been interred and placed them in the grand tomb

¹ It is upon these late accounts that Shakespeare bases his stories of "Prince Hal" in his "King Henry IV."

in Westminster Abbey, which Richard had prepared for himself and his queen; he ignored previous quarrels among the royal councilors, and placed in his Council members of each faction.

Recognizing the importance of conciliating Parliament, he granted the privilege that a law once passed should not in any way be changed. This was an important concession, for heretofore the text of the laws had been left to the Council to frame, and not infrequently the wording was so altered as to defeat the very purpose of the law. Parliament had gained much during the reign of Henry IV. Among the privileges of members were these: that they should not be held responsible for what was said in Parliament; that "except for treason, felony, and surety of the peace" they should be free from arrest; and that petitions to the king should

HENRY V

be speedily answered. Already Parliament named the Royal Council, controlled taxation, audited the royal accounts, and insisted that redress of grievances should precede grants of money. Indeed, rarely, if ever before, had Parliament so much power and royal recognition as during the reign of Henry V.

189. Henry and the Church; Lollardry; Oldcastle. — Henry had no sympathy with heresy, and he determined to stamp it out. The most prominent victim was Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, a knight of the west of England. Oldcastle finally surrendered himself. He boldly proclaimed his views, and refused to recant, though Henry himself, who was under obligations to him for his support of his father, begged him to do so. Oldcastle was then

handed over to the secular authority to be burnt, but he escaped, and organized a rebellion in defense of liberty of conscience. Unfortunately the Lollards answered the call. There could be but one end. The rising was promptly crushed, and many persons were put to death. Oldcastle, after being in hiding three years, was captured, hanged as a traitor, and his body burned as that of a heretic (1418).¹ Lollardry, however, was not extinguished, but its influence worked silently in favor of freedom of thought. The doctrines were widespread, and convictions for heresy continued into the reign of Henry VIII. The history of the Lollards shows that Protestantism in England had a gradual and steady growth, for the Lollards were practically Protestants before Luther.

190. Henry and France ; claims French Crown. — Henry, doubtless led by policy as well as by a strong desire for military glory, turned his attention to foreign affairs. France at this time was torn by domestic factions and wars, and her king, Charles VI, was insane. In England there were powerful barons who, unless they were employed abroad, might stir up factions against Henry ; moreover, such a war was in itself pleasing to the barons. The higher clergy also favored it because it would divert attention from them, and besides all this, the times were prosperous and the people were willing to support the king.

From a modern point of view Henry's action was wholly unjustifiable. Beyond the ravages of some privateers from Normandy during the reign of Henry IV, there was not even a plausible pretext for war, and Henry seems to have really made war chiefly for war's sake.

France, anxious to avoid a conflict, in vain offered Henry those parts of Guienne and Gascony which England had lost since 1375, and also the hand in marriage of Katherine, daughter of the French king, together with a handsome dowry. Henry laid claim to the French crown and to all the territory which England had ever

¹ See Tennyson's poem, "Sir John Oldcastle."

held in France, putting forward the same reasons which Edward III had used (§ 150).¹

191. Henry invades France; Agincourt. 1415. — Henry accordingly set out on his expedition in 1415, taking with him a small but well-equipped army. He landed near Harfleur on the Seine, which town he took after a siege of thirty days. He then marched toward Calais to join forces with the Duke of Burgundy, but was met by a French force nearly four times the size of his own, near the castle of Agincourt, not far from Calais. Here, owing to Henry's skill, to the lack of French discipline, and to the unaccountable blunders of the French general, he won a great victory (October 25, 1415), one to be placed beside Crécy and Poitiers. Agincourt, however, brought little real advantage to Henry except in the way of renown and popularity at home. He returned to England in November, and was received with enthusiasm, Parliament making him grants of revenue for life.

192. Conquers Normandy, 1417; Treaty of Troyes, 1420; Heir to French Crown. — Affairs in France were at their worst in 1417, and Henry, seizing the opportunity, landed in Normandy with twenty-five thousand troops. After a few towns had been taken, he forbade all pillage and announced that his purpose was to save the land from anarchy and to introduce order and just rule. In less than two years all Normandy fell into his hands. This would not have been possible had France been free from domestic factions. But this division of forces led to the Treaty of Troyes (May 21, 1420), by which the Dauphin (the heir to the French crown) was disinherited and Henry was recognized as the heir of Charles VI, the insane king. Henry, moreover, was to marry Katherine, the king's daughter, and be regent of France until her father's death. The English king had apparently gained all he wished; but nations cannot always be transferred by the agreement of their rulers.

¹ The claim to the crown was almost absurd, for if there was any claim whatever, it belonged to the Earl of March, who was the hereditary heir of Edward III.

193. Henry and France ; Death of Henry. 1422. — The English were hated by the French ; and though the leaders had accepted Henry, because for the time it seemed the best policy, they were in no sense loyal to him, and, in fact, Henry never controlled the greater part of France. Not long after the treaty, Henry went to England, taking his bride, Katherine, with him. He left his brother, the Duke of Clarence, to look after his interests in France, but the duke lacked skill and judgment. Henry was forced to return. He was successful in quieting France, but, stricken with disease, he died (1422) at the early age of thirty-five. Within a few weeks Charles VI also died, and thus the infant son of Henry, not yet a year old, was made king of England, as Henry VI, and, by the Treaty of Troyes, of France also.

194. Henry's Will ; The Regency, 1422 ; Bedford in France. — Henry in his will appointed regents for England and France, but the English Privy Council held that Henry's will was not binding, and authorized the calling of a Parliament. This Parliament set aside as invalid Henry's provision for regents, and appointed John, Duke of Bedford, Protector of the Realm, and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, to act in Bedford's absence.¹ As a matter of fact the Council itself, many of whose members were appointed by Parliament, held the regency, and Bedford and Gloucester had little real power.

By 1428 Bedford had made himself master of almost all France north of the Loire, except the strong and important city of Orleans ; it was plain that if he could take it, the chances would be favorable for overcoming the French heir known as Charles VII.² Bedford's forces, accordingly, laid siege to Orleans. That they were not successful is due to one of the most romantic and pathetic incidents in history.

¹ Both were brothers of Henry, though very different in character, Gloucester's character being as bad as Bedford's was good.

² He was a son of Charles VI of France.

195. Joan of Arc. 1429.—Just when the fall of Orleans seemed certain and the cause of Charles VII was at its lowest ebb, a great change took place in the fortunes of France. There was in Domrémy, a little village in eastern France, a country girl of sixteen, who has since been known as Joan of Arc, or in

JOAN OF ARC AT THE HEAD OF HER TROOPS

French, Jeanne d'Arc. She was peasant-born, but the horrors of the conflict, and the woes of her unhappy country dwelt upon her mind till her heart was full of pity for the king, whom, in her imagination, she clothed with every virtue. She came to believe that St. Michael, St. Catherine, and St. Margaret bade her go forth to save the king and to conduct him to Rheims to be anointed with the holy oil and crowned. At last, in 1429, clothed in man's armor, she rode to Chinon, where the king was, and having with great difficulty gained an audience with him, convinced him that her mission was divine. Officers and churchmen alike regarded her with suspicion, but her evident piety, her

simplicity, her faith in her mission, and the dismal condition of the king's cause made them give way, and she was allowed to accompany an army sent for the relief of Orleans. She gained the city without difficulty and inspired the garrison with such courage that the English were driven away and the siege raised. From that time she bore the name of the Maid of Orleans. The French followed up their successes under the leadership of Joan, until she saw Charles crowned king at Rheims (1427).

196. Joan of Arc Captured ; Sold to English ; Burned. 1430–1431. — The mission of Joan of Arc was now accomplished and she wished to return home, but she was persuaded to stay with the army. She urged an immediate attack on Paris, but delays were made, the affair was badly managed, and the Maid was wounded. The soldiers became jealous of her, and she no longer had the power she once possessed. Philip of Burgundy, in a skirmish captured the Maid (1430), and sold her to the English for ten thousand crowns. Charles, for whom she had done so much, made no effort to save her. She was imprisoned for about a year, and then was tried by an ecclesiastical court as a heretic and sorceress. In spite of a noble defense, she was condemned to be burned. This sentence, to the disgrace of the English, of Charles VII, and of the French churchmen who condemned her, was carried out at Rouen, May 30, 1431. "At the stake she behaved with heroic simplicity. When the flames curled round her, she called upon the saints who had befriended her. Her last utterance was a cry of 'Jesus.' An Englishman who had come to triumph hung his head for shame. 'We are lost,' he said, 'we have burned a saint.'"¹

197. Loss of France ; End of Hundred Years' War. 1453. — The disgraceful treatment of Joan of Arc did not help the English cause. Though no longer present to inspire them, she had taught

¹ In that superstitious age it was not strange that her successes were supposed to be due to witchcraft ; and this belief was confirmed, according to their ideas, by her own statements that she had heard voices urging her to save France.

the French the possibility of united action and had encouraged them by her victories, and in spite of Bedford's efforts, the English gradually lost ground. In the latter part of 1431 the English boy king, Henry VI, was brought to Paris and crowned king of France in the cathedral of Notre Dame, but Bedford did not dare to keep him in France. As the English control weakened, it was difficult to get Parliament to make grants of funds to carry on the war or to support the English rule in France. In 1435 Bedford died. Effort after effort was made to redeem the failing fortunes of the English. Burgundy deserted them in 1435; later, Paris fell into the hands of the French; by 1450 all that Henry V had gained was lost, and in a few years more (1453) all the French territories that remained to England were the Channel Islands and Calais. The Hundred Years' War with its record of victory and defeat, of glory and shame, was at last ended.

The war had brought both upon England and France untold suffering, widespread destruction of property of all kinds, and terrible loss of life. Even on the grounds of expediency, there had been little or nothing to justify the war in the beginning, and there had been still less to excuse its continuance. While it cannot be denied that some benefits resulted from the prolonged conflict, it is scarcely possible not to believe that progress and civilization were greatly checked, and what was won by blood might have been more easily and better gained by the apparently slower development which belongs to times of peace.¹ (App. 1, § 93.)

198. Henry VI. 1422.—The history of political events in England for a number of years after the death of Henry V is little more than a record of petty quarrels between the nobles who wished to control the government during the long minority of Henry VI.

Henry VI grew up to be a pious, excellent man, who was wholly out of place as a king. He came of age in 1442, and

¹ Though no formal treaty of peace was signed, the war was over. The English kings continued to call themselves kings of France until the Act of Union in 1801 (§§ 590, 591), when the meaningless title was silently dropped.

through the influence of the Earl of Suffolk was married (1445) to Margaret, daughter of René, Duke of Anjou. It was a most unfortunate marriage for the House of Lancaster, for her ill-advised council and behavior helped greatly in bringing ruin on her husband's cause.

199. Land Enclosures ; Retainers. — The labor troubles, which led to the Peasant Rebellion in 1381, had by no means settled the economic question. It is true that villeinage had almost died out. The large landholders very commonly let their land to tenants who paid money rent for it, but this practice was not very profitable, and gradually it became common to inclose land and give it up to pasturage. This system commended itself to the landlord, for it required fewer men to care for flocks and herds than to cultivate fields. On the other hand, many men were thrown out of employment, and the enclosure of what had been common land fell heavily on the tenants, as it deprived them of land that they had formerly used. The great nobles gathered many of those thrown out of work into bands of retainers, forming, in fact, petty armies.

The conclusion of the war in France brought back numbers of soldiers used to the rough campaign life of that day and accustomed to acts of pillage and ruffianism. These also found employment with the rich nobles, thus swelling the bands of retainers. The country, therefore, was in a condition to invite disorder, with a weak central government, powerful nobles at the head of armed bands, a discontented people, and justice almost unobtainable. The evil of the system of retainers was clearly seen and Parliament passed several acts designed to lessen the dangers of "livery and maintenance," as the keeping of these bands of retainers was called ; but with the inefficient government existing, it was impossible to enforce the laws. The election of members of Parliament was often a farce, as it was wholly under the control of the local sheriff or nobleman.

200. Jack Cade's Rebellion. 1450. — The discontent of the people was shown in what is known as Jack Cade's Rebellion.

This movement, though primarily of the lower classes, was supported by men from all ranks. There was a strong feeling against the government then in power under the leadership of the Duke of Suffolk.¹

Richard, Duke of York, the next heir to the throne,² had been careful not to be identified with the Cade Rebellion, though he was quite willing to gain any advantage from it. For reasons of his own he had espoused the popular cause.

The rebellion began in Kent, probably because there the misgovernment was strongly felt and the loss of France had greatly injured the trade and manufactures which had flourished in that part of the country.

Jack Cade^{*} was an Irish adventurer who claimed that he was a son of the late Earl of March. He advanced toward London at the head of thirty thousand men.

They demanded, first, the redress of grievances, — such as excessive taxation, the squandering of the revenues, the oppression of the sheriffs, illegal elections, the corruption of officials, etc., — and they finally urged the restoration of the Duke of York to power. This last was practically saying that the king was unfit to rule. A detachment of the king's forces met them, but was defeated. Henry then agreed to dismiss

HENRY VI

After the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery

¹ Suffolk had become so unpopular that he was impeached, convicted, and banished. On his way to France, he was seized and murdered.

² Richard was the son of Anne, who was descended from Lionel, third son of Edward III. Richard's father was descended from Edmund, fifth son of Edward III, so that York had a double claim upon the throne. The House of Lancaster came through John of Gaunt, fourth son of Edward III.

the treasurer and sheriff of Kent, against whom they had a special grudge. London opened its gates to the crowd, but when the rebels began to plunder houses and shops, and in spite of the king's dismissal, murdered the royal treasurer and the sheriff of Kent, the Londoners turned against the insurgents and forced them out of the city. After a fight on London Bridge, the mob agreed to retire on promise of pardon. Jack Cade, who kept a small force with him, was finally overtaken and slain by the new sheriff of Kent.

201. Insanity of Henry, 1453; Birth of an Heir, 1453; Rebellion of York, 1455; Wars of the Roses Begun, 1455.— In 1453 Henry VI became insane and a regency was needful. In the same year Queen Margaret gave birth to a son. Like the birth of a son to James II in 1688 (§ 468), it was a most undesirable occurrence for England, for it put an end to the Duke of York's claim to the throne, and made the way easier for factions to exist. York was made the protector of the kingdom in 1454, but, unfortunately, Henry regained his health. He was, however, under the influence of Queen Margaret, who was determined to drive York from power. This she succeeded in doing, and York now became the enemy of the king and resolved to regain his position by force. He collected an army and gained several powerful noblemen to his active support. He marched south and met the royal force, under Somerset, the old favorite of the king, at St. Albans, about twenty miles north of London. Here a battle was fought (May 22, 1455), in which the Yorkists were successful, and Somerset was slain. The king was taken prisoner, but the conquerors affirmed their loyalty to him and pretended to be his humble liegemen. This battle is reckoned as the beginning of the so-called Wars of the Roses, which distracted England for thirty years.¹

¹ The badge of the Yorkists was a white rose, and that of the Lancastrians a red rose. Exactly how these emblems were chosen is not certainly known. The red rose of Lancaster does not seem to have been adopted till after the struggle had been going on for some time, while the white rose appears to have been an ancient badge of the House of York. The popular tradition is given by Shakespeare in his "Henry VI," Part I, Act 2, Scene 4.

202. Peace, 1458 ; Renewal of Conflict, 1459 ; York's Success, and then Defeat and Death, 1460.—Henry pardoned York and his companions, all of whom made professions of loyalty. Henry soon had a return of insanity, and Parliament appointed York as Protector, the length of his service to be determined by Parliament itself. But Henry's attack was short, and when he resumed control, York retired. For two years there was reasonable quiet, but then hostilities began again. The Yorkists were unsuccessful, and York fled to Ireland. At Margaret's dictation a partisan Parliament of Coventry (1459) passed an act of attainder against York and his supporters, the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, the first instance of the kind in English history. This was a serious blunder, for whereas the struggle had been for control of the government, now, on the part of the Yorkists, it was for life and property and the rights of their children as well. It forced them to fight. In the same year (1459) the Yorkist earls defeated the royal army and captured the king. York now returned from Ireland and laid claim to the throne on the grounds of his birth (§ 200, note).

It was a bold claim to make after the Lancastrians had sat on the throne for three generations. The matter was debated in Parliament, which finally decided that Henry should retain the crown during his life, but that York should succeed him. Henry assented to this, but Queen Margaret had no intention of yielding the right of her son to inherit the crown, and she refused to accede to the new arrangement. She withdrew to the north, the majority of whose inhabitants were favorable to the Lancastrian cause, raised an army, met the Yorkists at Wakefield, and defeated them (Dec. 30, 1460). In the battle York himself was slain, and his head crowned with a paper crown was fastened over one of the gates of the city of York.

203. Edward, Earl of March, becomes Edward IV. 1461.—Richard's eldest son, Edward, Earl of March, only nineteen years old, now became Duke of York and the leader of the

Yorkists. Two battles were fought, in one of which the Yorkists were victors and in the other the Lancastrians. The lawlessness of Margaret's followers and the ravages and outrages which they committed greatly incensed the Londoners. When Edward reached London he was welcomed by the citizens, and, sure of support, he summoned a council of lords and declared his right to the English throne. The council thereupon deposed Henry on the grounds of bad faith and incompetency, and offered the crown to Edward. He accepted it and was proclaimed king as Edward IV (1461). He soon marched north to defend his title and his throne. He was accompanied by the Earl of Warwick, the craftiest and most powerful of the English nobles. The Lancastrian forces were met at Towton, Yorkshire (March 29, 1461) and in a battle, fought for hours in a blinding snowstorm, were routed. Margaret and her son escaped to Scotland, while Henry was taken prisoner.

204. Edward and Warwick. — The principal supporters of the Yorkist cause were the Nevilles, a rich family, the head of which was the Earl of Warwick. As Edward was only about twenty years old, Warwick naturally expected to have a controlling voice in the affairs of the kingdom. Edward, however, in 1464 secretly married Elizabeth Grey, a widow belonging to the family of the Woodvilles, and soon began to bestow political and other favors upon his wife's kindred. In various ways Edward showed that he had resolved to be his own master. At last he dismissed Warwick (1467) and thus made him his determined enemy.

Warwick, who had no son, married one of his daughters to the Duke of Clarence, a brother of Edward, and encouraged him to think that he might be placed on Edward's throne. Several risings, probably stimulated by Warwick, took place, but were put down by Edward. Warwick fled to France, where he became reconciled to Queen Margaret and made common cause with her against Edward, who was now their common enemy. King Louis XI of France supported the movement against Edward, who by his extravagance and luxury had alienated many from him.

An expedition against him led by Warwick took him by surprise, and he fled to Holland for safety (1470). Henry was again proclaimed king, but the revolution was short-lived. Edward, aided by the Duke of Burgundy, returned to England, landed in Yorkshire, and, marching toward London, met the Lancastrian forces at Barnet, a few miles from the city, where he defeated them

WARWICK CASTLE

(April 14, 1471). Warwick and several others of the Lancastrian nobles were slain.¹

205. Lancastrian Defeat at Tewkesbury; Death of Henry VI. 1471. — Edward was not yet secure, for Margaret, on the very day of the battle of Barnet, had landed in the west. Edward hastened to meet her forces, and at Tewkesbury (May 4, 1471) defeated her. Her son, now a young man of seventeen, was either slain in the battle, or murdered after it,² thus destroying all her hopes.

The last of the male Beauforts, Edmund, Duke of Somerset, was captured, and though Edward had solemnly promised him and other prisoners their lives, they were executed without mercy.

¹ Warwick was known as the "kingmaker" from the important part which he played in setting up and putting down kings.

² It was reported that the young prince was slain after the battle, in the king's presence, by Richard, Duke of Gloucester, the king's brother.

On the night of Edward's return from London, Henry VI died in the Tower (1471), put to death, it has always been supposed, by order of Edward. There was not now a single member in the House of Lancaster old enough to dispute Edward's crown; nor was there a descendant of Henry IV living; and of the Beauforts, the descendants of John of Gaunt and Catherine Swynford, the only representative was the exiled Henry, Duke of Richmond, fourteen years old, the son of Lady Margaret Beaufort and Edmund Tudor. Besides this, the slaughter among the adherents both of York and Lancaster had, for the time, removed fear of the nobility. Edward was therefore master of the situation.

206. Edward's English Policy; Continental Affairs. 1471–1475. — The king now entered upon a period which was, for the most part, one of peace. His rule was despotic, and Parliament had little real power. Parliaments, it is true, were summoned occasionally, and the king laid before them important measures, but these were almost always decided as he wished.

In 1475 Edward joined with Charles the Bold of Burgundy, his brother-in-law,¹ in an alliance against Louis XI of France, the object of which was to increase Burgundy's domains, on the one hand, and, on the other, to give Normandy and Aquitaine to Edward. The affair was well planned, and if Burgundy had been able to carry out his share of the enterprise, it would have gone hard with Louis. Fortunately for Louis, Charles was prevented from joining Edward, and the latter, in disgust, entered into a treaty with Louis, the shrewdest monarch of his time. Louis calculated what the war would probably cost and then offered to buy Edward off. His proposition was accepted, and Edward returned to England without striking a blow. (App. 1, § 93.)

207. Benevolences. — In raising money for the prosecution of war with France a new method of securing funds was employed. This was the system of "benevolences." The king would send or

¹ Edward had in 1468 married his sister Margaret to Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy.

go to a wealthy noble or gentleman and ask him of his free will or "benevolence" to give him a sum of money. There was no pretense of repayment; but the gift, so called, was generally obtained, as to refuse might mean confiscation of the whole of one's fortune. This unconstitutional system of gaining funds apparently was not protested against, partly because the people were indifferent, as it saved them from taxation and affected only the rich, and partly because even for the rich it was better to endure such injustice than to run the risk of bringing back the horrors of civil war.

Edward was little inclined for war, and with the exception of his expedition to France and a brief campaign against Scotland, the last twelve years of his reign were peaceful. A few years before his death he charged his brother, the Duke of Clarence, with treason; the charge was sustained, Clarence was condemned, and was confined in the Tower, where he was secretly murdered.¹

208. Death of Edward IV, 1483; His Character.—Edward IV, though inferior to many of his predecessors, was a strong man, bold, unscrupulous, cruel, and shrewd, rather than brilliant. His personal habits were coarse and sensual, but he encouraged art and literature as well as commerce and manufactures. That he was tolerated is due to the fact that all classes realized the need of a strong hand at the helm, preferring his despotism to the chaos and misery they had endured under his immediate predecessors.

Edward IV died in 1483 at the early age of forty-two, worn out with dissipation. He left three children—two sons and a daughter.

209. Edward V, 1483; Richard, Duke of Gloucester, Protector; Richard III, 1483.—The eldest son of Edward, who was but thirteen, succeeded him as Edward V. England with good reason had learned to shrink from the rule of regents and

¹ This was the Clarence who went over to Warwick and later married his daughter, and still later deserted Warwick at the battle of Barnet, and so helped to ruin Warwick's cause. Clarence was a worthless renegade, the "false, fleeting, perjured Clarence," as he was called; but the spectacle of one brother openly and personally charging another with crime and then causing him to be put to death, was revolting even to that rough age.

protectors. The king's brother, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, who had always been trusted by Edward, was appointed Protector by the Royal Council.

Richard immediately began to scheme for his own advancement to the throne. He caused the little king and his brother to be seized and put into the Tower on the pretense of safe keeping, and on June 25, 1483, a partisan Parliament proclaimed Richard king, and the next day he was crowned as Richard III. Not long after this time the little princes in the Tower, sons of Edward, were put to death, it has always been believed by the express command of Richard himself. The fact of the murder was not known at first, but by

RICHARD III

After a contemporary portrait

degrees the story was spread abroad and excited universal indignation.¹ Richard rapidly lost popularity, and though he really governed well, his skill did not avail. Misfortunes came upon him. In 1484 his only son died, and the next year, his wife.

210. Henry Tudor; Battle of Bosworth Field; Death of Richard III. 1485. — Meanwhile, Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond (see Genealogy, p. 160), the Lancastrian claimant of the throne (§ 205), was on the Continent, laying plans for the invasion of England. In July, 1485, he landed at Milford Haven, Wales, and marched across England with his forces constantly increasing by new adherents, for the feeling that the king's cause was lost was now very general. Henry met the royal forces at Bosworth

¹ The exact fate of the little princes was unknown for about thirty years, then a man acknowledged that they had been smothered, and that their bodies had been buried under a stone at the foot of a staircase. Two hundred years later two small skeletons were found in the place indicated.

Field, in the very center of England (August 22, 1485). Richard fought desperately, but could not count on his own supporters. One of these, Lord Stanley, went over to Henry at the beginning of the battle, while others stood aloof. Richard was killed on the field and his cause was lost. Richard had worn his crown in the conflict, and after the battle Lord Stanley, amid shouts of "King Henry," put it upon Richmond's head.

211. Henry VII. 1485.—Henry had little or no claim to the throne by hereditary right.¹ He did not attempt to justify himself on that basis. Parliament, ignoring hereditary claims, accepted the situation by declaring that the inheritance of the crown was to "rest and abide in King Henry VII and his heirs." "He was chosen to vindicate no theory of hereditary or other abstract right, but to govern with a firm hand, to give peace within his gates, and prosperity unto his people."

Henry owed his success to a combination of nobles who were tired of war and wished for peace. They included men of opposite parties who now saw that an easy way of ending the conflict would be for Henry to marry Elizabeth, daughter and only surviving child of Edward IV, who represented the Yorkist claims. But Henry, unwilling for his kingship to depend solely upon his wife's claim, secured recognition from Parliament, and also from the Pope. Then he married Elizabeth, who was about twenty years old (1486), thus uniting the claims of York and Lancaster and securing the support of the adherents of each party. But it was Henry's ability and shrewdness which made his throne secure. Circumstances were favorable for a man who could take advantage of them, and Henry's intelligence and readiness stood him in good stead.

212. Effects of the Wars of the Roses; Social and Economic Changes.—With the battle of Bosworth Field the Wars of the

¹ On the hereditary principle the daughter of Edward IV; the children of Lionel, Duke of Clarence; and Lady Margaret Beaufort, Henry's own mother, had prior claims. Indeed Henry could claim only through his mother. It is true that there had been no queen regnant, but Matilda had been crowned and the justice of her claim was admitted by the succession of her son as Henry II.

Roses ended (1455–1485). The whole land, weary of the wars and bloodshed of thirty years, was ready for a change. “These wars were set on foot by causes not peculiar to England. They were part of a general European movement which was the struggle to end the anarchy which accompanied feudalism, and replace it by strong and efficient monarchies.”

The conflict had been chiefly between the great nobles supported by their retainers ; the people, as a whole, did not take an active share in the struggles ; this is shown by the comparatively small number of men who took part in most of the battles. While the Wars of the Roses destroyed the old nobility, they did not prevent the development of the other classes. The social and economic changes, which had begun long before, continued, and the close of the struggle revealed the growth of the towns, the development of commerce and manufactures, and the advance in the condition of the working classes. It was, indeed, during this period that the foundations of England’s commerce were securely laid, and it saw the beginning of that passion for material prosperity which has so often controlled English political action. English merchants interfered with the monopoly hitherto held by the merchants of the Hanseatic League,¹ and exported and imported goods themselves, establishing a direct and profitable trade with the Continent. At first these “adventures” were made by the towns, but later by individuals or companies. In this way it came about that by the close of the fifteenth century almost all of England’s foreign trade was carried on in English vessels, and a company of trained seamen was brought into existence.

Naturally literature had not flourished. Though it was the time of the Renaissance in Italy, the movement had comparatively little effect upon England, for the upper classes were engrossed with wars, and the middle classes with a desire to increase their wealth

¹ The Hanseatic League was a powerful commercial league of German cities through the hands of which most of the produce of northern Europe and Russia reached England. (App. I, § 68.)

and to take advantage of the new avenues for trade which were opening before them. The universities were still laboring under restrictions which had been placed upon them in the old Lollard days, and the church was keen against heresies. What really brought about a change in England was chiefly due, not to individuals, as was the case in Italy, but rather to the introduction of printing, which scattered the new learning far and wide.

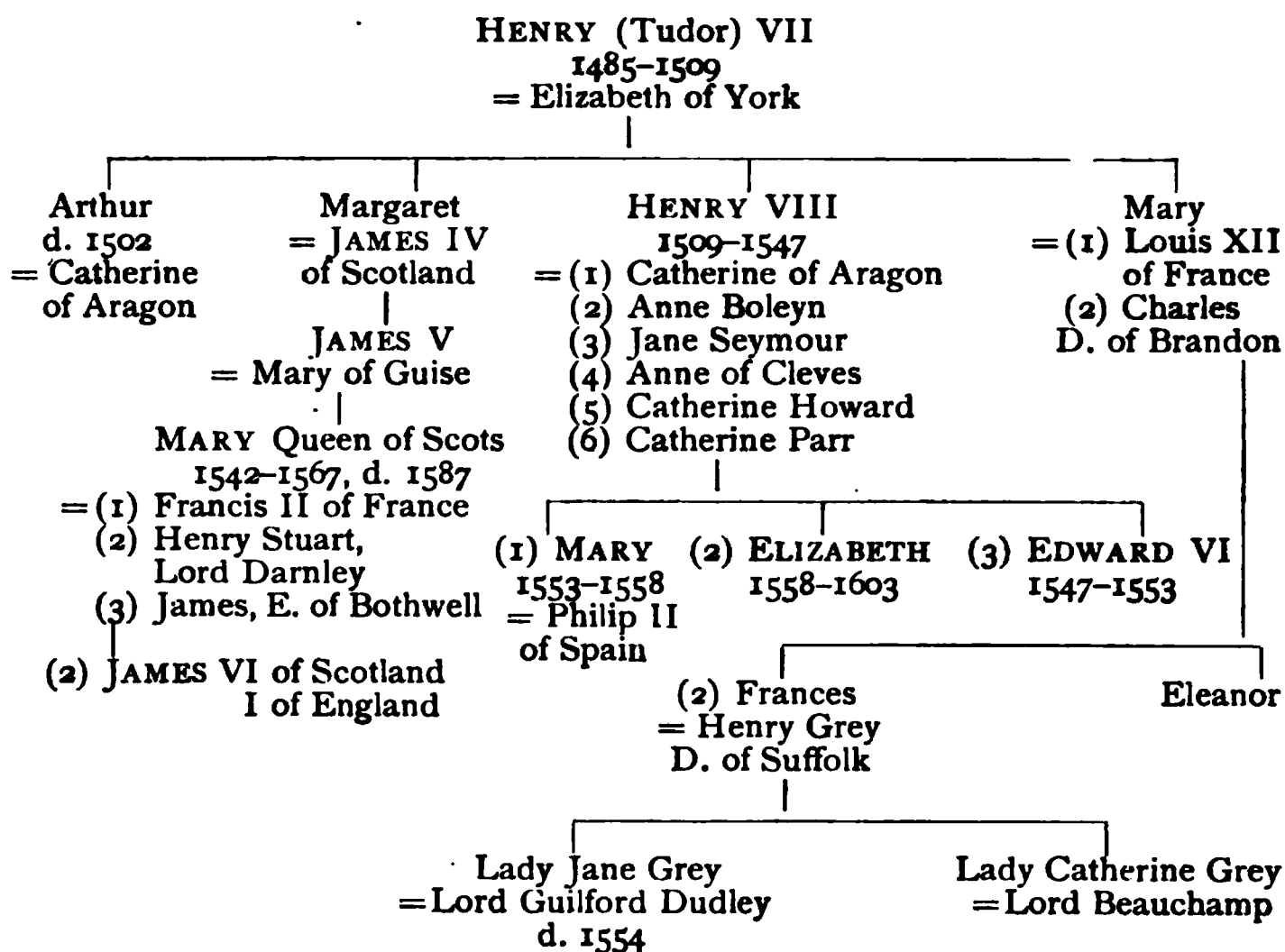
Ene beganne agayne the bataylle of the one par
te/ And of the other Eneas stayed to them, and
sayd. Lordes why doo ye fyghe/ Ye knowe well
that the comenauite ys deuyed and made/ That Eur-
nus and I shall fyghe for you alle/

FACSIMILE OF PART OF CAXTON'S *ÆNEID*

213. Printing in England; Caxton's Press. 1476. — Printing by means of blocks had been known in England as early as the time of Edward III (1350), but, as elsewhere, it did not have much influence. During the reign of Edward IV, William Caxton, an Englishman who had lived in Flanders, introduced the new method of printing from movable types. (App. I, § III.) On the Continent he had already printed in English *The Game and the Play of Chesse*. Under the patronage of Edward IV he set up his press in 1476 at Westminster, near where the Houses of Parliament now are. Here he issued Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, the *Morte d'Arthur* of Malory, and many other works, for the demand was large. He was a translator as well as a printer, and translations of Vergil's *Æneid* (from a French version), the *Golden Legend*, *Sayings of the Philosophers*, and other works appeared from his pen. He not only preserved much that otherwise might have been lost, but he exercised a vast influence on literature by bringing these works into circulation when a national literature was in process of formation, and helped thereby to fix the English language in the form in which it has survived.

References. — Green, *Short History*, chap. v, § 6, chap. vi, §§ 1–3; Gardiner, *Student's History*, chaps. xix–xxii; Terry, *History*, Part III, Book I, chaps. vi–viii; Tout, *Advanced History*, Book IV, chaps. i–v; Gairdner, *Lancaster and York*, Selections and chaps. xi, xii; Traill, *Social England*, vol. II, chaps. vi–vii; Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, §§ 105–133; Cheyney, *Readings*, chap. xi; Colby, *Selections*, §§ 44–48; Kendall, *Source-Book*, §§ 37–43; Lee, *Source-Book*, §§ 99–103.

The Tudors



CHAPTER XIV

THE BEGINNING OF MODERN ENGLAND ; THE TUDORS

214. Beginning of Modern England ; The Tudors.— During the latter part of the fifteenth century feudalism in Europe was rapidly disappearing, petty states were giving way before large ones, people and nobles were beginning to learn the advantage of unity and peace, and to see that the welfare of the nation was superior to that of any party or faction. The new movement was equally apparent in England. Men were weary of civil war, anarchy, and factional quarrels. Though Parliament had sought to limit the power of the crown, it was itself unable to rule. To escape anarchy the Englishman was ready to grant almost any power to “a firm and masterful hand.” It is this fact which explains the almost despotic rule of the Tudors.

215. Character of Henry VII ; His Policy.— Henry VII was a thrifty, almost niggardly, man, shrewd, suspicious, and cautious, with a cool head and far-sighted wisdom. He was reserved and dignified, and his tastes were both artistic and literary ; a lover of architecture, his magnificent memorials, the Henry VII chapel at Westminster Abbey and King’s College chapel at Cambridge, show that on occasion he could spend money liberally. He was not fond of war, probably on account of its cost rather than from any higher motive, and avoided it as much as possible. He had that most valuable quality of a ruler — the ability to choose skillful advisers.

Henry placed before himself two main objects which were closely connected : (1) the firm establishment of himself and his family upon the throne ; and (2) the destruction of the power of the great nobles. The first he helped greatly by his marriage

with Elizabeth Woodville (§ 211) and by crushing two revolts of the Yorkist party.

216. The Simnel and Warbeck Rebellions. 1487-1492. — In 1487 a man named Lambert Simnel, pretending to be the Earl of Warwick, whom Henry had imprisoned, set on foot a rebellion. The movement was begun in Ireland. He was supported by many in England, even by the queen's mother, Elizabeth Woodville, and was aided by Margaret, the widow of the Duke of Burgundy, sister of Edward IV, who was always ready to injure the Tudors. Henry, however, was prompt in meeting the insurgents, defeated them, took Simnel a prisoner, pardoned him, and gave him a place as scullion in the royal kitchen.

Still another rebellion, far more important than that of Simnel, took place in 1492. This time the one personated was a son of Edward IV, the little Duke Richard, who had been murdered in the Tower (§ 209). Perkin Warbeck, this pretender, also made his first appearance in Ireland, and from there went to France, where he was kindly received by Charles VIII. He went next to Margaret of Burgundy, who not only welcomed him, but also recognized him as her nephew. Perkin Warbeck was a Fleming, of fine presence, attractive in his manners, well educated, and suited to the position which he claimed. The importance of the Warbeck conspiracy lies in the fact that it offered a chance for all of Henry's enemies to attack him. Ireland, Scotland, and Burgundy welcomed the coming of Warbeck.

Henry with characteristic shrewdness made a treaty with France, thus detaching that country from Warbeck, and later by removing trade privileges from the Flemings he withdrew the support of Burgundy. He also determined to strike at the English conspirators so hard that no doubt of his purpose could be left in men's minds. The head of the movement appeared to be Sir William Stanley, whose desertion of Richard III on Bosworth Field contributed more than anything else to Henry's victory. Like many another traitor he had come to repent of his work and

HENRY VII CHAPEL, WESTMINSTER ABBEY

tried to undo it. Henry had him seized, tried, and executed. How far the evidence justified this action is not known, but the effect intended by the king was secured, for the Yorkist faction was thoroughly intimidated.

Warbeck now made an attempt upon England from the Continent, but being unsuccessful, he fled to Ireland, and afterwards to Scotland. Here he was welcomed by James IV, acknowledged as Edward's son, and given a wife of the nobility. After two years

he went to Cornwall, where there was considerable disaffection against Henry on account of heavy taxation. Warbeck obtained some support, but after an unsuccessful attack upon Exeter he lost heart and took refuge at Beaulieu in the New Forest. He was captured, brought to London, and having confessed his fraud, was sent to the Tower. Here he was well treated, but in an attempt to escape, in company with Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, the only remaining Yorkist of the royal male line, the two young men were captured. Both were executed (1499).¹ This was the last serious attempt to dispossess Henry of his throne.

217. Henry and Ireland; Poynings Acts, 1494.—Henry, an active and alert man, was always alive to the needs and possibilities of his kingdom. The ease with which Simnel and Warbeck had gained support in Ireland showed clearly how little English rule amounted to in that island. Henry accordingly sent as deputy Sir Edward Poynings, who had been his trustworthy companion in exile. Poynings first gained control of the Pale (§§ 168, 181) and then called an Irish Parliament, which, in obedience to his compulsion, passed a series of acts, known as the Poynings Acts (1494): (1) that the consent of the English king and council was necessary for the summoning of an Irish Parliament; (2) that all bills considered by an Irish Parliament must have been previously considered by the English Parliament; (3) that the laws of the English Parliament were binding upon Ireland.² This arrangement was not very successful, and Henry, recalling his deputy, sent back (1496) the Earl of Kildare, whom he had displaced for Poynings.

218. Henry and the Nobles.—Henry attacked the power of the great English nobles by laws against the maintenance of large bands of retainers. These laws he was fortunately strong enough

¹ As Warwick had been in confinement since he was ten years old, he could not have been guilty of very serious offenses. Henry simply wished to put him out of the way; this was, however, Henry's only judicial murder.

² It should be remembered, however, that this legislation was only for those who lived within the limited area of the Pale, who were chiefly English.

to enforce. One of his chief supporters at Bosworth Field (§ 210) was the Earl of Oxford. The king on one occasion paid him a visit, and when the royal visitor took his leave, he was amazed at the large retinue of men drawn up in his honor. The king said, "My lord, I thank you, but my attorney must speak to you." Oxford was fined £15,000 for his display, a sum equivalent to ten times that amount at present values. By such actions Henry not only secured large sums of money, but at the same time weakened the power of the nobility, and greatly diminished the likelihood of civil war.

HENRY VII

After the portrait in the National
Portrait Gallery

219. The Star Chamber. 1487. — From very early times it was customary for the king to have a body of advisers known as the Royal Council or the Great Council. The power and functions of this body had varied with the varying circumstances of the country. At the time of Simnel's conspiracy Henry secured from Parliament an act which set apart five members of the Council and two judges whose special business was to decide upon cases relating to the great nobles, such as the maintaining of bands of retainers, or any interference with the course of justice, and to deal with cases which local juries or common law courts were too weak to handle. Complaints were heard at Westminster (London), and judgment, which extended to fine and imprisonment, was given by the court without a jury. The court sat in a room known as the Star Chamber,¹ and hence received that name.

¹ The origin of the name of the room is uncertain. It is "so called, either because the roof was decorated with stars, or because it was the room in which had

That the court exercised a good influence and was popular in its early days is undoubted, but it afterwards became an instrument of tyranny (§ 369). Henry also reorganized the courts to the advantage and protection of the great middle classes upon whom he relied for his support.

220. Henry VII and the Finances. — Henry's management of the finances of the country was shrewd and wise. Every source of income was carefully examined and made to produce as much as possible. Officials were held to a rigid account of receipts and payments, and every avenue of expenditure was closely watched to cut off unnecessary outlay. Henry, moreover, avoided that fruitful source of expense, foreign wars. Besides the regular methods of raising revenue he employed others, some of which, strictly speaking, were illegal. Among them he made use of benevolences¹ (§ 207). In collecting these benevolences Archbishop Morton, who was Henry's Chancellor, is said to have invented a new method of forcing money out of the wealthy, known as "Morton's Fork."² If a man reputed to be wealthy lived economically, he was told that he must have saved money, and therefore could afford to give to the king; on the other hand, a man living in fine style was told that if he could afford to live so handsomely he could well spare some of his wealth for the king. Besides this, old feudal dues were sought out and demanded; and Henry even went into commerce and added to his wealth in that way. By this course he not only secured funds, but was enabled to rule without Parliament, for at this period perhaps the chief function of Parliament was to make money grants. The fact that he summoned Parliament only seven times during his whole reign of twenty-four years indicates the success of his policy.

been formerly kept Jewish bonds or 'starres.'" The court sometimes numbered among its members bishops and heads of colleges.

¹ The statute abolishing benevolences passed during the reign of Richard III was ignored by Henry on the ground that it was passed by a usurper (§ 209).

² Notwithstanding tradition it is doubtful whether Morton is really to be credited with the invention of "the fork."

221. Henry VII and Foreign Affairs. — Henry was as careful in his administration of foreign affairs as in his domestic management. His object above everything else was to maintain peace. When war seemed inevitable, he was always ready to come to terms if such could possibly be accepted. The great powers on the continent of Europe at this time were Spain and France. The true policy of England was to keep aloof and watch her opportunity to take advantage of the quarrels of her neighbors; but to be in alliance with some continental power was thought essential.

222. Henry VII and Foreign Marriages; Prince Henry and Catherine of Aragon. 1505. — Henry strove to increase his own power and that of England by the marriage of his children. His eldest son, Arthur, was contracted to Catherine of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain (App. 1, § 89); and his eldest daughter, Margaret, was married to James IV of Scotland.¹

Princess Catherine came to England in 1501 and was married to Prince Arthur, who was then about fourteen. The next year Arthur died, and her father and mother proposed that she should marry Henry's next son, Henry, who was about eleven years old, and six years younger than Catherine. They argued to themselves that Henry would never repay the half of Catherine's marriage portion which had already been sent, and that all that they would have to do would be to complete the original portion. Henry, fearing lest the half already received might be demanded from him, willingly accepted the proposition. A dispensation from the Pope (Julius II) was obtained (1503), but when the time for the betrothal arrived (1505) young Henry privately made a formal protest against the future marriage, doubtless instructed thereto by his wily father.

223. The Renaissance in England; Erasmus; Colet; More. — It was during Henry's reign that the revival of letters, or Ren-

¹ This marriage, through her great grandson, James VI, led to the union of the crowns of England and Scotland on the death of Queen Elizabeth.

aissance, first strongly affected English life and thought. (App. 1, § 113.) Many young Englishmen visited Italy, the center of the learning, and brought back with them books and new ideas, and new aspirations as well. Scholarly Italians came to England with stimulating effect. Greek was introduced at the universities, and three men, Grocyn, Linacré, and Colet were all teachers of it. John Colet was appointed Dean of St. Paul's, London, and founded St. Paul's school, which still flourishes; and Linacre was appointed tutor to the Prince of Wales. From this time education took a fresh start in England. Another man to whom England owed much was Erasmus, a continental scholar, who first came to England in 1498. He resided for a time at Oxford, later at Cambridge and at London, and frequently visited England in after years, keeping up his friendship with the English scholars.

The flower of English culture in the latter part of Henry's reign was Sir Thomas More. Colet, Erasmus, and More, known as the Oxford Reformers,¹ were the pioneers in the advancement of learning and true education in England.

224. The Cabots. 1497. — Henry, though a strong supporter of commerce and trade, declined to assist Columbus in his efforts to raise funds for his first voyage. (App. 1, § 112.) Later, however, Henry gave John Cabot and his son Sebastian leave to undertake a voyage westward and in the name of the English crown to take possession of any lands that they might discover. The expedition sailed in 1497 from Bristol, then

CABOT MEMORIAL TOWER

Erected at Bristol, England, in memory of the first sailor from England to visit America

¹ So called because the movement began at Oxford with John Colet.

the second largest port of England. The Cabots reached Cape Breton and Labrador, thus discovering the continent of North America. They brought back little but the record of their discovery. An entry in the royal accounts reads, "Ten pounds to him that found the new Isle." In 1498 the Cabots made a second voyage to America, extending their explorations perhaps as far as Albemarle Sound.¹ The English paid little attention to these discoveries at the time, but later upon them based their claims to North America.

225. Death of Henry VII; Henry VIII. 1509.—Henry died in 1509, leaving to his son a secure throne, a full treasury, a strong and well-organized, though scarcely a constitutional, government, and a peaceful and prosperous people. No king in England for years had come to the throne under such favorable auspices as did Henry VIII. He was eighteen years old, tall, well formed, athletic, and an adept in all the manly sports of the day. He was pleasant in his manners, skilled in music, and well educated. Indeed "no previous king had been so well educated; he knew Latin, French, Spanish, and some Greek." He sympathized with the new learning, and scholars and people alike rejoiced at his accession. Soon afterwards (1509) he married Catherine of Aragon, the widow of his brother Arthur, to whom he had been so long betrothed. This marriage had momentous consequences. Henry's reign falls into two clearly defined periods: that in which Wolsey was his great minister (1509–1529); and that in which Henry for the most part ruled for himself (1529–1547).

One of the first acts of Henry was to send to the Tower two men, Empson and Dudley, who had been his father's agents in collecting money. They were tried and convicted, not of illegally forcing money payments, of which they may have been guilty, but of conspiracy against the crown. This act was an object

¹ What part Sebastian Cabot, the son, took in these enterprises is uncertain. The value of money at that time was perhaps ten times as much as at present, so ten pounds was no small sum.

lesson which showed that the worst offense which could be committed was one against the king.

Henry enjoyed spending money as much as his father had delighted in hoarding it, and for the first few years of his reign fêtes, tournaments, masquerades, balls, and the like followed one another rapidly.

226. Foreign Affairs ; Rise of Wolsey. — Continental affairs soon began to attract Henry's attention, and in 1511 Pope Julius II induced him to attack France because the Pope wished to drive the French out of Italy. There was still in England a strong feeling against France, and no objection was made to Henry's plans ; in fact, many of the younger generation were more than ready for a war. Henry found a minister in Thomas Wolsey, one of the most interesting as well as one of the most able men in English history.

Wolsey was of humble though respectable birth,¹ and afterwards was often reminded of his humble origin. He was a Bachelor of Arts of Oxford when he was but fifteen, and had risen rapidly until he reached the post of king's almoner.² Although trained for a churchman, he had a remarkable aptitude for diplomacy and for organization, which made him equally fit for the church council, the king's council, or the army board. He had accompanied Henry in an expedition to France, had gained his confidence, and had become his most trusted adviser.

227. Scotland ; Flodden Field, 1513 ; France. — In 1513, while Henry was in France, James IV of Scotland, notwithstanding the fact that Henry was his brother-in-law (§ 222), invaded the north of England, but his army was overthrown by the Earl of Surrey at Flodden Field (September 9, 1513), and he, with the

¹ His father was reported to have been a butcher, and one of the squibs against his son reads :

“ Begot by butchers, but by bishops bred,
How high his honor holds his haughty head.”

There seems to be little or no ground for this tradition, for the older Wolsey appears to have been a merchant or grazier of the town of Ipswich.

² *Almoner*, the distributor of the king's alms or bounty.

flower of Scottish nobility, was slain. This took away all danger of a northern invasion for twenty years, as James's son was a child. Wolsey had not favored the Spanish alliance, though he had carried out Henry's wishes. Henry, however, found that Maximilian and Ferdinand were using him solely for their own advantage. Louis XII of France was very ready to come to terms with Henry, and, as this policy was in accord with Wolsey's views, an understanding was soon brought about. A marriage was arranged between Henry's younger sister, Mary, and Louis XII¹ (1514), and the French also agreed to pay a large sum of money to the English. Unfortunately for the permanence of the plans,

HENRY VIII

After the portrait by Holbein

Louis XII died a few months after the marriage, and was succeeded by his cousin and son-in-law, known as Francis I.

228. Continental Affairs; Wolsey's Policy.—The death of Louis broke up the alliance between France and England. Francis soon invaded Italy and gained a great victory (Marignano,

¹ The Princess Mary protested bitterly against this arrangement, as she wished to marry Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. All she could gain from her brother was the promise that if she married this time to please him, she might marry next time to please herself. After the death of Louis (1515), who was her senior by thirty-four years, she married Brandon while still in France, so as to give her brother no opportunity of going back on his word. From her was descended the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey (§§ 268, 269, 275).

September 13–15, 1515). Ferdinand of Spain died early in 1516 and was succeeded by his grandson Charles. The three most powerful monarchs in Europe were Charles of Spain, Francis of France, and Henry of England, all of them under thirty, and each one able and ambitious. A strife for the mastery in European affairs was inevitable. Wolséy's policy for England was peace, and to preserve this he strove to maintain what was called in later times "the balance of power in Europe."¹ But Wolsey's plans were thwarted by the death of Maximilian, the Emperor of Germany (1519), for Charles, Francis, and Henry immediately became competitors for the imperial crown. Henry had no chance, and doubtless was well aware of the fact, but he wished to assume an important position in European politics. (App. 1, § 123.)

— **229. Charles of Spain elected Emperor, 1519; Visits Henry, 1520.**—After some scheming on all sides, Charles of Spain, a grandson of the late emperor and of Ferdinand and Isabella, was chosen (June 28, 1519) and became Charles V of the German or Holy Roman Empire. He was about twenty-one, and the ruler, real or nominal, of more extensive dominions than any one since Charles the Great.²

Wolsey strove to hold both Francis and Charles in the position of seeking alliance with England. Francis was readily influenced because he feared the great power of Charles; and an alliance with Henry was desired by Charles to prevent the union of the forces of France and England. Wolsey, therefore, arranged that Henry should meet both Charles and Francis. Charles came to England in May, 1520, and met Henry at Canterbury.

✓ **230. Field of the Cloth of Gold.**—Henry went to France in the same year (1520) and met Francis near Calais. Here was a continual round of feasting, tournaments, and the like, carried on with such an amount of display and magnificence that the place was

¹ The principle in this policy is "such an adjustment among sovereign states that no single state is in a position to interfere with the independence of the rest." This is often interpreted to mean "existing conditions should remain as they are."

² He is said to have had, by virtue of his many possessions, seventy-five titles.

called the Field of the Cloth of Gold. The expressions of good will and friendship exchanged did not amount to much, for shortly afterwards Henry and Charles met again, and a treaty between them was signed.¹

War soon broke out and, in spite of Wolsey's efforts, England and Charles V formed an active alliance, an English army taking the field against France (1522). Henry gave as a reason for his

THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD

After the painting in the Royal Collection at Hampton Court Palace

action that his commercial interests in Flanders, one of Charles's provinces, made the alliance necessary. Charles was successful in his campaign, defeating Francis and taking him prisoner at Pavia, Italy (February 24, 1525),² but, though he was victor, he had alienated both Henry and Wolsey by his evident duplicity. (App. I, § 123.)

231. Wolsey at the Height of his Power. — Wolsey was now at the height of his power. His surroundings were magnificent; he had from three hundred to eight hundred attendants; his palace at Hampton Court was equal to those of royalty; and his revenue

¹ It should be remembered that Henry's wife was Charles's aunt.

² It was after this battle that Francis, in writing to his mother to announce his defeat, used an expression which has come down to us in the form, "All is lost save honor."

was princely. He was Bishop of Tournai, Bishop of Lincoln, Archbishop of York, Cardinal of the Church, Chancellor of the Kingdom, and Papal Legate, all at the same time. His state and his manner of life went beyond even the lax morals of that day.

Wolsey, though a high official in the church, seems to have looked upon the church chiefly as a useful part of state machinery. Still, he was well aware that some reformation of the church was certainly coming, and though he was opposed to Luther, he saw that it would be wiser to take some steps toward reformation himself rather than have it forced upon the country. Accordingly, with the acquiescence of both king and Pope, he dissolved a number of small monasteries and applied their revenues to the support of education. In this way Cardinal College was founded (1524), which, under the name of Christ Church, is now the largest college at Oxford.

Wolsey's success made for him many enemies, and their number was increased by his haughty manners, and by what he did both of his own will and by command of the king. Much of his unpopularity was due to the taxation required by the French war.

232. Wolsey and Parliament. 1523.—Wolsey was a firm believer in absolute monarchy, and this was one reason why he was able to retain the favor of Henry for so long a period, absolutism being the cardinal doctrine of all the Tudors. Hitherto Henry and Wolsey had avoided calling Parliaments, but now it seemed needful to summon a Parliament to grant funds, which Wolsey seems to have thought was its only function. The Parliament met in 1523, but was by no means inclined to grant the immense sum which was demanded. Wolsey "had been so busy in managing emperors and kings that he had forgotten how to deal with his own countrymen," and most unwisely and unwarrantably entered the House of Commons in an effort to intimidate its members. He was met by a stubborn silence, the Commons refusing to discuss his demands in his presence. He retired in humiliation, and finally received only about half of the sum asked

for. After the battle of Pavia (§ 230), money was again needed, but recourse was now had to a forced loan which resembled the old benevolences, and was called at that time "an amicable loan." This, like the previous efforts to raise funds,¹ was exceedingly unpopular, and Wolsey had to bear the brunt of the dissatisfaction, for it was not known at the time that the king was responsible for the measure, and Wolsey loyally took the blame which the selfish monarch was only too ready to shift from his own shoulders.

CARDINAL WOLSEY

References.—Green, *Short History*, chap. vi, §§ 3-5; Gardiner, *Student's History*, chaps. xxiii-xxiv; Terry, *History*, Part III, Book II, chaps. i-ii (pp. 494-520); Tout, *Advanced History*, Book V, chaps. i-ii; Traill, *Social England*, vol. II, chap. viii; Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, §§ 134-143; Cheyney, *Readings*, chap. xii, §§ i-ii; Colby, *Selections*, §§ 51-53; Kendall, *Source-Book*, §§ 44-46.

¹ Some historians believe that forced loans were attempted before Parliament was summoned.

CHAPTER XV

THE TUDORS (*Continued*)

233. Henry VIII and Catherine. — Henry had lived with Catherine for about eighteen years with apparent satisfaction. Several children had been born to them, but only one, the Princess Mary, had survived infancy. Up to this time no queen had sat upon the English throne, and Henry was fearful that there might be some trouble attending Mary's succession. He had, before 1521, removed the various possible Yorkist claimants to the crown, but still the final issue was doubtful. He therefore above all things desired a son that the succession might be unquestioned. There can be little doubt that if Catherine had been the mother of a son that lived, the divorce would never have taken place. Political expediency caused Henry to insist on a divorce. He was, moreover, growing tired of Catherine, who was much older than he, and his fancy was attracted by a young and pretty maid of honor at the court, Anne Boleyn. He therefore professed to be troubled with scruples concerning his marriage with Catherine, who was the widow of his brother Arthur (§§ 222–225). According to church canons such a marriage was unlawful, but a special dispensation of Pope Julius II had made it legal (§ 222, note). The question was, how to persuade the present Pope, Clement VII, to revoke the action of his predecessor.¹ The matter was further complicated by the fact that Catherine was the aunt of the Emperor Charles V; moreover, Charles had captured Rome and held the

¹ The question turned on the point as to whether Julius II was justified in granting the dispensation; if he was, the marriage could not be annulled; but if not, then the marriage was invalid, and Henry was at liberty to marry whom he pleased.

Pope a prisoner. The Pope needed the support of the Emperor on account of the Protestant Reformation, which was shaking to its very foundations the power of the Papacy in Germany. On the other hand, Clement had no wish to offend Henry, as under the existing condition of affairs in Europe his enmity might be a very serious thing.

234. Wolsey and the Divorce.—

Wolsey was a skillful diplomatist, but he now had to face a matter which, however it might end, was pretty sure to be his ruin. He does not seem at first to have known of Henry's desire to marry Anne Boleyn, and he was willing, though it was against his judgment, to try to gain the Pope's consent to a divorce.

EMPEROR CHARLES V

The Pope, whose policy was clearly that of delay, did his best to prolong the discussion. After about two years of diplomacy the Pope appointed a commission, of which Wolsey was a member, to sit in England (1529). Still no decision was reached. Then Catherine herself made an appeal to the Pope, who took the case into his own hands, and adjourned the trial to Rome, thus insuring still further delay. Henry, unaccustomed to be thwarted in anything, resented this treatment of a matter in which he was personally and passionately concerned.

235. Henry and Wolsey; Fate of Wolsey. 1530.— Henry vented his wrath upon Wolsey, who was already the enemy of the Duke of Norfolk, Anne Boleyn's uncle, and of Anne herself. He was charged with violating the old Statute of Præmunire by becoming papal legate, and thought it wisest to plead guilty. He was exiled to York and was deprived of the greater part of his possessions and of all of his honors and positions, except that of Archbishop of York. Henry's action was contemptible, for he

had himself asked for the legatine office for Wolsey, he had practically forced the cardinal to accept it, and it had been used for Henry's benefit. Wolsey knew the king too well to make the slightest resistance, but humbled himself before his unjust master, thereby probably saving his life and the few honors which were left him. But his enemies, fearful of his popularity in the north, brought against him charges of treason. He was summoned to London to answer these, but his health had already broken down under his trials and misfortunes; he was seized with severe illness and died at Leicester abbey on his way to the Tower (November 29, 1530). "Ah," he said to the officer who had him in charge, "had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, He would not have given me over in my gray hairs. But this is my due reward for my pains and my study, not regarding my service to God but only my duty to my prince."

236. Cranmer and Cromwell. — Henry again tried to gain permission from the Pope to accomplish his purpose. In 1530, by the advice of Thomas Cranmer, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury (§ 240), he appealed to the universities of Europe to give an opinion as to whether the Pope had power to legalize a marriage with a brother's widow. As might have been expected, the universities took their time, and when their decision was given it was so evidently the result of royal bribery¹ that the Pope remained unmoved by it. Nearly three years had now passed, and by the advice of a new counsellor, Thomas Cromwell, Henry resolved to take things into his own hands. Cromwell, who had been a follower of Wolsey, was, like him, an unscrupulous statesman. Though of humble birth he had great ability; he also was a firm believer in absolute monarchy, and his policy was more daring than that of the cardinal had been.

237. Parliament of 1529. — Up to this time Henry had ruled practically without Parliaments; now he made a total change in his policy. A Parliament was called in 1529 and it sat continu-

¹ Bribery was a recognized weapon of diplomacy.

ously for ~~seven years~~.¹ It is one of the most important Parliaments in English history. No previous Parliament had been the author of such momentous legislation, and few if any succeeding Parliaments have equaled it. It severed the bonds which united England to Rome ; it established the National Church ; it dissolved the smaller monasteries ; it fixed the articles of religious belief ; it settled the succession to the crown ; it greatly increased the royal authority ; it abridged the liberties of the subjects ; it united Wales and England ; it passed various economic acts of far-reaching effect ;

THOMAS CRANMER

and it dealt with many important social problems. Henry, wiser than Wolsey, who would have abolished Parliament, contrived that his Parliaments should follow his lead. He thus gained the appearance of acting in accord with the wish of the people, and yet had his own way all the time.

238. Henry breaks with Rome. 1532. — Failing to get the Pope to do as he desired (§ 234), Henry resolved to break with the Roman church. The times were propitious for such an act. Englishmen had never liked foreign influence in the country ; the clergy were wealthy, and there had been undoubted abuses ; and in England the church had lost much of its hold on all classes. Henry was also eager to get hold of the riches of the clergy.

¹ Heretofore Parliament had not sat more than a year without a new election.

Lollardry was by no means extinct, and there is little doubt that the new learning had its effect in arousing a feeling against the church.

It was probably Cromwell who first urged Henry to break with the church. Moving more slowly than Cromwell advised, Henry first denied the power of the Pope to issue any dispensation ; then he called upon Parliament to reform abuses in the church, and sent the petition it framed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who in turn called upon his bishops to reply. The answer of the bishops showed how little they understood either the times they lived in or the king, for they not only said in effect that they acknowledged no authority in regard to their laws other than the Bible and the Catholic church, but went even farther, and advised the king "to temper his laws in conformity with these."

239. Charges against the Clergy ; Henry Supreme Head of the Church. 1532. — This position gave Henry his chance, of which he was not slow to avail himself. He induced Parliament to declare that the clergy themselves, by the recognition of Wolsey as papal legate, had become guilty of a breach of the Statute of *Præmunire*, and were therefore liable to a confiscation of all their goods. It was a discreditable charge from beginning to end, for, as the king himself had authorized Wolsey to be legate, if the clergy had refused to obey Wolsey at the time, they would have been punished by royal command. The Convocations¹ of Canterbury and York offered to buy their pardon for £118,000, equivalent at present values to about ten times that amount ; but Henry refused unless they would acknowledge him as "the singular (sole) protector and only supreme governor of the English church." The convocation could not agree to this statement ; but at last Archbishop Warham suggested the phrase "so far as the laws of Christ permit, its supreme head." The clergy were forced to submit. The words were skillfully chosen, for while they did not ostensibly attack the papal authority, they could, if needful, be interpreted to the Pope's great disadvantage. Henry, however, was

¹ Convocation, the representative assembly of the clergy.

not satisfied even with this, and later the convocations were forced to sign a "Submission of the Clergy," by which they agreed not to meet in convocation, or pass any canons¹ except by the king's permission (1532).

240. "Annates" held back, 1532; Cranmer Archbishop, 1533. — Henry now felt himself in a favorable position to deal with the Pope, though he had no wish to come into unnecessary conflict with him, and so when Parliament passed an act requiring the bishops to hold back the "Annates," or "first fruits," as they were called, which were annually sent to Rome, he did not sign the bill until he was satisfied that Pope Clement would not give his sanction to the divorce of Catherine. Henry also secured from Parliament the declaration that no appeals should be made to outside authority, a proceeding which was in accord with the popular feeling. Henry could now do as he pleased. Meantime the Archbishop of Canterbury (William Warham) had died, and Henry had appointed Thomas Cranmer in his place (1533). Cranmer was of good family and had great intellectual ability, but was inclined to yield to a stronger will, a fact which justly laid him open to the charge of vacillating conduct.

241. Henry marries Anne Boleyn. 1533 (?). — Henry himself ended the long struggle by a secret marriage with Anne Boleyn.² In 1533 Convocation was practically forced to declare that Henry's marriage with Catherine was illegal, and so when the question came before Cranmer, sitting in his episcopal court, he pronounced that marriage void. The secret marriage with Anne Boleyn was then announced, and on June 1, 1533, she was crowned queen by Cranmer in great state in Westminster Abbey. Parliament also passed an act fixing the succession on the children of Anne, and disinheriting Mary, the daughter of Catherine. On

¹ Ecclesiastical laws.

² The date is uncertain, some think it was in November, 1532, others in January, 1533. Anne was the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, and was born in 1507. She was therefore about twenty-six years old, and Henry about forty-two.

September 7, 1533, Anne gave birth to a daughter, who lived to be the renowned Queen Elizabeth.

242. Act of Supremacy; Final Break with Rome. 1534.— Meantime Pope Clement had declared the marriage with Catherine legal, and threatened Henry with excommunication if he did not take her back. As there was no hope of influencing the Pope, Henry determined to break definitely with Rome. He accordingly secured from his subservient Parliament a succession of acts, including the great Act of Supremacy,¹ which completed the separation.

For the most part this legislation was received by the people without any especial objection. There was for them little practical alteration in the substitution of the king for the Pope, and no change was made in the doctrines to which they were accustomed. There were, however, many to whom the change meant much. The Carthusian monks of London dared to make a protest, and twelve of them were put to death as a warning to others.²

243. Execution of Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher. 1535.—The noblest victim of the new régime was Sir Thomas More, the Oxford reformer, the exemplar of the new learning. He had been Speaker of the House of Commons, and on the fall of Wolsey had been made Chancellor of the Kingdom, an office which he had resigned just before Henry began his attack on the church. Sir Thomas More and John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, both of whom had formerly been personal friends of the king, would not take the oath of succession because it involved the acknowledgment of the illegality of Catherine's marriage. They offered to take any oath regarding the succession Parliament might

¹ The Act of Supremacy (1534) declared "that the king our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England, called *Anglicana Ecclesia*, . . ." and shall have "full power to repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, contempts, and enormities, whatsoever they may be, . . . any usage, custom, foreign authority, prescription, or any other thing or things to the contrary notwithstanding."

² Three of them were hanged; the rest were "chained to posts in a noisome dungeon where they were left to perish of jail fever and starvation."

require, provided the question of the marriage was omitted, but this being the important point in Henry's mind, he imprisoned the two men in the Tower. In 1535, on their refusal to acknowledge the Act of Supremacy, they were executed, and their heads were set up on London Bridge.

Fisher had been the father confessor of Lady Margaret Beaufort, the mother of Henry VII, and had been a faithful follower of the Tudors ever since that time. He was a scholar and a friend of the new learning; he was an upright man and one whose influence had always been for righteousness.

SIR THOMAS MORE

More was perhaps the greatest ornament of Henry's reign. He was the author of *Utopia*, and was not only one of the most learned men of his time, but also a keen observer of human nature. His ready wit did not fail him at the last. "I pray you," he said, as he ascended the scaffold, "see me safe up, and for my coming down I will shift for myself." Again, after he laid his head upon the block, he moved his beard aside, saying, "Pity that should be cut that has not committed treason."¹

244. Thomas Cromwell; The Monasteries. 1535.—In 1535 Thomas Cromwell, though a layman, was appointed Vicar-General of the kingdom. Cromwell, while a follower of Wolsey, had seen something of the workings of many of the monasteries throughout

¹ Sir Thomas More was fifty-seven years old, and Bishop Fisher seventy-six.

the country, but he had probably seen their worst side. His steadfast purpose to make the king sole ruler could be furthered by attacking these institutions, and he proceeded to do so without pity. The monasteries were wealthy, and Henry wanted money; where could it be obtained more easily than by despoiling them? It was not hard to persuade Henry to a course that promised to be his advantage, and he quickly fell in with the idea.

Cromwell saw that there must be some apparent justification for the radical measures which he proposed, and so a commission was sent out to investigate the condition of the monasteries and abbeys. As might be supposed, a commission sent out to discover abuses would be very sure to find them. The report was, in fact, precisely what was desired. The condition of the largest institutions was reported as fairly good, but that of the smaller ones as very bad.

✓ **245. First Dissolution of Monasteries.** 1536. — Parliament accepted the report and abolished those monasteries possessing less than a certain income. The number thus suppressed was 376; their estates were confiscated to the crown, and the inmates were allowed to choose between entering the largest establishments¹ or abandoning the monastic life; to those choosing the latter course a small pension was allowed. A special court was established to deal with questions arising from this dissolution of the monasteries, as it was called.

It is probably true that in some of the monasteries abuses and indolence did exist, but that this condition was general can hardly be believed. The monks as a rule were reasonably easy landlords, and hospitable to the stranger and the needy. On the other hand, the monastic system had outlived its usefulness in England, and had become injurious to the country. Enormous riches were locked up in the hands of the abbots, out of the reach alike of

¹The establishments belonged chiefly to monks of the Benedictine, Cistercian, and Cluniac orders. About two thousand monks and nuns were turned out, and in all, counting attendants, about ten thousand people were dispossessed of homes and employment.



ENGLISH MONASTERIES DISSOLVED BY HENRY VIII

the state and of the community; a large number of men kept in seclusion were of little advantage to themselves or to anybody else; furthermore, the abbeys and monasteries were no longer centers of learning and schools of industry, as they had been three centuries earlier. Had Henry and Cromwell based their action on the comparative uselessness of the monasteries and the hindrance

they were to the development of the country, and had they taken measures to dissolve them in a just manner, providing systematically for the support of the dispossessed monks during life, they would have acted more nearly in accordance with fairness and honesty.

✓ **246. Second Dissolution of Monasteries begun, 1538 ; Economic and Political Effects.** — The dissolution of the larger monasteries was begun in 1538 ; some abbots were persuaded to surrender their buildings and property on the promise of grants for their maintenance, for they knew that refusal meant loss of everything ; but others stood out. In 1539 Parliament passed an act dissolving all monasteries.¹ Abbots who resisted were hanged without mercy, buildings were torn down, and the lead, glass, and stone sold for building materials ; shrines were despoiled of gold and jewels, graves were ransacked, and even libraries were destroyed. Among the shrines thus despoiled was that of St. Thomas à Becket at Canterbury, the richest and most popular in England.² By 1540 it is estimated that eight thousand persons belonging to establishments had been turned adrift, and ten times as many thrown out of employment. The wealth thus acquired was applied mainly in such a way as to benefit Henry, and that it was shrewdly distributed was shown at a later date. Part of it went to establish new bishoprics, and a few grammar schools ;³ a part was spent in fortifications on the seacoast ; a part was turned into the royal treasury, and large sums were bestowed on men whom Henry had called around him to form a new nobility⁴ which would be friendly to him and be a set-off against such of the old nobility as had survived the Wars of the Roses. Of the land belonging to the monasteries a large part was sold to the small landholders near the monasteries

¹ The total number of religious establishments of all kinds, large and small, which were suppressed has been stated at 3219, with an annual income at present values of about \$ 10,000,000.

² The bones of the martyr were taken from the shrine, burnt, and then scattered abroad.

³ These foundations were little more than a blind to turn attention from the real facts.

⁴ Among these were the Cecils, Cavendishes, Dudleys, Russells, and Seymours.

at low prices. To such an extent was this done that when, in the reign of Mary, a proposition was made to restore the monasteries, it was said that more than twenty thousand families protested against the scheme, and so it had to be abandoned (§ 271).

The change of ownership brought about a decided change in the method of renting the land. Under the monasteries the whole or part of the stock on a farm was leased with the land; the new owners sold the stock, and raised the money rent. The result was that the poorer tenants were almost ruined. From this date pauperism increased, and so, as there were no monasteries to give relief, it had to be provided by the state or local authorities.

An important political result of Henry's action was the removal of the abbots from the House of Lords. This greatly diminished not only the size of that house, but, what was of more importance, the influence of the church in it; the royal power, by control of elections to the lower house, was also increased, and from that time to this the lay members have always been largely in the majority. The political revolt from Rome was at last fully accomplished.

247. Pilgrimage of Grace. 1536-1537. — That the radical measures of Henry and his prime minister should arouse opposition was to be expected, and various symptoms of unrest showed themselves. In 1536 there was a rising in some of the northern counties, which were more strongly Catholic in their sympathies than were those in the south. It was a protest against the anti-Catholic movements and legislation, especially the dissolution of the monasteries. In addition there were, as the result of a period of change, social and economic reasons for the rising, such as land enclosures, the enforced removal of many suits at law to Westminster, and other grievances. There was no talk of overturning established institutions, or the king, or Parliament. In fact it was a desire to return to the old ways. This rebellion was called the "pilgrimage of Grace,"¹ and was marked by wonder-

¹ "Pilgrimage of Grace," so called because the malcontents declared they would go on a pilgrimage to the king at London to state their grievances.

fully few outrages, considering the times and the ignorance of the common people who took part in it.

Henry sent the Duke of Norfolk to quell the rising. He made terms with the malcontents, promising, on the king's behalf, redress of certain grievances. The insurgents dispersed, but later (1537) risings took place in other places; and believing they had been deceived, those who had yielded to Norfolk rose again. This time Henry, who possibly did not intend to keep his former promises, had no mercy. He sent orders to Norfolk to execute a sufficient number of the rebels thoroughly to intimidate the others. All classes, from the poorest peasants to great nobles and churchmen, had taken part in this uprising, and the punishment fell heavily upon all. This rising also brought about a political change in the north, for heretofore the northern counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Durham, and York had not been technically incorporated with England, but had been largely under the control of powerful barons. Now Henry organized the Council of the North, under whose control he placed this district.¹

248. Death of Catherine; Execution of Anne Boleyn, 1536; Jane Seymour; Prince Edward, 1537.—Meantime two important events had occurred. Catherine of Aragon, the unfortunate divorced wife of Henry, died early in 1536. Henry by this time had become tired of Anne Boleyn and wished to get rid of her. She was accordingly accused of gross immorality, was tried by a court of peers over which her own uncle presided, and though she strenuously denied the charges, she was pronounced guilty and was beheaded.² Anne was executed (May 19, 1536), and the following day Henry married Jane Seymour. The next year a son,

¹ There was already a system of councils, but Henry so reorganized its powers that the Council of the North was practically a new body. It lasted until the Civil War, 1641 (§ 369).

² There is no doubt that Anne was indiscreet in her conduct, and that she was arrogant, and even insolent, but that she was guilty of the crimes of which she was accused can scarcely be believed. In her trial no witnesses were summoned against her, nor did she have any counsel for her defense. All her alleged partners in guilt denied the charges, except one, and he confessed only under torture.

afterwards Edward VI, was born, and Henry had at last the heir so long wished for, but unfortunately Jane died a few days after the birth of her son. About Edward's right to succeed there could be no question, for both Catherine and Anne were dead before his father's marriage to Jane Seymour.¹

249. Ten Articles of Religion. 1536. — The break with Rome was followed by results that were far-reaching. Neither Henry nor his advisers, not even Cromwell himself, could have expected such great changes as quickly came after the rupture with Rome. While Henry's personal interests had much influence, there were other forces at work at the same time. The great movement known as the Protestant Reformation, which was taking place on the continent of Europe under Luther and his supporters, had its effect; the new learning made many thoughtful men unwilling to accept doctrines on simple authority; and, moreover, the prevailing feeling of the day was one of restlessness and discontent. In the eventful year 1536 the English clergy, recognizing the growing dissatisfaction in regard to the church, had in convocation drawn up and published ten articles. In these it was stated among other things that the Bible and the three creeds — the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian — were the sole authority for matters of faith.

250. Tyndale's Bible, 1526; Coverdale's, 1538. — The natural result of referring to the Bible as authority was to create a demand for copies of the book. An English translation had been made by William Tyndale several years before this time, but Henry himself had prohibited its use. Now he authorized a revision of this translation by Miles Coverdale, and in 1538 ordered that a copy should be placed in every parish church.

William Tyndale had been a student at Oxford and at Cambridge, and had been deeply stirred by the Greek New Testament

¹ The suspicious king could not rest satisfied after his marriage to Jane Seymour, but obtained an act from his ready Parliament fixing the succession to the crown in Jane's children, and declaring also that Mary and Elizabeth were illegitimate.

which had been issued by Erasmus (1516). From that time Tyndale had one thought closely at heart. "If God spares my life," he

said to a noted churchman, "I will cause a boy that driveth the plow shall know more of Scripture than thou dost." Tyndale's first translation of the Bible, which was introduced into England in 1526, was denounced as heretical. A pile of these Protestant books was burned before Wolsey in St. Paul's churchyard; but in spite of royal decrees, copies of Tyndale's translation were circulated throughout England and eagerly studied by persons of all classes. Coverdale's revision¹ and the king's sanction brought the book into still greater prominence and favor, but it was too late for its author to see his dream come

CHAINED BIBLE IN THE CHURCH OF
ST. CRUX, YORK

true. After years of persecution on the Continent, whither he had gone to continue his work, Tyndale was imprisoned for heresy and cruelly put to death in 1536.

251. Religious Reaction; The Six Articles of Faith, 1539; Plot against Henry. — All this agitation led to some reaction, and so when the Parliament came together in 1539 a movement was

¹ On the title-page of what was really a revised edition in 1539, known as the Great Bible, there is a woodcut, thought to be designed by the great artist Holbein, representing Henry seated on his throne and giving the Bible with his right hand to the clergy and with his left hand to the laity. Thus Henry is represented as taking the place of the Pope.

made to check, if not to control, the tendency toward Protestantism. Accordingly six Articles of Faith were drawn up, setting forth doctrines which must not be called into question, and severe penalties for their violation were prescribed. These represented the conservative element. On the whole the convictions under these articles were comparatively few, as both Cromwell and Cranmer disapproved of them and had opposed their adoption.

Henry was not exempt from plots to dispossess him of the throne. The line of Edward IV was extinct, and a conspiracy, in which the exiled Reginald Pole¹ and other members of the family were concerned, was discovered in 1538. Henry, like all the Tudors, was relentless where personal interests were in question. He caused two of the leaders in the plot to be beheaded and the aged Countess of Salisbury to be confined in the Tower. Two years later she was executed (1541). The character of the plot and the evidence against the conspirators are but little known.

252. Cromwell's Loss of Prestige ; Anne of Cleves. 1539-1540.—Henry's quarrel with Rome had not been due to religious conviction, but to religious expediency, and to a determination to have his own way. He did not share Cromwell's leaning toward Protestantism, and he was quite willing to let the church remain as it had been, provided his own authority could be substituted for that of the Pope. With this point of view many Englishmen were ready to agree.

There had always been more or less jealousy of Cromwell's political influence. His interest in Protestantism now led him to attempt an alliance against the Emperor, Charles V. To further this end he brought about a marriage between Henry and Anne of Cleves, a German princess, whom the king had never seen. When his bride was presented to him Henry was greatly disappointed in her appearance, and, though the marriage was celebrated, it was

¹ Reginald Pole was the son of Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, a niece of Edward IV. Reginald Pole became Archbishop of Canterbury under Mary (§§ 278, 283).

almost immediately annulled. Cromwell's influence with the king had suffered a fatal blow.

253. Fall of Cromwell. 1540. — Meantime, even before the marriage with Anne, the main object of an alliance—a league against Charles—had been made unattainable by the temporary reconciliation of the Emperor with Francis and some of the Protestant princes. Cromwell had thus failed in his policy as well as in his plans regarding the king's marriage. Henry vented his wrath upon his prime minister. Many of the nobility hated the "upstart," and carried out their share in his punishment with pleasure. Within a week after the divorce of Anne, a bill of attainder against Cromwell was passed by Parliament, and without having been given the opportunity to speak a word in his own defense, he was executed (July 28, 1540).

Severe as Cromwell was, and questionable as not a few of his acts had been, he either carried out or confirmed three revolutionary changes in England, which were: (1) reform in the Church of England; (2) putting an end to the power of the Pope in England; (3) and transferring the power which had formerly belonged to the Pope to the English crown. All this had been accomplished without war either at home or abroad, a result which no other nation of that period was able to attain.

254. Henry rules Alone; Catherine Howard and Catherine Parr. — For the rest of his reign Henry ruled without any prime minister. In the year of Cromwell's downfall (1540) Henry married his fifth wife, Catherine Howard, a cousin of Anne Boleyn. Before two years had passed Henry discovered that she had been guilty of improper conduct before her marriage, and by a bill of attainder she was condemned, and afterwards beheaded. The next year (1542) Henry married his sixth and last wife, Catherine Parr, a young widow, who managed to outlive him.¹

¹ The following lines serve to tell the story of the fate of Henry's wives:—

"Divorced, beheaded, died,
Divorced, beheaded, survived."



255. Henry VIII and Ireland.—In addition to the dangers threatening Henry from the Continent, he was always liable to attacks from Ireland and Scotland, and also to domestic irritations stirred up from time to time by his continental enemies. Ireland was in about the same condition as it had been under Henry's predecessors. Beyond the English Pale (§§ 168, 181),

the native chiefs, with no idea of union for common benefit, fought among themselves, and were also always ready to aid France or Scotland, as the case might be. The House of York had been popular in Ireland, and it will be remembered that both Warbeck and Simnel (§ 216) had found support there. After the era of Sir Edward Poynings and the passage of the Poynings Acts (§ 217) there was comparative quiet for a time, but the normal condition of unrest soon returned. There were endless quarrels between the Butlers, who were headed by the Earl of Ormonde, and the Geraldines or Fitzgeralds, who were led by the Earls of Kildare and Desmond. Several attempts had been made to preserve order, but these had been failures, partly because no systematic policy was followed, and partly because of the willful misunderstanding of the Irish character, or the ignoring of it.

In 1533 a rebellion broke out, headed by a Lord Thomas Fitzgerald. After considerable difficulty this was put down, and the leader and five of his uncles were hanged as traitors. An attempt was now made to force reformatory measures in the church of Ireland. It is likely that the upper classes cared little about the matter, but the great mass of the population were strongly Catholic and deeply resented the measures which were taken. Nearly everything that had occurred in England was repeated in Ireland. Monasteries were broken up and their property seized; shrines were despoiled and their ornaments and wealth carried off; relics and images, which were regarded with veneration by the people, were ruthlessly destroyed; and English-speaking priests were placed in charge of the churches. These proceedings were not confined to the Pale, but wherever practicable were forced upon the Irish outside. The result was that a vast amount of ill feeling was needlessly and cruelly stirred up.

By a Parliament held in Dublin (1542) Henry was acknowledged to be king of Ireland; hitherto he had borne the title Lord of Ireland, which had been granted to Henry II by Pope Adrian IV (1154) (§ 70). The new title showed his independence of the

Pope. This Irish Parliament is interesting, as it was the first in which the native chiefs took part. Henry gave these chiefs English titles, and tried to gain their support by bestowing on them the spoils of the monasteries, and he succeeded in keeping them quiet for the few remaining years of his reign.

256. Henry VIII and Scotland. — The plan of Henry VII in marrying his eldest daughter, Margaret, to James IV (§ 222) had not proved very successful in bringing about a better feeling between England and Scotland. James V during his minority had been much under the influence of the French party in Scotland. They were friendly to the clergy, who were bitterly opposed to the reforming policy of Henry VIII. The consequence was that the young king joined the French party and married, first, Magdalen, daughter of the French king, then, after her early death, Mary of Guise, a member of a powerful family in France. Henry's overtures of friendship to James were not kindly received. Shortly after the death of Cromwell, England's relations with France became greatly strained, and Henry, conscious that he might be attacked from Scotland, determined to anticipate the blow and strike himself. In 1542 the Duke of Norfolk crossed the border and ravaged the Scottish lands. An army which James sent under an incompetent general against Norfolk was terribly defeated at Solway Moss, and for a time the danger from Scotland was removed. James V was so distressed at the tidings of defeat that he was seized with illness and died. A few days before his death word was brought to him that his wife had given birth to a daughter. "Ah," he said, thinking of the Scottish crown, "it came with a lass, and it will go with a lass."¹ This daughter was she who is known the world over as Mary Queen of Scots.

257. Henry VIII and France. 1543–1546. — In 1543 the long-looked for war with France broke out. Henry had made friends

¹ Marjory, daughter of Robert Bruce I, married Walter Stuart; her son, Robert II (1371–1390), brought the crown of Scotland into the Stuart family. See genealogical table, page 135.

again with the Emperor Charles V, who did not let Henry's treatment of his aunt, Catherine of Aragon, stand in the way when anything was to be gained. Henry sent troops to aid Charles and himself took the field against Boulogne. Charles, finding it to his advantage to make peace with France, deserted Henry and left him to fight his battles alone. The English king was successful in taking and holding Boulogne, which enabled him to make better terms than would otherwise have been possible. The useless war came to an end in 1546.

258. Domestic Affairs.—Henry now turned his attention to home affairs. The war had been expensive and the finances of the country were in a bad way. When Henry ascended the throne, he was free from debt and wealthy, but the vast stores accumulated by his father, Henry VII, had all been squandered, together with the wealth acquired by the dissolution of the monasteries and the spoliation of the church. Henry had to do something and he was ready to do almost anything. Parliament relieved him from the necessity of paying a loan which had been contracted some time before; a benevolence levied in 1545 helped him somewhat; but to benefit himself still further he followed the dangerous plan of debasing the coinage.¹ Twice he reduced the amount of silver in the coins, and paid his debts with the money of the same nominal value, but really of much less worth. The result on the business of the country was disastrous, as such expedients must always be, though the full effect was not felt for some time. The cost of the necessities of life more than doubled, while wages increased little more than half, thus making a heavy burden fall on the working classes, who were least able to bear it. The effects of the debasing of the coinage also fell heavily on the landowners, and on the commercial class as well, for the continental merchants would not take the debased English coins in payment for goods or in settlement of debts.

¹ Henry reduced the value of the coins more than one half. The full value of the coinage was not restored until the reign of Elizabeth.

259. An English Prayer Book ; Rival Parties ; Death of Henry. 1547. — Meantime there had been a reaction in religious matters, and in 1543 Bishop Gardiner had forbidden the reading of the Bible to “husbandmen, artificers, and journeymen, and to all women except gentlewomen.” In 1544 Archbishop Cranmer, in directing prayers to be offered for Henry and the English armies before Boulogne, ordered that they should be said in English so that all might understand them. In the same year he composed in English that part of the church service known as the Litany, and he also issued a small book of private prayer in English. These were the foundation of what is now known as the Book of Common Prayer.

There were two parties in the state — the conservative, headed by the Duke of Norfolk, his son Henry Howard, the poet, and Bishop Gardiner ; and the radical, or Protestant, headed by Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, brother of Queen Jane Seymour, and by John Dudley. The latter party was supported by Archbishop Cranmer.

Henry's health had been failing for some time ; he had grown extremely stout, and so weak that he was not able even to sign his name, but was compelled to use a stamp in signing documents. As Henry felt his life drawing to a close he wished to make the succession of his son as secure as possible, and believing that the interests of the little king would be safest in the hands of his uncle, Edward Seymour, resolved to put the other claimants to the throne out of the way. The Duke of Norfolk and his son, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey,¹ were arrested on a charge of treason, and the earl was executed ; his father was to have been executed the next week, but Henry died before he could sign the bill of attainder, and the duke remained in prison.

¹ Surrey in addition to some frivolous charges was accused of quartering the royal arms on his shield. This he had a right to do, as he was undoubtedly of royal descent, but his action was exceedingly ill-advised under such a king as Henry. Surrey was a highly educated man and one of England's truest poets. He introduced blank verse into English literature, and was one of the earliest English poets to use the form of the Italian sonnet.

260. Character of Henry VIII ; His Achievements. — Few kings of England have provoked more discussion than Henry VIII. For many years the attention of readers and students was so centered on his bad qualities and evil deeds that his ability and his real achievements were overlooked. He was coarse, hard, selfish, revengeful, false when it suited his purpose, determined to have his own way, and unscrupulous in attaining it. On the other hand, he was clear-headed, far-sighted, courageous, and intelligent ; in matters of public interest he knew exactly what he wanted, and, what was of far more importance, was rarely mistaken in his judgment of how far he could go. He was, like his daughter Elizabeth, an admirable judge of public opinion. It is this fact which explains what would otherwise be so singular, that until the latter part of his reign he was popular.

Henry VIII succeeded in almost everything he undertook, and very much of what he did, or what was done with his approval, remains. Among other things, as has been seen, he destroyed the monasteries ; he severed England from Rome ; he set up a state church ; he completed the union between England and Wales ; he helped to develop Parliament.

More than preceding monarchs Henry recognized the value of commerce. He made navigation of the great rivers free, suppressing tolls and removing other hindrances. He improved the harbors, in one instance at least, at his own expense ; though he did not found the Royal Navy, he was the first to organize it into a separate department. He encouraged foreign trade and vigorously repressed piracy. He built larger ships for the navy, and *The Great Harry*, a four-master, finished in 1515, was considered a maritime wonder. It was in her that Henry crossed the Channel to meet Francis I at the Field of the Cloth of Gold (§ 230).

While the important social, religious, and political changes of his reign can only in some measure be ascribed to him, yet it must be said that, had he chosen, he could have postponed the

progress of England perhaps for another generation. It should be remembered that Henry had no standing army, and, except in the case of the Pilgrimage of Grace, that force was not used to settle domestic troubles. It was not needed because, on the whole, Henry represented what was the feeling of the majority of the people.

His success can be explained in no other way.

The only thing which can be said for Henry on the moral side is, that we have no reason to suppose that he was much worse than his contemporaries. He did openly what others did secretly. The peculiar circumstances of his position brought his vices into light and

SHIP OF THE NAVY OF HENRY VIII

After an old print

kept them there, while those of others were excused or ignored, and have been forgotten.

The rule of the age was not principle or religion, but expediency. This governed everything in the state, and to a very large extent in the church, also. When this fact is understood, many things become clear. Henry was no better than his age, and expediency and pleasure ruled his life. But after all has been said that can be said, Henry remains one of the most immoral kings that England has known.¹

¹ William Rufus, John, and Charles II probably were worse than he.

261. The English Reformation ; the Succession. — In Henry's reign was accomplished the break from Rome known as the English Reformation.¹ This movement, of such great import to England, differed greatly from similar movements on the Continent. "It was from above, not from below ; royal, not popular ; political, not doctrinal ; gradual, not revolutionary." It was part of Henry's policy of expediency. One result of the course in England was that the terrible wars of religion on the Continent did not have their counterpart in England ; Great Britain was saved a Thirty Years' War, though she did not escape some persecution, both Catholic and Protestant.

Henry's fears regarding the succession probably led to the passage by Parliament (1544) of an act which restored Mary and Elizabeth to legitimacy, and gave Henry the power to name his successors should his own descendants fail. Accordingly, he left a will providing that in case Edward should die without children, first Mary, and then Elizabeth should succeed, and if neither of them should have children, the crown should go to the descendants of Henry's younger sister, Mary (§ 227, note), Duchess of Suffolk. He thus, contrary to the rules of descent, left out the descendants of his oldest sister, Margaret, wife of James IV of Scotland (§ 222).

References. — Green, *Short History*, chap. vi, §§ 5-6, chap. vii, § 1 ; Gardiner, *Student's History*, chap. xxiv, §§ 15-17, chaps. xxv-xxvi ; Terry, *History*, Part III, Book II, chaps. ii-iv (pp. 520-558) ; Tout, *Advanced History*, Book V, chap. ii, §§ 17-30, chap. iii ; Seeböhm, *Era of the Protestant Revolution*, Part I, chap. iii (e), Part II, chap. ii, Part III, chap. ii ; Traill, *Social England*, vol. III, chap. ix ; Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, §§ 144-159 ; Cheyney, *Readings*, chap. xii, § iii ; Colby, *Selections*, §§ 54-58 ; Kendall, *Source-Book*, §§ 46-48 ; Lee, *Source-Book*, §§ 108-122.

¹ The reaction under Mary was only temporary, and the nominal reunion with Rome never became a reality.

CHAPTER XVI

EDWARD VI AND MARY

262. Edward VI. 1547. — Edward VI was but little more than nine years old when he came to the throne. Like his sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, Edward was carefully educated. Like them, also, he was a precocious child. When he was ten years old he knew Latin, Greek, and French; when thirteen he had read at least two of Aristotle's treatises and had translated some of Cicero into Greek. It is related of him that he "was always cheerful at his books," and that no study delighted him more than that of the Holy Scriptures, "of which he reads daily ten chapters with greatest attention." Young as he was, he took deep interest in the affairs of his kingdom, and seems to have exercised no small influence during the latter years of his short reign. He was brought up under strong Protestant surroundings, which naturally had a lasting effect upon him.

263. Protector Somerset. 1547. — Henry had arranged for a council to rule the realm during his son's minority, and had appointed men from both the reform and the conservative parties in the hopes that a middle course would be pursued. This arrangement was set aside by the executors, who appointed Edward Seymour, the little king's uncle, now Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector of the Realm and Governor of the King, and for a time he ruled almost independently of the council. Somerset, as he is generally called, was an able man, and apparently desirous of acting for the good of the country, but he possessed no skill in statecraft. The times called for statesmanship of a high order, and chiefly because he did not possess this, he failed. There were four matters each of which demanded the most careful and tactful

handling: the social conditions; the relations with Scotland; the relations with the continental powers; and the attitude toward Protestantism and the religious question in general.

264. Progress of the Protestant Movement. — Somerset sympathized with the reform movement in the church. A commission was sent out to investigate the state of affairs and to reform abuses. By order of this commission paintings on the walls of churches and chapels were whitewashed, images torn down, splendid stained glass windows ruthlessly broken into pieces, and carvings and statuary ruined. Parliament repealed the Six Articles (§ 251) and also modified religious observances. Chantries, fraternities, and guilds of a religious character were abolished and their property confiscated.¹ Many, if not most, of these and other changes were made by act of Parliament, but this is no indication that they accorded with the popular wish, for it must be remembered that all through the Tudor period (1483–1603) Parliament represented, not the people, but only certain portions of the community, and was usually chosen in accordance with the will of the sovereign. Nevertheless the fact that Parliaments were called and consulted by the monarch was of vast importance, for thereby precedents were set to which the people could appeal when opportunities for greater liberty came.

While London and a number of the cities and towns sympathized to a great extent with the new religious movement, the people of the rural districts clung to the old ceremonies and to the beliefs in which they had been brought up. They had been willing that Henry should take the place of the Pope as head of the church, but to give up the church services and doctrines was quite another thing. England was far from being Protestant at Henry's death.

265. Character and Policy of Somerset; an English Prayer Book. 1549. — Somerset seems to have been a sincere and con-

¹ To win the approval of the country at large some schools were founded from the spoils, but these did not exceed twenty or twenty-five at most, and some were so inadequately provided for that they amounted to little. Some of these schools still exist and are called King Edward VI Grammar Schools.

scientious man ; he was tolerant in an age of intolerance ; he did not persecute those who differed from him ; he sympathized with the common people against the nobles ; and he apparently supported Protestantism from personal conviction. On the other hand, he was arrogant in manner and did not hesitate to push

CORONATION PROCESSION OF EDWARD VI PASSING CHEAPSIDE CROSS

After a contemporary painting

his own interests ; he failed to understand the public mind, and he blundered in almost everything he undertook. His aims were high ; his execution was ill-advised and bungling. Henry had arranged for a marriage between his son Edward, nine years old, and the young queen Mary of Scotland, aged four. Somerset rightly believed that Henry's policy of thus uniting England and Scotland was wise, but he attempted to force Scotland to ratify it. You may persuade a Scotsman, but it is exceedingly difficult to force him. Somerset invaded Scotland, won a decisive victory at Pinkie Cleugh near Edinburgh (1547), and ravaged the south-eastern part of the kingdom. The Scots, angered, sent the little

Mary to France, where she was brought up under Catholic influence and became a bitter enemy of England. Furthermore, an alliance between Scotland and France was brought about, to the great injury of both England and Scotland.

In religious matters, also, Somerset showed great lack of judgment. In 1548 priests, by act of Parliament, were allowed to marry. In 1549 English churches, by an Act of Uniformity, were required to employ the English language and use what is known now as the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. This book was chiefly the work of Archbishop Cranmer, and consisted of translations into beautiful English of various parts of the old Latin service books. The book was a conservative one and could hardly be called Protestant, but the change was unwelcome to very many, especially to the people of Devonshire and Cornwall. A serious rebellion broke out in these counties in 1549, due mainly to religious causes, but also to social grievances. In the same year another rebellion broke out in Norfolk, known, from the name of its leader, as Ket's rebellion. But the causes of this were wholly social.¹ Somerset, understanding the grievances of these people, began with lenient treatment, but was compelled at last to use force. His effort failed in Norfolk, and the Council, with the aid of German troops, put down the rebellion with great severity.

266. Foreign Affairs; Deposition of Somerset. 1549. — Somerset was no more successful in foreign affairs than in domestic. He neither negotiated an alliance with the Emperor Charles V, nor watched France. War broke out with France in 1549. To crown all, the debt of the country had been greatly increased. It was no wonder that Somerset was deposed from the Protectorate (1549). While it is true that Somerset tried to do too many things at once, and showed deplorable lack of judgment, it should also be remembered that he ruled in a time of extraordinary difficulty. Henry VIII had left the land in debt, with a debased cur-

¹ Robert Ket was the lord of a manor, but took the popular side, demanding that all inclosures of land should be pulled down, and all villeins should be set free (1549).

rency and a dissatisfied people ; social conditions were in a state of unrest, owing to changes little understood and beyond the reach of legislation. It is to the great credit of Somerset that, almost alone of his class, he tried to lessen these evils, thereby incurring the enmity of his own associates.

267. Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, in Control, 1549 ; Act of Uniformity, 1552. — Dudley, Earl of Warwick, but better known by his later title of Northumberland, now assumed the leadership, though he did not take the title of Protector. He was a son of Dudley, minister of Henry VII, and was an able soldier, a skilled admiral, and a diplomatist, but he was unprincipled and wholly devoted to self-advancement. He took up the cause of Protestantism from selfish motives only. Peace was made with France, and laws attempting to remedy the social and financial difficulties were passed. The government, however, issued more debased coin, thereby increasing the financial troubles. Somerset was recalled to the Council, and it was soon evident that he was regaining his former influence. On a charge of treason, which could not be proved, and then on a charge of felony, Dudley sent him to the Tower and afterwards caused him to be executed.

Meanwhile Dudley, who had been created Duke of Northumberland, believed that his only chance lay in leading the party of extreme radical reformers of the church. The persecution of the Protestants on the Continent sent to England a number of refugees, particularly those who followed the Swiss reformer, Zwingli, and their influence on English religious practice became great. (App. 1, § 127, Note.) In 1552 a new Act of Uniformity required the use in all churches of the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. This was a revision of the edition of 1549 and was more distinctly Protestant in its statement of doctrine. This book, to all intents and purposes, is the Book of Common Prayer now used by the Church of England and, with considerable change, by the Episcopal Church in America. In 1553 there

was put forth, as the standard of doctrine, a document known as the Forty-two Articles of Religion. These showed very clearly the influence of the continental reformers. Somewhat revised in the reign of Elizabeth, they are the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England to-day.

268. The Succession ; Schemes of Northumberland. 1553.— The health of the young king, who had never been robust, now began to fail, and it became evident that his life must soon end. This alarmed Northumberland, for, unless he could make his position secure, he himself would be likely to suffer the fate of Somerset. The will of Henry VIII, which had been ratified by Parliament, fixed the succession, first, in Edward's children if he had any, then in Mary, then in Elizabeth, and then in the heirs of Henry's youngest sister Mary (§ 261). This arrangement was satisfactory to the country at large.

Mary, the daughter of Catherine of Aragon, clung tenaciously to the Catholic religion. When the Council forbade her to practice its rites, the Emperor Charles V, her first cousin, interfered in her behalf, and from motives of policy she was allowed to have her way. Should she come to the throne, it was certain that, whatever else might happen, Northumberland and his followers would be driven from power. He therefore hit upon the scheme of setting aside both Mary and Elizabeth as illegitimate, and of placing on the throne a descendant of Mary Brandon, Henry's youngest sister. •

With his usual craftiness, the duke married one of his sons, Lord Guilford Dudley, to Lady Jane Grey, Mary Brandon's granddaughter, and then brought his arguments to bear upon the king. Skillfully placing before the young ruler the great dangers to the Protestant faith which would surely arise if Mary, a strong Catholic, should succeed to the throne, Northumberland persuaded Edward, who was an equally strong Protestant, that he had the right to dispose of the crown by will as his father had done. It was then easy to prevail upon him to leave the crown to Lady Jane Grey.

As Lady Jane Grey was Northumberland's daughter-in-law, Northumberland thought that he would continue to be master of the kingdom. It was exceedingly difficult to get the Council to agree to this arrangement, for though Henry had disposed of the crown by will, his action had been approved by Parliament, whereas Edward was a minor and Parliament had not even been consulted. The influence of Northumberland, however, backed by the personal appeals of the king, prevailed.

269. Death of Edward VI ; Lady Jane Grey. 1553. — The will had hardly been executed when Edward VI died (July 6, 1553). Two days after Edward's death, Northumberland proclaimed Lady Jane Grey as queen. Except by a very few of the extreme reform party, the proclamation was received with coldness. Lady Jane Grey was unknown, and Northumberland was hated ; moreover, it was almost universally believed that Mary was the rightful heir. Her steady endurance had won respect, and the ultra-reformers had gone so far that they had provoked resentment. Mary fled to the eastern part of England, which, though it was the stronghold of Protestantism, loyally supported her. The troops of Northumberland led against her went over to her side, and he, hoping to save his head, acknowledged her as queen. He was, however, arrested and sent to the Tower, and though he abjectly renounced Protestantism, his recantation did not delay his execution. Lady Jane Grey and her husband were also arrested and sent to the Tower. The young queen of nine days was not yet seventeen years old ; she had been carefully educated and was familiar with Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. She had a lovely character and disposition, and had unwillingly assumed the position, believing it was a duty imposed upon her.

270. Mary I. 1553. — While there was undoubtedly some reaction against the extreme Protestantism of Edward's government, it was not that which made the people welcome Mary, but rather the feeling that she was the rightful heir.

Mary was the first queen regnant of England. She was thirty-

seven years old when proclaimed. She too had been carefully educated. At eight she could read Latin and Greek ; at eleven she conversed with ease in Latin, French, and Spanish, besides having some knowledge of Italian. She had also been taught astronomy, geography, natural science, and mathematics, and she was an able performer on the lute and spinet. She possessed the Tudor ability and courage in no small degree, but lacked the faculty of reading public opinion which was so marked a characteristic of her grandfather, father, and sister. She was naturally kind in disposition, and for personal wrongs showed at first great clemency. "The most honest of Tudor rulers, she never consciously did what she thought to be wrong." But her one passion was to restore England to the Catholic Church. Though she owed her throne to the loyalty of her subjects, and was received with acclamation, she gradually aroused almost universal hatred. From first to last her reign was a tragedy. No other reign in English history, not even that of King John, is regarded by the English with such aversion ; no monarch has secured a harsher epithet than that by which she is known, "Bloody Queen Mary."

271. Religious Reaction. 1553. — Her first Parliament declared her to be the legitimate heir, repealed all acts concerning religion passed during the reign of Edward VI, and, in general, restored the conditions existing under Henry VIII. This meant the abolition of the services in English, and the disuse of the English Prayer Book ; the reinstatement of the mass, the celibacy of the clergy, and the Six Articles (§ 251). Though it must have been distasteful, Mary even assumed the title Supreme Head of the Church. Besides this, she set free all the bishops and nobles who had been imprisoned during the previous reign, among them Bishop Gardiner and the Duke of Norfolk ; she imprisoned Archbishop Cranmer and Bishops Ridley and Latimer, and would doubtless have arrested more had not many of the Protestant clergy fled to the Continent for safety. She made Gardiner, former Bishop of Winchester, her chancellor.

Mary would have not only restored England to the Pope, but also given back the lands and properties of the monks seized by Henry. But submissive as her Parliament was, it was not ready to go farther in the matter of religion. The confiscated lands were held by about four thousand owners, who could not be persuaded to resign them.

Mary, however, still clung to the idea of restoring England to the Pope.

272. Foreign Affairs. —

Mary now came more fully under the influence of Charles V and his ambassador at London. For Charles she entertained feelings of gratitude and trust. He had interfered on her behalf during the late reign, he was the champion of Catholicism, he was also her first cousin, being the grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella, and so a nephew of her mother, Catherine of Aragon.

QUEEN MARY

After a portrait by Antonio Moro

European politics at this time played a great part in English affairs. The next legal heir to the English crown after Mary's sister, Elizabeth, was Mary Queen of Scots, who was in France, and was to marry the heir to the French crown. Should she succeed to the English throne, England and Scotland would become allies of France, Charles's great rival. To prevent this possibility and secure the English alliance for Spain, Charles proposed to Mary, the English queen, that she should marry his son, Philip.¹ (App. 1, § 128.) Philip was a widower and about twelve years younger than Mary, but for him she conceived a romantic

¹ Later Philip II of Spain.

and sincere affection, and with true Tudor determination she resolved to marry him.

273. The Spanish Marriage. — Parliament was opposed to a marriage with any foreigner and wished Mary to marry Courtenay, a lineal descendant of Edward IV, who had been kept in confinement many years. Except his royal blood there was nothing to recommend him, for he was dissolute in his habits and of small ability. Mary, to show her displeasure, dissolved Parliament. She went on with negotiations, and signed the marriage treaty early in 1554. It was agreed that Philip should be only titular king of England, that the crowns of England and Spain should never be united, that England should not be required to aid Spain against France, and that no foreigner should hold any command in the English army or navy.

274. Wyatt's Rebellion. — The news of what Mary had done led to Wyatt's rebellion (1554). Sir Thomas Wyatt and his fellow-conspirators, who were strong Protestants, raised the cry against the foreign marriage, endeavoring to keep the religious question in the background. The rising began in Kent, where the dread of Spanish invasion was keen. Wyatt, at the head of what was hardly more than a mob, marched to London, and for a time it seemed as if the queen and her party were in great danger. The Tudor spirit and courage of Mary were equal to the situation. She went to Guildhall¹ and in a bold speech declared that she threw herself for protection on her subjects, and that she would never marry without the consent of Parliament. The tide turned, the powerful landowners went over to Mary, and even promised men to support her. Though Wyatt, by a circuitous route, reached the center of London, it was with only a few followers, and before long he was captured. An earlier rising in Devonshire was also a failure.

¹ Guildhall, originally a hall for the meeting of a gild (or guild). As such a hall was often used for the meeting of the town corporation, it came to mean, as in this case, the town hall or council chamber.

275. Execution of Lady Jane Grey. 1554. — If Mary had been lenient in the earlier days of her reign, she was so no longer. The Tudor vindictiveness of Henry VII and Henry VIII reappeared in her. Wyatt, Suffolk, and other leading rebels were sent to the block, and saddest of all, the youthful Lady Jane Grey and her husband, Lord Guilford Dudley, who had been confined in the Tower¹ since the accession of Mary, were also executed, though they had no connection with the plots. Lady Jane Grey was sacrificed to the doctrine of expediency.



JANE

Inscription cut in wall of Lord Guilford Dudley's Cell in the Tower of London.

She had some claim to the crown by descent, she had been the center of Northumberland's plot, and around her some future revolt might center; personal character or even innocence had nothing to do with the matter. She met her death with calm courage, and while she acknowledged her mistake in taking the crown, she denied that she had wished or sought it. "She was sixteen years and five months old, an almost perfect type of youthful womanhood." In all a hundred or more were executed, and others were seized.

276. The Princess Elizabeth. 1554. — Among those arrested was the Princess Elizabeth. The plan of the rebels was to proclaim her queen and marry her to Courtenay. That Elizabeth knew of the plot can hardly be doubted, but she was too shrewd to commit herself in writing. Renard, the Spanish ambassador, strongly advised her execution, but the moderate men in the Council, too influential to be ignored, opposed even her imprisonment. Elizabeth, in a letter to Mary, protested that she was innocent. For two

¹ On the walls of the room in the Tower occupied by her the word "Jane" which she cut is still pointed out.

months she was kept a close prisoner in the Tower. Then, as nothing could be proved against her, she was sent to Woodstock, where she was kept under close surveillance. She was at this time about twenty-one. Under the circumstances it cannot be said that she was treated harshly, as she was known to be a Protestant by profession.

277. Mary marries Philip II of Spain. 1554. — The failure of the rebellion greatly strengthened Mary's position, and a new Parliament consented to the marriage with Philip. Philip had shown great indifference to Mary, for a young man of twenty-seven could hardly be expected to feel much affection for a sickly, plain-looking woman nearly twelve years his senior. He came to England, and in July, 1554, Mary and he were married by Gardiner at Winchester. Philip was given the title of king, his name appeared with Mary's in public documents, and their heads were stamped on the coins of the realm, but that was about all. The coolness of Philip toward Mary increased until it ended in ill-concealed dislike. Philip read the signs of the times better than did the queen, and procured the freedom of Elizabeth, thus leaving the way open to be friendly with her should she succeed to the throne.

278. Reconciliation with Rome. 1554. — Having accomplished the Spanish marriage, Mary now bent all her energies to secure the nation's reconciliation to Rome, and its return to an acknowledgment of the papal supremacy. The Parliament which met after the marriage, more compliant than its predecessors, restored the laws providing for the burning of heretics, and agreed to the reconciliation with Rome, but steadfastly refused to restore the abbey lands confiscated in the reigns of Henry and Edward, and though Mary set the example by restoring to the church all lands under her control, it was not until the Pope had waived any claim to the confiscated lands, that the reconciliation with Rome was agreed to. Cardinal Pole (§ 251), the Pope's representative, was received by Mary in imposing state. The queen, Philip, and both Houses of Parliament, kneeling before him, received absolution for past offences, and England was restored to communion with Rome.

279. Persecution. 1555.—The reaction in favor of the Catholic Church had now reached its height. Several further steps, which Mary earnestly desired, Parliament declined to take. If she had rested with parliamentary action, and had been contented with a few examples of persecution, it would have been far better for her and for the cause she had so much at heart. To require conformity in religious observances was held lawful both by Catholics and Protestants; to persecute and inflict punishment upon heretics had been practiced both by Catholics and Protestants; neither could consistently blame the other. It was the relentlessness of the persecution, on the one hand, and the heroism and faithfulness to conviction shown by the sufferers, on the other, that roused first the compassion, and then the horror of the people.

It would seem that the responsibility for the persecution must rest chiefly with Mary herself, and then

PHILIP II

After a portrait by Titian

upon Bishop Gardiner and Cardinal Pole, who were her principal advisers. Her hatred of heresy (App. 1, § 76) was so deep, her belief in its soul-destroying effects so completely assured, that nothing seemed too severe if thereby it might be rooted out. Her share in the persecution was undoubtedly the result of deep-seated, honest conviction. Philip and the Spanish ambassador, wholly from motives of policy, advised moderation, but without avail.

280. Martyrdom of Rogers, Hooper, Ridley, Latimer, 1555; Archbishop Cranmer, 1556.—The sole issue in these persecutions was heresy; with the single exception of Cranmer, whoever

abjured his faith would have suffered lightly or been safe. One of the first victims was John Rogers, who had helped in the translation of the Bible into English. He was burned at the stake. He was followed by Bishop Hooper of Gloucester; then Bishops Ridley and Latimer¹ were burned at Oxford. Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, had been deposed in 1556. Under the pressure of fear he recanted several times. But Mary had no pity for him who had been so prominent in the divorce of her mother. He was to die, but as he alone of the accused had been consecrated by the Pope, it was deemed needful to get papal sanction for his death; this was given. When brought into St. Mary's Church, Oxford, to make a public recantation, he surprised his audience by renouncing his former recantations, and holding out his right hand, said, "This hand hath sinned and it shall suffer first." When the fire was lighted around him, "he was seen to thrust forth his right hand into the flames, crying aloud, 'This hand hath offended;' and so held it steadfastly till it was consumed."

281. Philip II leaves England, 1555; Loss of Calais, 1558. — Philip remained in England about a year, and then, despite Mary's passionate entreaties, departed for the Continent on the plea of urgent business. The excuse was a valid one, for his father, the Emperor Charles V, was about to resign his honors to Philip and go into that strange retirement which lasted until his death. (App. I, § 128.) Philip's departure was a piece of good fortune for England, because it very much lessened the risk of continental entanglements. It was nearly two years before Philip returned to England (1557), and then only for a brief visit, in order, if possible, to get England to aid him in a war against France. The Spanish connection grew more and more distasteful to the English people, who realized that the one purpose of Philip was to make England actively support Spain.

¹ Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, was one of the ablest and most liberal of the churchmen of his time. He spoke in forceful English on the problems of the day and exercised great influence. He was about seventy at the time of his death.

Philip accomplished the object of his brief visit and Mary declared war against France (1557). The only result of importance was the loss of Calais (January 5, 1558). England had held this seaport since 1347 (§ 155). The English people felt that its loss was a heavy blow to their honor; to Mary, it seemed a calamity. She said that if her body was opened, "Calais" would be found written on her heart.

282. Persecution continued; its Effects. — The most distinguished of the Protestant sufferers have been named, but neither age nor sex was spared. The whole number of deaths was almost three hundred. The persecutions were confined in a great measure to the southern and eastern counties of England, for here was the stronghold of Protestantism. Here, too, the loyalty of the people had given Mary her crown, a loyalty ill requited by her to whom it had meant so much. This concentration of persecution caused a reaction against Mary so strong that nothing could withstand it. Thousands went over to Protestantism, and many able men fled to the Continent, there to become still stronger Protestants. These, full of zeal for their new doctrines, held themselves ready to return to England whenever opportunity offered.

Mary had reigned about five years, but in that short period more suffered death than in the reign of either Henry VIII or Elizabeth, though one reigned thirty-eight and the other forty-five years. In the reign of Elizabeth, political considerations always decided a case, while under Mary the religious question was the only one at issue.

283. Close of Mary's Reign. 1556–1558. — Gardiner died in 1556, and Cardinal Pole, who had been appointed Archbishop of Canterbury (1556) after the death of Cranmer, became Mary's chief and almost sole adviser.

The fact that she was childless was a terrible grief to Mary. She was, moreover, the victim of an incurable disease, and the last ten months of her reign were full of gloom and foreboding.

Everything she had most desired — the complete restoration of her kingdom to the faith she adored, the love of a husband to whom she was devoted, the child she passionately longed for — all these were denied. There is scarcely a more pathetic spectacle in history. She died in November, 1558, having recognized her sister as her successor.¹ Cardinal Pole's death occurred shortly afterwards.

References. — Green, *Short History*, chap. vii, §§ 1–2; Gardiner, *Student's History*, chap. xxvii; Terry, *History*, Part III, Book II, chap. iv (pp. 558–570), chap. v; Tout, *Advanced History*, Book V, chaps. iv–v; Creighton, *Age of Elizabeth*, Book I, chaps. ii–iv; Traill, *Social England*, vol. III, chap. x; Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, §§ 159–166; Cheyney, *Readings*, chap. xii, §§ iv–v; Colby, *Selections*, §§ 58–60; Kendall, *Source-Book*, §§ 49–51; Lee, *Source-Book*, §§ 122–132.

¹ As a matter of fact it made no difference whether Edward, Mary, or Elizabeth recognized a successor, for it was not theirs to appoint one. The matter was governed by the laws of succession and by the will of the people.

CHAPTER XVII

ENGLAND IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

284. Rise of the Middle Class. — Nearly all of the great movements of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had their beginning with men of the middle class. The men who brought about the Renaissance and the Reformation, who transformed the medieval world into the modern world, were neither nobles nor ecclesiastics. The great statesmen of Henry VII and Henry VIII were men who had risen from obscurity. Columbus and his contemporary explorers were all men of the middle class. Under feudalism there were but two ranks — the lords and the villeins — and under strictly agricultural conditions the system worked fairly well. But it is not adapted for commercial life or for a class whose service is based on wages or on money payments. With the revival of trade with the East, and with the improvements in shipping, there was a great increase of commerce, and along trade routes cities and towns sprung up, whose citizens were unwilling to be villeins. Commerce and industry quicken the intellect more than agriculture. Travel and intercourse sharpen the wits more than staying at home. It was the growing intelligence of the community, stimulated and enlightened by trade and travel, that transformed the world in art, industry, politics, and religion, and brought about a revolution in social and economic conditions. Commercial, trade, and town life made a middle class. Owing to the fact that feudalism was never fully developed in England there was greater opportunity for the development of middle class conditions. And nowhere in Europe has the influence of the middle class been more important.

285. Land Systems. — The manorial system of the previous century (§ 95) still prevailed, as a rule. Dwellings, farm buildings, and methods of agriculture had improved but little. Rents and wages were, however, generally paid in money. Even down to the middle of the sixteenth century the rule of custom was the ultimate standard to which everything was referred, and its importance must be kept in mind. Rents, dues, rights, occupation

FIFTEENTH CENTURY FARM-HOUSE, NEAR SALISBURY

of land, and administration of justice depended not so much upon law as upon custom, and that rather upon local than national usage. The attempt to remedy this evil led to the passage of many laws, some of which aggravated the difficulties and hardships they were meant to cure (§§ 157, 158).

The greater part of the population of England was in the southern and eastern counties, and the total number in 1558 has been estimated at about three millions. Notwithstanding the slowness of the agricultural population to make changes, changes were all the time going on, and it was largely the prevailing conservatism and the slavery to custom that caused so much suffering in England during the transition period. Even able men like Sir Thomas More had failed to see the signs of the times and the advantages of competition.

286. Woolen Trade ; Inclosures.—Intercourse between nations becoming easier and more frequent led to a greater interchange of products and increased the number of trades, and all these led to a diversity of material interests. The woolen manufacturers of Flanders and of France were celebrated, and they needed wool. England is admirably suited for raising sheep on account of its climate, which is favorable to the growth of grass. The English wool was of fine quality, and hence in demand on the Continent. The manufacture of woolen goods sprung up in England also, and the larger landholders in England found it to their advantage to raise sheep in great numbers. Sheep raising was no new thing, the change was in the substitution of sheep raising for other forms of agriculture.¹ As the land system in vogue was not suited for this purpose, they began not only to inclose common land in order to obtain large fields for their flocks, but also to turn out or “evict” small tenants, so that land which had formerly been used for raising grain might be turned into pastures.

287. Increase of Pauperism.—Sheep raising did not require so many men as tillage ; where it had taken over a hundred men to look after crops, ten or a dozen could look after sheep. The process of inclosures and of increasing the size of farms, therefore, threw many out of employment. Villages were depopulated, and houses were pulled down or fell to ruin, while their tenants were compelled to seek for other employment or become vagabonds. Under the old system “tramps,” as we call them, were almost unknown, and such as did exist had a ready refuge at the numerous monasteries and abbeys. But with no refuge, not even almshouses or poorhouses, they threw themselves on the community in increasing and alarming numbers, down to the time of Elizabeth.

¹ The change was not wholly due to the demand for wool. Farming where hired labor was employed had come to be unprofitable under the old system, and it is likely that men of property thought they saw in sheep raising a profitable use of capital.

288. Social Changes.—While the inclosure of land was not wholly responsible for the social unrest, much of this must be laid to its charge. In fact, the whole agricultural system was undergoing a great change. Rents fixed by custom were changing into the modern system, under which the farm or land is let to him who will pay the most for it. This in itself tended to raise rents, which were still further increased by the fact that many who had formerly lived in towns went into the country to use their capital in farming and sheep raising on a large scale. The rise in rents also tended to bring about an improvement in the methods of agriculture in order to meet the additional charges. Again, there was a great increase in the number of parks, which were used by their noble owners simply as pleasure grounds or for the preservation of deer and game. This decreased the amount of land that could be used as tillage.

The administrators of the various governments of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, though they often failed to understand the causes, were fully aware of the conditions, and the statute

books record many laws enacted to redress these evils; but sometimes the laws could not be enforced, sometimes they were totally inadequate, and at other times they proved to be unwise. Besides this, the great landowners, who were always influential in Parliament, clearly did their best to render futile such legislation as they thought would harm their own interests.

COIN OF HENRY VIII

Many of the risings against the government in the time of Henry VIII and Edward VI had their origin fully as much in social as in religious causes. Ket's rebellion (1549) was wholly social (§ 265).

289. Debasement of the Coinage; Influx of Silver.—The debasement of the coins, already referred to (§ 258), begun under

Henry VIII and continued under the government of Edward VI, was injurious to all classes, but most so to the poor. The effect, as must always be the case, was to raise the cost of all articles. When a shilling contained only half as much silver as it had formerly, it would purchase only half as much. Besides this, the great influx of silver from American mines so lowered its value that its purchasing power was itself lowered. As the price of labor was fixed chiefly by custom, the unfortunate laborer, though receiving nominally the same amount in wages, found himself hardly able to buy half as much with it. And attempts to fix the rate of wages by law too often increased the evil.

290. Town Life ; Gilds. — Life in towns was much as it had been, but the power and influence of the gilds¹ was greatly lessened through confiscation of their lands by Henry VIII and, later, by Somerset. In these measures only the London gilds were spared. The organization and development of the gilds made it increasingly difficult for an apprentice to become a master, or for a common workman or journeyman to better his position. Above all, the restrictions by gilds on labor in the towns led to a great increase in the number of independent workmen, many of whom left the old centers of manufacture and settled in the villages and market towns, disposing of their goods at the markets or fairs held periodically. This was especially the case with cloth workers. As all labor was hand labor, such a movement

ARMS OF THE GILD OF MERCHANT
TAYLORS

¹ Gilds are of very ancient origin. They were divided into merchant and craft gilds. The former dealt with the general trade of the country, while the craft gild dealt with its own particular industry or craft. They regulated details of trade and manufacture rigidly and had great power.

could easily be accomplished. The result on many towns was disastrous.

291. Trade and Commerce.— On the other hand, trade and commerce, particularly in the seaports on the eastern coast, greatly increased. Trade was especially flourishing with Flanders, at first with Ghent and Bruges, and then with Antwerp. An Italian writer of the times has left on record a list of the articles of commerce exchanged. "Antwerp sends to England," he says, "jewels, precious stones, silver bullion, quicksilver, wrought silks, gold and silver cloth and thread, camlets, grograms, spices, drugs, sugar, cotton, cummin, linens fine and coarse, serges, tapestry, madder, hops in great quantities, glass, salt, fish, metallic and other merceries of all sorts, arms of all kinds, ammunition for war, and household furniture. . . . From England, Antwerp receives vast quantities of coarse and fine draperies, fringes, and all other things of that kind to a great value; the finest wool; excellent saffron, but in small quantities; much lead and tin; sheep and rabbit skins without number, and various other sorts of fine peltry, and leather; beer, cheese, and other provisions in great quantities; also Malmsley wines, which the English import from Candia."¹ This was the commercial activity of England, which saw such great expansion during the reign of Elizabeth.

292. Domestic Life; Women and Children.— There was a decided advance in the standard of living. Owing to the difficulty and expense of transportation, houses were built of the material nearest at hand, but stone had begun to displace wood, and when stone was not convenient, brick was used.² Houses were poorly lighted, ill-ventilated, and in winter scarcely warmed by the open

¹ "Camlets," fine woolen, or wool and silk materials; "grograms," a coarse fabric made of silk, or silk, wool, and mohair; "draperies," cloths; "merceries," textile fabrics, usually fine goods; "saffron," a dye and a drug prepared from saffron flowers; "peltry," undressed skins of animals valuable for their fur.

² Brick, which was common in Roman Britain, as remains abundantly testify, somehow fell into disuse. It was revived by the Flemings in the reign of Edward IV (about 1480).

wood fires, though an advance is shown by the introduction of charcoal and coal as fuel. On the other hand, there were more rooms, because greater privacy was desired, and the great hall or living room was diminished in size for the same reason, the master and mistress preferring to have their meals apart from their dependents. The hall, too, was no longer used as a sleeping apartment. To a less extent similar changes took place in houses of smaller size. The floors were still bare or strewn with rushes; articles of glass and silver were practically unknown, except in the houses of the very wealthy; almost all the household comforts now universal were absent. The dress of those in the court circles was

HUSBANDMAN AND COUNTRY WOMAN OF
FIFTEENTH CENTURY

rich and expensive, but that of others was simple and well suited to their various occupations. The Englishman of that day, as at present, was a large eater; his meals were very substantial, and while comparatively little wine was drunk, an abundance of ale and beer was considered essential. Early hours for meals were still the custom, partly because of the lack of artificial light. The farmers had dinner at one, and supper at seven, while the gentry dined at eleven and supped at five.

The demand for industrial laborers in the fifteenth century greatly affected the condition of women. We find them employed in various arts and industries, and they are mentioned in the statutes regulating labor. They were sometimes even admitted to the

gilds. Among other industries they were cloth makers, cloth workers, weavers of linen, dealers in silk, also in general merchandise, keepers of inns and taverns, and brewers on a large scale. In an account of the Duke of Norfolk of payment for haymaking, more women than men are named, and preparing the straw for thatching roofs was almost wholly woman's work. Besides this, household service was very common, and it is interesting to note that this was not considered servile, for women of good position shared in it. The wages of women then, as now, were much below those of men, sometimes not more than half as much. The problems of the fifteenth century relating to the employment of women were practically the same as at present, and similar arguments for and against changes were used.¹

There is little information regarding child labor, but it is perfectly clear that very young children were employed on the farms and elsewhere. One case is known where a child of eight years was put to the plow; apprentices are spoken of as being eleven, and ordinances and statutes fixing the age for work at thirteen or fourteen indicate that there was need for their passage. Apparently the legal definition of "a child" was "under fourteen." Probably no class had a harder time than the children of this period. The ignorance of the parents was as much to blame as anything else.

The average duration of life, owing to the absence of sanitary regulations and the ignorance of the commonest laws of health, was much shorter than it is now. This may account for the fact that children matured earlier than at present.²

¹ Women had a voice in the choice of churchwardens, and sometimes were churchwardens themselves. They also sometimes held offices of importance.

² As instances may be given the family of Henry IV: One of his sons was viceroy of Wales at nineteen, another viceroy of Ireland at eighteen, another the associate general of an army at seventeen. At the battle of Shrewsbury the Prince of Wales (afterward Henry V) was one of the generals at the age of fifteen. Lady Margaret Beaufort married at the age of fourteen and was the mother of Henry VII when she was fifteen. The precocity of the children of Henry VIII and that of Lady Jane Grey has already been noted.

293. Travel ; Education ; Literature. — All roads were bad and almost all travel was on horseback ; communication between different parts of the country was infrequent and the few letters which were exchanged were conveyed by private hands. An increased interest was taken in education, which is shown by the establishment and endowment of schools, some of which are still in existence. The education of both men and women in the upper classes was sometimes carried to a high degree of excellence, as is shown by the example of the daughter of Sir Thomas More, by Lady Jane Grey, by the poet Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, by the Paston family, and many others. The spread of education increased the number of those who could read, and so increased the demand for books, and though by the close of the fifteenth century many books were produced in England, so great was the demand that books were among the very few articles which could be imported free of duty. Another fact showing the increase of general education is the number of books printed in English. Literature gave promise of the future in the poems of the Earl of Surrey and of Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder in the collection known as *Tottel's Miscellany*, in the writings of Sir Thomas More, of Roger Ascham, in Cranmer's Prayer Book, Latimer's sermons, and, above all, in Tyndale's Bible.

References. — Traill, *Social England*, vol. II, chaps. vi–viii; Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History*, chap. vi (in part); Tout, *Advanced History*, Book V, chap. viii (in part); Cheyney, *Readings*, chap. xii, §§ 191–194; Kendall, *Source-Book*, §§ 61–68.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH

294. Elizabeth. 1558. — The accession of Elizabeth found the country discredited abroad; and at home, in debt, weak, the people torn by internal dissensions, sullenly resentful against their former sovereign, and showing little or no patriotism or national spirit.

Elizabeth was received by the English without a dissenting voice, though some of the strong Catholics must have dreaded the change of rulers. At the time of her accession she was about twenty-five years old. A Venetian ambassador in London thus describes her: "In face she is pleasing rather than beautiful; but her figure is tall and well proportioned. She has a good complexion, though of a somewhat olive tint, beautiful eyes, and above all a beautiful hand, which she likes to show. She is of admirable talent and intelligence. . . . She has great knowledge of language, especially Italian. . . . She is proud and haughty." Besides Italian, she could speak French and Latin with ease, and Greek fairly well. She was a "bold horsewoman, a good shot, a graceful dancer, a skillful musician, and an accomplished scholar"; she was fond of literature and encouraged its development. She was like her father in her hearty, friendly manner, and love of popularity, which she cultivated by visiting among the nobility and gentry. She also had a good share of his coarseness and fondness for display. In her vanity, her frivolity, and her love of coquetry and flattery she resembled her mother, Anne Boleyn. Like most of the Tudors, she was unscrupulous, untruthful when it suited her purpose, unfeeling, and relentless. Like them, also, she was governed by the principle of expediency. She was as parsi-

monious as Henry VII, and never was the expenditure of the public funds more closely watched or economically distributed than by her. Unlike the rest of the Tudors, she had her passions and frivolities under perfect control, and when it suited her purpose, the vain, trifling woman became the keen, shrewd, far-seeing, wise queen.

Few monarchs have better understood their people. As a rule she knew the exact limits of her power, but if she found that she had gone too far she always contrived to retire with dignity.

Young as she was on coming to the throne, she had learned much, both by observation and experience, and the policy she laid down for England,

QUEEN ELIZABETH

and for herself as well, was steadily pursued throughout her long reign. Like her father, she wished to guide public affairs, but she knew the value of able ministers of state; and no English monarch has shown more wisdom in choosing counselors, or more faithfulness to them, than Elizabeth. At the very beginning she chose Sir William Cecil, afterwards known as Lord Burghley, to be her chief adviser, and for forty years he remained in her service. His brother-in-law, Sir Nicholas Bacon, she made keeper of the seal, and so there was harmony in the administration. Sir Francis Walsingham, perhaps the ablest diplomatist of the day, though

unscrupulous with others, was for many years her faithful and devoted secretary of state.

295. Domestic Problems confronting Elizabeth. 1558.— Few monarchs on succeeding to the throne have had more difficult problems to solve. The people were one in hating a foreign supremacy, but aside from that, there was difference of opinion. Probably a majority of the people would have preferred, in religious matters, a return to the conditions prevailing during the later years of Henry VIII, but the extremists, both on the Catholic and Protestant sides, would doubtless have rebelled against this; and Elizabeth knew that she could not afford to risk the opposition of the Protestants. Though she herself would have been well satisfied to return to the policy of her father, she saw that it could not be. She therefore determined to pursue a middle course. Personally she cared little for religion, but as the daughter of Anne Boleyn, whose marriage had been pronounced illegal by the Pope, she was practically forced to support Protestantism.

✓ **296. Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity.** 1559.— Her first Parliament was naturally Protestant in its character, and soon passed a new Act of Supremacy, and one of Uniformity. The Act of Supremacy in general resembled those of her father's reign, though it was more moderate. The title Supreme Head of the Church was dropped, and Elizabeth was described as "the only supreme Governor of this realm, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal." Most of Mary's church legislation was repealed, but not all the statutes of Edward VI and of Henry VIII were revived, and the laws passed were studiously moderate and framed to appeal to moderate men. The Act of Uniformity restored the Prayer Book of Edward VI after being so revised by a commission that even extremists might be willing to accept it. All the bishops of Mary's reign, except one, were removed; but out of 9400 clergymen then in England less than 200 refused to comply with the Acts. These were dismissed. On laymen a moderate fine was levied for absence from church; all office-

holders were required to take the oath of supremacy. Matthew Parker, a man of moderate views, who was fully in accord with Elizabeth's ideas, was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, and the break with Rome was complete.

297. Recusants and Puritans. — While these arrangements in regard to the church were satisfactory to the great body of the people, they were distasteful to the extremists. On the one hand, the strong adherents of the Pope could not conscientiously attend the services of the church ; on the other hand, those who had been refugees in the days of Mary, had become thoroughly imbued with the teachings of the Swiss Protestants and especially with the doctrines of John Calvin, who ruled at Geneva. These rejected the system of church government by bishops, any fixed form of prayer or liturgy, and the use of vestments. They followed what is usually known as Presbyterianism. They had no desire to leave the Church of England, but wished to purify it from what they termed errors in doctrine and practice, and in consequence were called Puritans.

Elizabeth, and indeed most persons, whether Catholics or Protestants, believed that uniformity in belief and in church services was essential to the well-being of a nation. It is important to bear this in mind, for otherwise it is not possible to understand what seems to us gross intolerance. Toleration in religious matters is of later growth, and neither it nor perfect religious freedom is even yet universal. The disposition of the religious question by Elizabeth, though commendable, could not be regarded as final, for the conditions were changing all the time.

298. Elizabeth and Foreign Relations. — Not less important than religious matters was England's relation to the rest of Europe. Elizabeth wished to keep the country independent of foreign complications. At that time the two great continental powers were France and Spain. Each one of them desired to control England. There was a traditional enmity between England and France, due, on the one side, to the humiliation involved in the repeated loss of territory and to England's claims to the French

crown ; on the other, to the disturbing influence of France in Scotland and the possibility that the Netherlands, England's best market, might fall into her rival's hands.

Spain's desire to control England, or at least to be friendly with her, was due to the fact that England might gain dominion of the channel and the North Sea, the only means of direct communication between Spain and the Netherlands, and by her fleet also greatly injure Spain's American commerce. Besides this, should England join France, it meant for Spain the probable loss of the Netherlands.

Elizabeth and Cecil were keenly aware of the situation, and during the whole reign it was their policy to play off one country against the other. If Philip II in following out his Catholic sympathies undertook to move against England, Cecil immediately made overtures to France, or in some way frightened him with the possibility of a French alliance. When needful he would pursue a similar line of action toward France by aiding the Huguenots¹ in France or the Protestants in Scotland. In the main, during the earlier years of Elizabeth's reign it was the policy of both Spain and England to keep on friendly terms. So important did Philip judge this to be that soon after Mary's death he even offered to marry Elizabeth. Indeed, he seems to have been personally attracted by her, but she declined the alliance.

299. The Marriage Question. — The question of the queen's marriage was one which for a large part of her reign occupied a very prominent place ; it was constantly urged upon her by Parliament, for the question of the succession was a serious one. According to the usual laws of inheritance the next heir to the English crown was Mary Queen of Scots, who was the wife of the heir to the kingdom of France. She was a devoted Catholic, and if she succeeded to the throne, not only would England come under Catholic influence, but under the influence of France as well. The

¹ The Protestants in France were so called. The origin of the name is uncertain.

heir, according to the will of Henry VIII, was Catharine Grey, sister of Lady Jane Grey. Catholic though he was, Philip could not support Mary Queen of Scots, for that would throw England into the hands of France. He therefore proposed sundry eligible suitors to Elizabeth, all of whom she rejected. Indeed, as has been well said, while she was ready to entertain the idea of marriage in general, she always found after a time some fatal objection to each individual suitor.

As a matter of fact it is not likely that Elizabeth ever seriously intended to marry. She was too fond of power to share it with any one, and she was shrewd enough to see that by entertaining this or that matrimonial project she could gain time and avoid committing herself in matters of state policy. Deeper than this was the recognition that to marry a foreigner would weaken, if not destroy, the confidence of the people and sacrifice her popularity; on the other hand, to marry an Englishman, as many of her subjects wished her to do, would arouse jealousy among her nobility. She carried out her policy consistently, although more than once she involved herself in considerable difficulty, and showed how unscrupulous she could be. Besides this, by her vagaries and duplicity she often placed her counselors in positions of great embarrassment.

WILLIAM CECIL
Afterward Lord Burghley

She refused to recognize any successor, and thus made it desirable for her subjects to keep her on the throne, for those who had the best legal claim were thoroughly distrusted.

came an earnest follower of Calvin. In 1559 he returned to Scotland and was the life of the reforming party. He was a fearless, bold, zealous man, of boundless energy and strength of will. The Covenanters rose against the established order, pulled down images, sacked and destroyed monasteries, and would not allow mass to be celebrated. But these were the acts of a mob rather than of an organized force, and the body of men soon dispersed. Mary of Guise had received troops from France, and the outlook for the "Lords of the Congregation" was desperate unless they could get aid from England.

304. Elizabeth and Scotland. 1560.—Elizabeth, to whom rebellion was one of the worst sins, found it hard to bring herself to aid rebels, as the Scots undoubtedly were. Moreover, she detested John Knox, because he had written a book called "The Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regimen of Women," in which he denounced in strong language the rule of women as being contrary to Scripture. But she could always put aside her personal feelings if she chose, and she determined to aid the Scotch Protestants. Elizabeth was practically forced to take this step, for as soon as the Dauphin became Francis II, King of France, his young wife, Mary Queen of Scots, assumed the arms and title of Queen of England. (App. 1, § 129.) This act meant that Elizabeth was charged with being illegitimate and a usurper, and that on the first opportunity France would probably attempt to enforce the claim of Mary.

In January, 1560, an English fleet appeared in the Forth and controlled it; an English army encamped before Leith, and with the help of the "Lords of the Congregation" closely invested that port. The French troops suffered from famine and were forced to make a treaty by which the French agreed to leave Scotland and to recognize the right of Elizabeth to the crown of England. The death of the regent helped to bring about this peaceful adjustment.

305. Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots. — Except possibly Napoleon Bonaparte, no figure in modern history has been the subject of

more discussion than has Mary Queen of Scots; no one has had warmer defenders or more bitter assailants, and so much doubt is still justly felt as to her real character that it is impossible to reach a thoroughly satisfactory judgment in regard to her. She was about nineteen when she, a young widow, reached Scotland (1561).¹

She was beautiful, with fascinating manners; she was skilled in all feminine accomplishments and in horsemanship; in intellectual matters and statecraft she was hardly inferior to Elizabeth. She lacked, however, the coolness and self-control of her great rival, and it was her giving way to her passions that brought upon her disaster and finally a tragic death.

MARY STUART, QUEEN OF SCOTS

After a contemporary portrait

Mary was not received with enthusiasm in Scotland. The country had become Protestant, though many of the nobles were Catholic in sympathy, and there was no conservative middle class, as in England. Mary's course was at first moderate; she made no objection to the Calvinism of the people, while reserving liberty for herself to have mass celebrated. By her skill and tact she gained over a number of the nobles to her side.

306. Mary's Marriage with Darnley. 1565.—It was almost impossible for a woman in Mary's position to remain single. Elizabeth, wishing to gain possession of Scotland, proposed that the young widow should marry Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, who was in high favor at the English court. But Mary took the

¹ Her husband, Francis II of France, had died late in 1560. (App. 1, § 129.)

matter into her own hands and married (1565) her cousin, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley. (Genealogical Table, page 186.) He was, like herself, a descendant of Margaret, daughter of Henry VII, and in the line of succession to the English crown. He had been brought up in England, and was a Catholic, which was a strong recommendation to Mary, who had hopes of uniting the Catholic interests of both countries. Her power in Scotland was so limited that she longed to be queen of England before Elizabeth's death might give her the throne. It is likely, therefore, that Darnley's leadership among the English Catholics, who were becoming restive under Elizabeth, was one reason for her marriage.

Whatever hopes she may have had regarding Darnley were bitterly disappointed. He was a frivolous, weak-minded, vicious man, for whom she could have had neither respect nor affection, and for counsel and companionship she turned to an accomplished Italian, David Rizzio, who was her foreign secretary. Darnley, jealous of Rizzio, plotted with some of the Protestant nobles to assassinate him. The conspirators rushed into Mary's private supper room in Holyrood Palace and murdered him almost before her eyes. Mary, who needed Darnley's help in carrying out her own schemes, concealed her own hatred with consummate skill, persuaded him to return to her, but forced the other assassins to leave Scotland. A few months after Rizzio's murder Mary's only child was born, he who was to be James VI of Scotland and James I of England.

307. Murder of Darnley, 1567; Mary marries Bothwell. 1567. — Darnley and Mary quarrelled again, and from this time Mary's serious troubles began. Disgusted with Darnley and seeking for some one to aid her, she found such an one in James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell. He was a coarse, rough man, but he was brave, masterful, and of considerable ability.¹ Mary became passionately attached to him. Both she and Bothwell were

¹ He was three years younger than Mary, and at this time twenty-two, the same age as Darnley.

already married, and that difficulty had to be overcome. Bothwell could arrange for a divorce, but there was no way to get rid of Darnley except by assassination. He was at this time recovering from a serious illness, and was induced to take up his quarters in a lonely farmhouse near Edinburgh, where Mary came to see him. One

HOLYROOD PALACE, EDINBURGH

The principal residence of the monarchs of Scotland

evening while she went to Edinburgh the house was blown up, and the dead body of Darnley was found the next morning in the garden.

There has never been any doubt that the murder was the work of Bothwell, but whether Mary was an accomplice or not has never been known. There is no proof that she took an active part in the plot; but there seems to be little doubt that she was aware that some plot existed and made no effort to frustrate it.¹ An investigation followed and Bothwell was acquitted.

¹ The documentary evidence against Mary was contained in the famous "Casket Letters." These were discovered, it was said, in a casket found in the hands of one of Bothwell's followers. They purported to be a correspondence between Mary and Bothwell, and if genuine were conclusive of Mary's guilt. Even experts have been unable to agree whether any or all are genuine, or forged, or copies of genuine originals.

So strong was public opinion that Mary did not dare to marry openly, so it was arranged that he should apparently carry her off by force. This was done, and they were married by the Protestant service.

308. The Scots rebel against Mary ; she Abdicates, 1567. — Mary's conduct was more than the Scots could stand, and there was soon open rebellion. Deserted by his followers, Bothwell fled, and Mary, having surrendered, was shut up in Lochleven Castle (1567). She was forced to abdicate, and her infant son James was proclaimed as King James VI, with the Earl of Murray, Mary's half brother, as regent. In the spring of the following year (1568) she made her escape, called upon her Catholic subjects for aid, and attempted to regain her crown. Her forces were defeated at Langside, not far from Glasgow, and her cause became desperate.

309. Mary takes Refuge in England, 1568 ; Embarrassment of Elizabeth. — Believing that she would be safer in England than anywhere else, she fled across the border, resolving to throw herself on the mercy of Elizabeth. It was a daring course, and one which placed Elizabeth in an extremely embarrassing position. On principle she was opposed to rebellions, but if Mary was restored to Scotland, it would be sure to anger Elizabeth's Protestant allies in that country ; if she was allowed to go to France, conspiracies would instantly be formed to place her on the English throne to which she was the legal heir ; if she remained in England, she would be a center around which the English Catholics could rally, and she might be even more dangerous than if she was in France.

As usual, Elizabeth pursued a dilatory policy. Her chief aim seems to have been to present Mary's conduct in such a light that no foreign power could consistently support her. First of all, Elizabeth, with questionable right,¹ insisted that an investigation should be made into the murder of Darnley, and a commission of

¹ Mary was a foreigner, an ex-queen, and not an English subject.

investigation was held first at York and later at London.¹ No decision was made, however, as Elizabeth suddenly changed her mind and the charges were dropped. All this time Mary refused to answer the charges, to recognize the commission, or to make any concessions whatever. Elizabeth resolved to keep Mary in honorable imprisonment, and to await results. This policy, based on expediency, brought a train of trouble after it. For nearly twenty years plot after plot was framed to put Mary on the English throne, and she can hardly be blamed that either directly or indirectly she should lend her aid or countenance to them.

310. Plots, 1569; Excommunication of Elizabeth. 1570.—A serious effort to displace Elizabeth was made under the lead of two prominent earls² of the northern counties. Elizabeth acted promptly and the rebellion was put down. Though not fond of bloodshed, she showed no leniency. The chiefs escaped, but four or five men of rank were executed, and seven hundred of the lower classes were put to death without mercy. The thorough manner in which the rebellion was put down greatly strengthened Elizabeth's position, and there was no other revolt during her reign. Those who plotted against her could plan for nothing but her assassination.

According to the Catholics Elizabeth was illegitimate, having been born during the lifetime of Catherine of Aragon, whose divorce in their view had been illegal and therefore null and void. Hence in their view she had no legal claim to the English throne, of which Mary was the rightful claimant. Heretofore, owing to the condition of European politics, no direct action against Elizabeth had been taken by the popes. In 1566 Pius V had come to the throne. He was a fiery and impetuous man, zealous for his church, and filled with an intense desire to recover the dominions which had been lost to Rome. Without taking counsel of his

¹ It was before this commission that the Casket Letters were produced (§ 307, note).

² Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and Charles Neville, Earl of Westminster.

royal supporters, he issued a Bull¹ of excommunication against Elizabeth, depriving her of her kingdom, absolving her people from their allegiance, and commanding them not to obey her or her legislation (1570). This action on the part of the Pope did two things: (1) it made an irreparable breach between England and Rome so long as Elizabeth lived; and (2) it forced Englishmen either to obey the Pope and thus make common cause with his supporters such as Spain; or to give unqualified obedience and support to Elizabeth, and hence to Protestantism, for the Bull compelled her to uphold the Protestant party. The Catholics in England, therefore, were marked out for suspicion, through no fault of their own. The Pope had placed them in a position which they did not wish to assume, but which they could not very well disavow. To obey the Pope in things spiritual seemed to involve a political duty to deny the legitimacy of their queen and to disobey the law of their country. That in this period of terrible strain so many Catholics held true both to their spiritual faith and to their patriotism is greatly to their credit.

311. Persecution of Catholics; the "Counter-Reformation." — More serious still were the persecutions of the Catholics to which the Pope's action led, and which are a sad blot on Elizabeth's reign. It was the political bitterness which caused the relentlessness of her measures. Had not this been present, it is hardly likely that any person would have suffered death. As it was, every Catholic was suspected of being a traitor, if not an assassin, and in the light of that day it cannot be wondered at that Elizabeth and her advisers acted as they did. On the Continent the reaction against the Reformation known as the Counter-Reformation was well under way. If England could be regained, thought the Catholics, not only would that land come under Catholicism, a thing in itself greatly to be desired, but one of the strongest supports of Protestantism would be withdrawn. Very naturally,

¹ On the 15th of May this Bull was found tacked on the door of the palace of the Bishop of London.

therefore, great efforts were made to bring England back to the fold. (App. 1, §§ 137-140.)

312. The Ridolfi Plot. 1571. — It was inevitable that Mary Queen of Scots, the legal heir to the English throne, should be the center of all conspiracies. Elizabeth was now to reap the troubles she had sown by her harsh treatment of Mary and by her shifty policy.

In 1572 a new plot¹ was formed to assassinate Elizabeth and Cecil, put Mary on the throne, and restore Catholicism. It was discovered in season, and the Duke of Norfolk, who in case of success was to have married Mary, was put to death. Parliament demanded Mary's execution also, declaring her to be a "continual menace to the realm," but Elizabeth could not make up her mind to this extreme measure.

313. St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572 ; Revolt of the Netherlands. 1579. — Meantime the struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism was still going on in France, and what is known as "the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day" nearly ended friendly relations between England and France.

The king of Spain also had been trying in vain to force his subjects in the Netherlands to become Catholics and accept his despotic rule. They had finally broken into open revolt, and in 1579 the northern provinces formed a union and chose William, Prince of Orange, for their head.

314. Jesuit Missionaries in England ; Philip II. — In England Catholicism was losing ground, though there were zealots who hoped to restore it to its former influence. Mainly through their efforts Jesuit missionaries were sent from the Continent to disseminate their faith among the English people. Parliament passed rigid laws against all who failed to attend the Established Church, and persecution was renewed. The Catholics became openly hostile, and the murder of William of Orange by a Catholic fanatic

¹ It was known as the Ridolfi plot from the name of an Italian agent of the conspirators.

in 1584 deepened the distrust with which they were regarded by the queen's adherents. In 1585 the Netherlands invited Elizabeth to be their ruler, but she refused.

Philip II, provoked by Elizabeth's secret aid to the Netherlands, and angry at the depredations of Spanish ships by English seamen, which the English government winked at, began to take actively hostile measures by giving aid to the various conspiracies which threatened the queen's life. (App. 1, §§ 135, 136.)

315. Further Plots. — Elizabeth was now in a very dangerous position. The policy of France under the new king was not a friendly one; the religious struggles in that country overshadowed any other interest. The assassination of William of Orange had left the Netherlands without a head, and Philip was free to act. Another plot was discovered to assassinate Elizabeth and set Mary on the throne by the aid of Spain and the French Catholics of the Guise party in France. The Spanish ambassador was implicated and forced to leave the country. The leader, Francis Throgmorton, was executed. This plot led to what was called the Bond of Association, an agreement signed by thousands, both Protestants and Catholics. It bound the signers in the event of the assassination of Elizabeth to hold the person responsible for whose benefit the act might be committed, and to bar such person absolutely from the succession. Though no name was mentioned, Mary Queen of Scots was meant. Further, any signer who refused to carry out this oath-bound agreement was to be held guilty of treason. Parliament was soon convened, and the Bond was authorized by law.

It was plain to Elizabeth's Council that so long as Mary Queen of Scots was alive she would be the center of plots which would be dangerous, not only to Elizabeth, but to the peace of the kingdom. No one could blame Mary for trying to escape from captivity, but it was believed that she was implicated in all the plots against the life of Elizabeth. Her confinement was made more rigid, and she was put under the care of Sir Amyas Paulet, a strict Puritan. She was surrounded with spies, and, unknown to her, all her cor-

respondence passed through Walsingham's hands. It was not long before there was another plot (1586). This is known as Babington's plot, from the young Catholic gentleman who was one of the leaders. Enough evidence was found to warrant a judicial investigation, and Walsingham produced copies of letters from Mary to Babington signifying her approval of what was

LONDON BRIDGE IN THE TIME OF ELIZABETH

going on. Under torture, or threats of torture, the conspirators confessed, and were tried, condemned, and executed.

316. Trial and Execution of Mary Queen of Scots. 1587. — It was impossible for Elizabeth to ignore the charges against Mary, and a commission was appointed to try her. This sat first at Fotheringay Castle, Northamptonshire, where she was confined, and then at Westminster. Mary denied both the jurisdiction of the court and her complicity in Babington's plot. The court, however, unanimously found her guilty, but left her sentence for the queen and Parliament to fix. Parliament when it met petitioned the queen for the execution of Mary, a proceeding which seems to have met with approbation from the majority of the people. Elizabeth was in a difficult position. Whatever she did she would incur blame. She certainly appears at her worst in

this emergency. There can be little doubt that so far as she was personally concerned, she did not desire to put Mary to death, but she did wish to evade all responsibility in the matter. She prorogued Parliament without giving any definite answer to its appeal, and she tried in vain to get some acknowledgment or promise from Mary, who, insisting on her innocence, refused to admit or promise anything. The Royal Council felt as strongly as Parliament that swift action must be taken, and finally Elizabeth signed the death warrant. Then she tried through the Secretary to get Sir Amyas Paulet to put Mary to death under the terms of the Bond of Association, a suggestion which was indignantly rejected by Paulet.

At last the Council took matters into its own hands and sent the warrant to Northamptonshire. On February 8, 1587 (O. S.), in the great hall of Fotheringay Castle, Mary was beheaded, maintaining her dignity to the last. She disinherited her son James and left her claim to the English throne to Isabella, daughter of Philip II of Spain, and a lineal descendant of John, Duke of Gaunt, son of Edward III.

317. Elizabeth and the Execution. 1587.—When Elizabeth heard of the execution she behaved as if she were beside herself. She protested that she had intended to pardon Mary, threw all the blame upon her Council, and wreaked her real or assumed anger on Burghley and Davison, the Secretary, through whom the warrant had been dispatched. Davison was dismissed from the public service and condemned to pay an enormous fine, which ruined him. To France and Scotland, the two countries most interested, the queen sent word that the deed was the work of the Council, and not her own, certainly a piece of transparent hypocrisy. As a matter of fact the execution of Mary placed Elizabeth in a stronger position than ever, for it removed the only one around whom the Catholics and the Catholic powers could rally. James VI of Scotland, son of Mary, who stood next in the succession, recognized by all as legitimate, was a Protestant; Isabella's

claim, shadowy as it was, involved Spanish influence, and neither France nor any other power would do anything to make England an appanage of Spain. In England the death of Mary ended any likelihood of domestic revolt. No one would kill Elizabeth to put James on the throne, and, as always, Englishmen hated interference from abroad.

318. Assassinations and Executions in the Sixteenth Century. —

However one of the present day may feel in regard both to Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots, they must be judged by the standards of their day. There is no doubt that assassination was a recognized method of getting an enemy out of the way — it was not looked upon as a heinous crime, though a perpetrator should be punished if discovered. This was especially true on the Continent. The annals of the continental powers during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are full of instances. Even in England a political murder was not objected to, provided it was done under color of law. There was no general objection raised to the execution of Sir Thomas More, or of Fisher, or even of Lady Jane Grey. It is almost certain that many nobles were concerned in the murder of Darnley and were fully as guilty as Mary. In her case it was not the murder of Darnley, but the marriage with Bothwell, that raised the hatred of her subjects. It made them sure that it was not politics, but personal passion, which was the motive. The execution of Mary was not objected to by the people of England, because it was purely a political deed. As long as she lived she was a menace to the peace of England, she was the center of plots, her accession would have brought on civil war, and there can be little doubt that Parliament and the English people were more than ready to assume the responsibility of her death.

319. England and the Sea; Drake. 1577–1580. — Up to the time of Elizabeth the dominion of the seas had been held by Spain and Portugal. The discoveries of Columbus and the other early explorers aroused the English and led to the expedition of the

Cabots, which was followed in time by private enterprises. Martin Frobisher in 1576 and 1577 had explored Labrador and Newfoundland; John Davis, second only to Drake as an explorer, had discovered the straits which bear his name; Sir John Hawkins, in 1562 and in 1564, made two expeditions to the Guinea coast to kidnap or buy cargoes of slaves to be sold to the Spaniards in the West Indies, and thus started that traffic which was to bring such untold suffering and difficulty upon America. Ten years earlier than this, Willoughby had opened trade between England and Russia, then called Muscovy. The Company of Merchant Adventurers in London sought out various channels of trade in the Baltic and elsewhere.

But the most daring and fruitful expedition was that of Francis Drake. Drake had made a voyage to Panama, and having ascended one of the mountains and caught sight of the Pacific, he vowed that one day he would spread the English flag upon that ocean. It was not till 1577 that he had the opportunity. Then he set sail with five small vessels and succeeded in reaching the Pacific by way of the Straits of Magellan with one ship, the *Pelican*, afterwards called the *Golden Hind*. He secured an immense amount of plunder from the unsuspecting Spaniards, visited the coast of California, crossed the Pacific, and rounding the Cape of Good Hope, reached England after three years of adventure. He was the first explorer who had personally completed a circumnavigation of the globe.¹ His exploit filled the English nation with pride, and Elizabeth, visiting the *Golden Hind*, knighted him on the deck. Philip II of Spain, angry at Drake's plundering and at the continual seizure of Spanish vessels by English adventurers, demanded reparation.

320. Maritime Codes in the Sixteenth Century. — The condition of affairs at sea in the sixteenth century must not be judged by the standards of the twentieth. While there is no doubt that there was a great deal of real piracy, the actions of Drake and his

¹ Magellan had died on the return voyage.

contemporaries were not considered as such, nor should they be. While it is true that private gain had perhaps much influence with the English adventurers, the sea was still a place where each man had to look after his own interests, and one could not complain much if he and his property were seized by some freebooter. It should also be remembered that the bloodthirstiness and cruelties of the genuine pirate were wholly absent from Drake and his fellows; they felt themselves, in short, to be knights-errant, who were doing both God and their country high service in despoiling "idolaters," as they styled their enemies and those of their country, while at the same time they were filling their own pockets with gold.

QUEEN ELIZABETH MAKING DRAKE A KNIGHT

English vessels and crews were seized in Spanish ports, Englishmen were taken and put to torture or even to death, and yet Philip would not interfere. In view of this action, neither he nor any one else could blame the English for making reprisals in the only way possible.

These years of adventure and exploration gave England an unsurpassed race of sailors, bold, energetic, skillful, and ready in emergencies.

321. Philip II and England. 1587.—After the death of Mary Queen of Scots Philip resolved to attack Elizabeth, for

while Mary lived he was always fearful lest she should be placed upon the throne, and then join France. He began to collect a fleet for the purpose of attacking England. Philip's plans were known in England and Drake was commanded to sail from Plymouth in order — in his own language — “to singe the king of Spain's beard.” The day appointed for sailing was April 12, 1587. No one knew Elizabeth better than did Drake, and so he set sail before the appointed day. Countermanding orders came in due time, but Drake was out at sea, and Elizabeth could disavow his action if she wished. Drake entered the harbor of Cadiz, sunk one man-of-war, set fire to most of the others in that port, and seized all the stores he could. On his return voyage he captured a large Spanish East Indiaman, and reached home in safety after crippling the Spanish navy for a year at least. (App. 1, § 138.)

322. English and Spanish Fleets. 1588. — Philip was furious and doubled his preparations for a grand effort against England; he would have made the attempt in the winter of 1587–1588 had not his admiral died. But for this England would have been caught unprepared. Spain had collected a fleet of about one hundred and thirty ships, the largest of which were about three hundred tons. To meet this fleet England had gathered one hundred and ninety-seven ships, but they were much smaller than the Spanish vessels and the aggregated tonnage was about one half. On the other hand, the English vessels were better armed, were manned by trained seamen, and commanded by the most skillful sea captains of the time. The English relied upon their skill, their quickness of movement, and the excellence of their artillery. The Spaniards looked upon their fleet chiefly as a means for transporting troops; the English expected to fight their battles on the sea.

✓ **323. The “Invincible Armada.” 1588.** — After several attempts the Spanish “Invincible Armada,” as it was called, set sail in July, 1588, under the command of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who, to his credit, had done all that he could to dissuade Philip from the

undertaking. The English fleet was commanded by Lord Charles Howard of Effingham, and under him were Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, and other successful seamen. Howard and his subordinates were in thorough sympathy. The Armada reached the British Channel on July 19th. The wind was from the south and favorable for the Spaniards. Howard allowed the enemy to pass him and then followed. In this way he had the advantage of

THE SPANISH ARMADA IN THE ENGLISH CHANNEL

After an engraving by the Society of Antiquarians following a tapestry in the House of Lords

attacking from the windward side. The English ships kept up a running fight until the Armada reached Calais, by which time ship after ship had been captured. The Spaniards were forced from their shelter by fire ships sent among them by the English. A severe naval engagement then took place, and though the Spaniards fought bravely, the skill of the English in handling their vessels gave them the victory. The wind, still blowing strongly from the south, compelled the Spaniards to sail to the north and try to go around the British Isles and so return to Spain. They met with severe storms, many ships were wrecked off the coasts of Scotland

and Ireland, and scarcely half of the Armada reached Spain. The English were filled with almost uncontrollable joy, for the greatest danger which had ever menaced them was at an end. They recognized that the elements had much to do with the completeness of the victory, for on a medal struck in commemoration of the event are the words, "God blew with his wind and they were scattered." Philip bore his losses in a fine spirit, saying to his admiral, "I sent you to fight against men, not with the winds."

324. Result of the Spanish Defeat. — The results of the failure of Spain can hardly be overestimated. It not only delivered England from fear of a foreign domination, but it gave her confidence in her own strength; it established her as a Protestant nation; it showed her that her opportunity lay in maritime affairs and made her a great naval power; it united all factions for the time being and created a national spirit which was never lost. To the world at large the results were scarcely less important. It guaranteed the freedom of the United Netherlands; and it dealt a fatal blow to the supremacy of Spain in Europe.

The war with Spain was not ended, though Philip would gladly have made terms. The conflict was upon the seas, and the English made many attacks upon Spain; but, though Drake, Hawkins, and Howard were the leaders, the war dragged on until after the death of both Philip and Elizabeth (1603).

325. Religious Difficulties. — Notwithstanding the national feeling in England, there were still petty jealousies, and, more dangerous than these, a real difference of opinion concerning religion. The sympathy with Calvinism and the Presbyterian methods, which the refugees of the time of Mary brought back with them, was not lessened as the years went by. The Catholics wished to enjoy their religion undisturbed; the Puritans wished to change the national church altogether and to do away with bishops and episcopacy. The leading advocate of this latter movement was Thomas Cartwright of Cambridge, a professor of divinity. There were still others, though comparatively few, who separated

Longitude West 5 from Greenwich 0 Longitude East 5 from Greenwich

WESTERN EUROPE

IN THE
TIME OF ELIZABETH

Scale of English Miles

0 20 40 60 80 100



entirely from the church and set up congregations of their own so that they could worship in the manner that seemed to them right. These were called Separatists, and sometimes Brownists, after one of their principal leaders, Robert Browne. These were the first Congregationalists, and from them came the Pilgrims of New England and later the Independents, who played so important a part in the reign of Charles I.

To Elizabeth anything but uniformity was hateful, and acts were passed by Parliament to compel conformity to the Church of England. Those who refused to attend the church services, or who denied the authority of the queen in ecclesiastical matters, were to be imprisoned until they submitted. Stronger laws were also passed against the Catholics, and under these laws prosecutions took place which led to several executions, though not explicitly on religious grounds, but on the charge of stirring up sedition.

326. Foreign Affairs. — It was impossible for Elizabeth to keep out of European politics, much as she desired to do so. The struggle with Spain led her to take part in French affairs. Henry III of France was a weak man and his heir was Henry of Navarre, a Protestant and a leader of the Huguenots. It was the policy of Philip to prevent this succession, but when Henry III was assassinated, Henry of Navarre¹ became king, Elizabeth aiding him with troops. It was not long before he saw that his throne could never be secure while he was a Protestant; he therefore became a Catholic and soon made peace with Philip. Henry, however, gave his Protestant subjects toleration by the famous Edict of Nantes (April 15, 1598). (App. I, §§ 130, 131.)

327. Ireland. — Meanwhile Elizabeth had a problem on hand which had been a more or less difficult one for every English government since the time of Henry II (1171) — the Irish question. During the reigns of Edward VI and Mary affairs in Ireland

¹ Henry of Navarre was the first king of the Bourbon family; this famous dynasty reigned over France till the French Revolution (1792). The House of Valois had held the throne since 1328.

had been very unsatisfactory. All efforts to establish Protestantism had been unsuccessful.

Under Elizabeth, matters for twenty years or more were no better. She was unable and unwilling to send an army large enough to subdue the island, and the Irish would not put aside their own petty quarrels to unite for the general good. Matters were further complicated by the landing of a body of troops led by a Sir James Fitzmaurice under the authority of the Pope and with the aid and countenance of Philip II, with the object of injuring Elizabeth and gaining Ireland politically for the Catholic cause. The effort was a failure. An insurrection in Munster (1579) under the leadership of the Earl of Desmond, the head of the great Fitzgerald family, was ruthlessly put down after four years' strife, and thousands perished chiefly from want and destitution.

The English with a strange inconsistency followed the same methods with the Irish which they condemned so violently in the Spaniards. Munster was desolated and the most of the territory forfeited to the crown. It was divided among the English adventurers, who, in the end, were compelled to let the lands to Irish tenants, and thus set up a system of absentee landlordism. It must be said, however, for the credit of Elizabeth and Burghley that they were opposed to this policy of extermination.

328. Irish Rebellion. 1598–1602. — For ten or twelve years Ireland was in comparative quiet, but trouble arose, partly from the attacks of the Irish on the few English settlers, whose treatment of the natives was such as to provoke resentment; partly from the lawless and cruel treatment of the inhabitants by the troops left without pay; partly from natural hatred of the English. This new rebellion broke out in Ulster. Here the Irish chiefs united and placed themselves under the Earl of Tyrone. Tyrone gained a victory over the English forces and the greater part of Ireland rallied to his support. This was the first national and religious revolt against England. Largely through his own efforts the Earl of Essex was sent to Ireland to put down the rebellion,

but he was unsuccessful ; and it was not until 1602, under Lord Mountjoy, that the rebellion was finally crushed by a policy of starvation and extermination.

329. Earl of Essex. — In the early part of Elizabeth's reign two young English noblemen had been spoken of as possible suitors for her hand. One was the Earl of Essex, the other the Earl of Leicester. After the death of Essex, Leicester married his widow, and when her son, the young Earl of Essex, grew up, gave him a position in his company of soldiers. This youth, who became one of the queen's later favorites, was a man of considerable ability, but he had an overwhelming sense of his own importance and his attitude toward Elizabeth was often rude and presumptuous. It is said that she was once so offended by his lack of good manners that she boxed his ears.

Essex was brave but rash, and his impatience with Elizabeth's methods often led him into serious difficulties. His failure in Ireland brought him back hastily to explain matters to the queen. Bursting into her presence without regard to his muddy and travel-stained appearance, he made his excuse for his ill success. The queen decided that he needed to be taught a lesson and ordered him to be placed in temporary confinement. He was tried for exceeding his orders, and his various offices were taken away from him, but in time he was granted his freedom. Counting upon his general popularity to regain his position, Essex marched into London at the head of a small body of men to compel the queen to reinstate him and to dismiss his enemies. He was promptly arrested and convicted of treason. Very reluctantly Elizabeth signed his death warrant, and he was executed in 1600.

330. Literary Development ; New Statesmen ; Raleigh. — The years succeeding the defeat of the Spanish Armada were very prosperous for England ; the whole nation was full of enthusiasm ; there were no foes to fear, and the energy which had been so conspicuously displayed in naval and military fields now found an outlet in commerce, exploration, settlement, and, above all, in the

field of literature. No period in the literary history of the world has surpassed the later years of Elizabeth's reign in the richness, fullness, variety, and extent of its poetry, prose, and especially the

drama. Spenser, Marlowe, Johnson, Lyly, Bacon, Hooker, with many others, and, surpassing all, Shakespeare give to her time a literary glory which no subsequent reign has equaled.

Other changes were taking place. Nearly all of Elizabeth's old counselors had died, though Burghley lingered on almost to the close, faithful to his mistress to the very last. Younger men now came to the front. The most notable of these were the Earl of Essex, already spoken of, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Sir Robert Cecil, son of Lord

SIR WALTER RALEIGH AND HIS SON
After a contemporary portrait

Burghley. Essex and Raleigh with most of their companions were eager to make themselves and England famous, and would willingly have entered into all kinds of adventures and daring schemes. Cecil, trained by his father, continued the same line of cautious policy, and, when time for a decision came, Elizabeth generally took Cecil's side.

More than any other man, Raleigh can be taken as typical of the age. He had a broad mind ready to accept new developments in any field; he was a great sea captain; he was a good

soldier, a statesman almost of the first rank, an historian, one of the best prose writers of the day, and a fair poet. He was an accomplished courtier, a skilled diplomatist, a far-seeing colonizer. He was daring, courageous, ambitious, and, on occasion, almost as pitiless as Elizabeth herself.

331. Parliament under Elizabeth ; Monopolies. — Like her father, Elizabeth fully appreciated the advantages of appearing to rule with the support of Parliament, and in the early days of her reign she had comparatively little trouble ; but Parliament annoyed her with repeated petitions for her marriage, and, furthermore, its membership was more strongly Protestant than she liked. Its influence had been steadily growing, and as time went on it was harder and harder to manage. She, therefore, tried to do without Parliaments, only calling them when she needed money. In her long reign of forty-five years there were only thirteen Parliaments.

Elizabeth was niggardly to her supporters, and when she was compelled to reward them, she did it so as to cost her as little as possible. One way was to give to an individual the control over certain articles of trade or commerce, such as wine, salt, etc. These monopolies were usually granted for fixed periods and might be renewed or not. As early as 1597 strong objection to this practice was made in Parliament. In 1601 such a decided protest was made that Elizabeth, seeing that she must yield, did so gracefully. The message which was sent to Parliament closed with these words, "Though you have had, and may have, many princes more mighty and wise sitting in this seat, yet you never had, or ever shall have, any that will be more careful and loving."¹

332. Death of Elizabeth, 1603 ; Her Success. — During the last two or three years of her reign Elizabeth was a lonely old woman, but she never lost her courage or her activity. In the latter part of 1602 her health began to fail, and on March 24, 1603, she died in the seventieth year of her age and the forty-fifth of her reign.

¹ Notwithstanding this, monopolies continued until the time of the Civil War.

Whatever were Elizabeth's faults, and they were many, she had an instinctive knowledge of what was best for England, and for England she lived. To appreciate how great her success was, it is only needful to compare the England of 1558 with the England of 1603. With her closes the Tudor dynasty, perhaps the ablest that has governed England. The rule of the Tudors was practically an absolute one, but they had such a clear sense of the real feelings of the people that they rarely came into conflict with them. In fact, England's experience of the evils of a factious nobility had been bitter enough to make her ready for a strong government, even though it was despotic. The old sentiment of independence was, however, not lost; it simply slumbered, ready at a touch to wake into life.

333. Characteristics of the Reign. — With the possible exception of the reign of Victoria, no other period in English history has shown so great changes as the Tudor period; for there was scarcely a field of human interest which was not revolutionized. Perhaps the only great exception was the condition of the extremely poor, which continued very unsatisfactory, though serious yet mistaken efforts to better it were made by the enactment of Poor Laws.

Taken as a whole, England was more prosperous at the close of Elizabeth's reign than ever before. The long years of peace had given trade, commerce, and agriculture the opportunity for development. One result of this was to raise the standard of living among all classes. In the country, stone houses took the place of wooden ones, glass was used for windows, chimneys replaced holes in the roof, pillows and bolsters supplanted hard round logs, and pewter plates and spoons those made of wood.

Among the upper classes the changes were still more marked. Dress became rich and showy. Men and women alike wore silks, gold and silver cloth, velvets and damasks, as well as jewels and ornaments such as bracelets, earrings, brooches, and rings. Ruffs made of lawn cambric, which are so characteristic a feature of the

Elizabethan portraits, were worn by both sexes. The extent and richness of some of the wardrobes can hardly be believed. Elizabeth is said to have left three thousand gowns.

334. Architecture; Furniture; Amusements. — The feeling of security led to great changes in the architecture of the period. Thick walls and narrow windows were no longer essential, and so



CHARLCOTE HALL

An English manor house of the time of Queen Elizabeth

the old castles were often modified, large windows and doorways were cut in the walls, moats were filled up and fortifications were demolished. Gothic architecture died out and a mixture of Gothic and Italian took its place, the best examples of which are to be found in the stately manor houses, which have come down to our own time. Around these handsome and extensive gardens were laid out. In the houses windows were as conspicuous as their absence had been in earlier times. The walls were hung with rich tapestries, the ceilings decorated with paintings, and the rooms adorned with handsome furniture. Among household and other articles which were introduced or came into general use were handkerchiefs, steel needles, mirrors, silk stockings, cambric, starch, sealing wax, potatoes (1563), newspapers (1588), and somewhat later (1610) forks. The floors were still strewn with rushes.

One of the marked characteristics of the Elizabethan period was the great attention given to amusements of various kinds.

Neither time nor money was spared to make them attractive. Fairs, festivals, pageants, masques, dances, etc., were all entered into with zest. Elizabeth herself set the example in her Royal Progresses, as they were called. These were visits made by her to her nobles or to the cities and universities. At such times, the shows and the extravagant expenditure were almost beyond belief.

335. The Drama ; Literature. — In nothing did the spirit of the age show itself more than in the drama. Plays, masques, allegorical dramas, and tableaux were acted on all occasions. No other period in literary history produced so many plays. Thousands were written and acted, and then fell into obscurity. Only the best survived. The reign of Elizabeth saw almost the beginning of English drama, and in Shakespeare saw its highest development.¹ The characteristics, the feelings, the aspirations, the failings, the energy, the boldness, the life, and the extravagancies of the age can be learned better from the Elizabethan plays than elsewhere, and best of all in those of Shakespeare.

But it is not only for the drama that the reign is distinguished in literature. The works of Edmund Spenser, the first great poet since Chaucer, of Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Walter Raleigh, George Gascoigne, Francis Bacon, and others, the lyrics of the dramatists, and fugitive pieces, and the translations from the classics formed a wealth of literature hitherto unknown in English annals.

336. Education. — When the monasteries were destroyed many schools went with them, but probably most of them were not a very great loss. However that may be, there were established in England between 1509 and 1553 over one hundred schools, some at the public expense, and not a few by private endowment. The education was scanty and crude. The school work began at 6 A.M. and lasted till 11 ; then went on again from 1 to 5. There were

¹ "Ralph Roister Doister," first published about 1556, though written earlier, is generally held to be the first English comedy ; "Gammer Gurton's Needle" (1553), the second. "Gorboduc," sometimes called "Ferrex and Porrex," a tragedy, was acted in 1561. With Marlowe's "Tamburlaine," 1587, the age of the great drama began.

no holidays except a few days at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. The children of the nobility and of the upper classes had private tutors. Life at the universities was much as it had been, and conditions were only slightly better than at the schools. At the same time education was more widely diffused. Every gentle-

INTERIOR OF THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL AT STRATFORD-ON-AVON

man was expected to be educated, and among the upper classes women not infrequently were as highly cultured as the men. The letters of the Paston family (1422-1509), which have been preserved, show remarkable culture among the members of that family, and it can hardly be the only instance.

337. Voyages of Discovery and Settlement. — The voyages of Drake and others have already been mentioned (§ 319), but these were not all; expeditions of almost equal importance were undertaken, and besides these, schemes for definite colonization were set on foot. One of the first was the patent granted to Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1578, but this amounted to nothing. In 1583, however, Sir Humphrey himself sailed for the New World, having a fleet of five ships carrying two hundred and sixty men. They reached Newfoundland and Cape Breton, but the storms

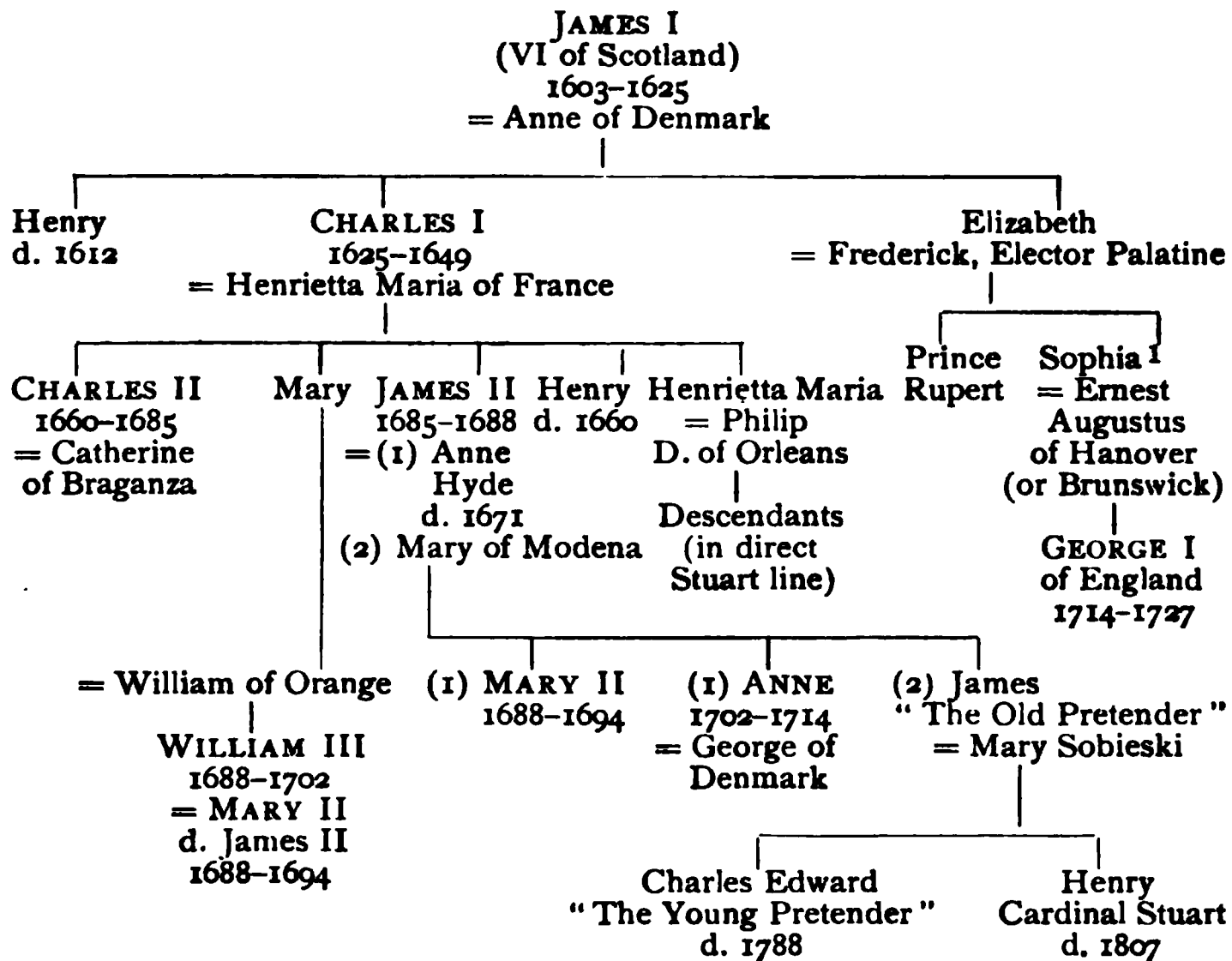
were so severe that the attempt at colonization was given up. On the return voyage the brave commander went down with all his crew, and of the five vessels only one reached England. This failure did not deter others, notably Sir Walter Raleigh (§ 330), who by his various efforts to colonize Virginia (1584-1587) was the real founder of English settlement in America, although he never saw the region in which he felt so great an interest.

338. Commercial Spirit ; Development of the Middle Class. — One great result of the policy of Elizabeth's reign, that of peace and economy, honest money and rewards of merit, was the wonderful growth of the commercial spirit. The English merchants were quick to take advantage of the new fields opened to them, and men of all classes took part in business and other enterprises, and the wealth of the nation was vastly increased.

A result of the increased wealth was the growth in power and influence of what had now become an important factor in English life — a great middle class. It was the representatives of this class who were now taking the lead in English political life, and in the House of Commons they were in the majority. Under Elizabeth they began to be restive, as has been shown by their objection to monopolies, but they were too proud of Elizabeth and too loyal to the queen who had done so much for England, to do more than grumble and petition. It was evident, however, that her successor would need skill, ability, and tact to live harmoniously with his Parliaments.

References. — Green, *Short History*, chap. vii (§§ 3-8); Gardiner, *Student's History*, chaps. xxviii-xxx; Terry, *History*, Part III, Book II, chaps. vi-vii; Tout, *Advanced History*, Book V, chaps. vi-vii; Creighton, *Age of Elizabeth*, Book I, chap. v, Book II, chaps. i-ii, Book III, chaps. iii-iv, Books IV-VII; Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, §§ 167-180; Traill, *Social England*, vol. III, chaps. xi-xii; Cheyney, *Readings*, chap. xiii; Colby, *Selections*, §§ 61-67; Kendall, *Source-Book*, §§ 52-60, 68; Lee, *Source-Book*, §§ 133-147.

The Stuarts



¹ Elizabeth had several children, but Sophia was the oldest *Protestant* child.

CHAPTER XIX

STRUGGLE AGAINST PERSONAL RULE

339. James I. 1603.—James I of England (VI of Scotland) was the son of Mary Queen of Scots¹ and Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley (§§ 306, 307); both were great-grandchildren of Margaret, daughter of Henry VII, and by the usual laws of inheritance James was the legitimate successor of Elizabeth.² The birth and bringing up of James had been unfortunate. Except for a few months in Denmark he had never been out of Scotland, and was therefore not only unacquainted with foreign life and thought, but also with the conditions and customs in the country over which he was to reign. Elizabeth understood both England and the English; James understood neither. The time for despotic rule in England had ended, and the period of transition to a constitutional government would have been full of difficulties even to the most tactful monarch, so the failure of James and his immediate successors is not surprising.

James had been well educated, and was possessed of considerable intellectual ability. He was by nature kindly in disposition, and desirous of avoiding extremes in anything. At the same time he could be stubborn in holding to an opinion or a policy. He was

¹ The attitude of James toward his mother has often been called in question. It should be remembered that he never saw her after he was a year old, and that he was brought up among those to whom she was the incarnation of all that was evil. These facts are a palliation, though not a defense, of his conduct toward her. He did, however, destroy Fotheringhay Castle, and he raised a handsome monument to her in Henry VII Chapel, Westminster Abbey.

² His succession was based on this right, for Parliament simply recognized him. It is true that he had been designated by Elizabeth on her deathbed as her successor, but unratified by Parliament, apart from the claim by birth, this had no value. According to the will of Henry VIII, under which Elizabeth herself succeeded, the legal heir was a descendant of Mary Brandon, Henry's younger sister.

vain of his acquirements and had an exaggerated estimate of his ability. Not the least of his defects was a total lack of power to read character, nor was he better able to judge of the currents of public opinion or the signs of the times. He was lazy, dilatory, and careless, fond of theory, but hated practice. In person he was tall and ungainly, shambling in his walk, slovenly in his dress and habits, and a great drinker, though by no means a drunkard.

340. James comes to London. 1603. — Sir Robert Carey,¹ a cousin of Elizabeth, by three days' hard riding, it is said, carried tidings of the queen's death to James at Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh.

Three days later James was proclaimed King of England,

JAMES I

Scotland, and Ireland, just a century after the marriage of James IV of Scotland to Margaret, the daughter of Henry VII, whose policy thus bore fruit after many years.

James set out almost at once for London. His journey thither occupied a month, and along the whole route he was received with enthusiasm. With his queen, Anne, Princess of Denmark, he was crowned at Westminster (July 25, 1603). James decided to follow the policy of Elizabeth, and continued her ministers in office, making Sir Robert Cecil his chief adviser. This course, the best that he could have taken, was not acceptable either to the Puritans or the Catholics.

341. Millenary Petition; Hampton Court Conference, 1604; Bible of 1611. — On his way to London James was presented by the Puritans with a petition, known as the Millenary Petition be-

¹ He was a grandson of Mary, sister of Anne Boleyn.

cause it was reported to have been signed by one thousand clergymen.¹ In this some modification of the use of religious ceremonies and clerical vestments was asked for. The requests were moderate, but it soon became evident that James had no notion of allowing any alteration in church services or organization. However, a conference between the English bishops and four leading Puritan clergymen was held at Hampton Court Palace, and hence known as the Hampton Court Conference (1604). James himself took a prominent part in this meeting, the only important result of which was an arrangement for a new version of the Bible, which appeared in 1611, and which, on account of its excellence, displaced all previous English translations. Known as the "Authorized Version," it remains to this day a model of literary English.

At this conference James took the position of a firm supporter of episcopacy, stating as his motto the adage, "No bishop, no king," while as his guiding principle he proclaimed the divine right of kings.²

342. Plots against James ; Raleigh. 1603.—Two conspiracies against James were very soon set on foot ; the one known as the Main Plot, and the other as the Bye Plot. The chief interest in these plots is the fact that Sir Walter Raleigh was accused of being concerned in the Main Plot. According to the custom of the day, he was required to prove his innocence, to answer charges without preparation, and was forbidden the assistance of counsel. Raleigh was convicted, but was reprieved and thrown into the Tower, where he remained thirteen years.

343. James and Religion.—James was inclined to allow the private exercise of religion, provided Catholics would acknowledge that loyalty to him was above loyalty to the Pope, and would agree that there should be no increase in their numbers. This was a

¹ In reality the signers numbered about 800.

² It is to James's discredit that ten of the principal signers of the Millenary Petition were thrown into prison, and narrowly escaped the charge of treason for their action.

demand to which neither the Pope nor the Catholic party could be expected to agree. However, James remitted fines for non-attendance at church services, with the result that there were many empty pews in the parish churches and great gatherings of Catholics outside them. The Protestants took it for granted that these

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worshippers were new converts, and James in alarm went back to the policy of Cecil. All priests were ordered to leave the country, several were hanged, and the fines for recusancy were rigidly enforced.

344. The Gunpowder Plot. 1605.—The extremists were so irritated at what had happened that after the fashion of the day they turned from peaceful means to conspiracy, resulting in the "Gunpowder Plot." The cold-blooded plan to destroy innocent and unsuspecting men along with those against whom there was a grudge or who might take hostile action distinguished the Gunpowder Plot from all others, and makes its anniversary still remembered in England. There is much in the plot which cannot be explained, but on the whole it would seem that tradition is not far wrong. The men who were concerned in it were not ruffians, but gentlemen by birth. In substance the plan was to blow up with gunpowder the king and Parliament on the opening day of the session, November 5, 1605. For this purpose there were stored in a cellar under the House of Lords thirty-six barrels of gunpowder. Everything was ready, when one of the conspir-

ators sent to his brother-in-law, a member of the House of Lords, a letter of warning. Through this the government discovered the plot and apprehended Guy Fawkes, the man who had charge of the powder. The other conspirators fled into the country, there to attempt to raise a rebellion. The leader and a few friends were surrounded in a house in Staffordshire, and killed. Fawkes, after being tortured to obtain evidence, was, with several companions, executed. Among others Garnet, the head of the English Jesuits, was put to death. His trial failed to show any complicity on his part, but only a knowledge that a plot existed of which he did not give notice to the government.¹ As a result of the plot severe laws against the Catholics were passed and carried out relentlessly, and the cause of religious toleration was indefinitely retarded.

345. James's First Parliament, 1604-1611; Foreign Policy. — The extravagance of James soon forced him to summon a Parliament. This sat from 1604 until 1611, and was continually out of harmony with the king. James lectured the members, dwelling on his favorite doctrine of the divine right of kings, while Parliament insisted on its privileges and the right to withhold supplies until grievances were redressed. James sought to replenish his treasury by laying customs duties, selling titles of nobility, imposing excessive fines, granting monopolies, etc.; but so far as Parliament was concerned he obtained very little money.

Early in his reign peace was made with Spain and he sought an alliance with her, though at the same time he was friendly with France. In foreign affairs James's policy in the main was wise because he wished for peace, which was the best thing for England, but he was unable to carry out his policy in a statesmanlike manner.

346. Scotland and Ireland. — One thing upon which James had set his heart was the union of England and Scotland, for, though he was king of both countries, each was governed by its own laws and its own Parliament. He had, without authority, as-

¹ Technically this is called Misprision of Treason.

sumed the title of King of Great Britain and Ireland, but Parliament refused to take any steps looking toward a union.¹

The conquest of Ireland was almost coincident with the death of Elizabeth; therefore James was really the first king of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Ireland, though subdued and helpless, was by no means friendly. Hoping to improve matters, James granted to colonists from England and Scotland large tracts of land in the north of Ireland, declared to be forfeited to the crown on account of a small rebellion in 1607. Thus were formed the Protestant districts of Ulster. At the time (1611) this was the wildest part of Ireland; in after years it became the most industrious and wealthy. This colonizing scheme² had both good and evil effects; on the one hand it strengthened the English rule, while on the other it gave rise to much hard feeling, so that a bitter enmity arose between the Protestants and Catholics of those districts, an enmity which exists to this day.

347. Colonization ; Commerce.—Meanwhile the spirit of colonization was active. In 1607 Jamestown in Virginia was founded, and earlier a colony in the small West India island of Barbados. These were followed by Plymouth, Massachusetts, settled in 1620 by the Pilgrims; Massachusetts Bay, in 1629; Maryland, in 1632; and others established at various dates till the settlement of Georgia, in 1732.

With the development of colonization there was the increase of trade and commerce. In 1600 Elizabeth had given a charter to a commercial company known as the East India Company, organized for securing the trade of the far East. In India trading stations, or factories as they were called, were established, and thus began

¹ There can be little question that the Commons were right in their position. To have united the two kingdoms would at that time almost inevitably have strengthened the royal power in both England and Scotland, which would have been a calamity. That which the Commons refused to do in 1607 they did gladly in 1707.

² In order to raise funds for this undertaking James founded a new order of hereditary knighthood, and sold what were known as baronetcies. The price for each title was £1800. The shields of baronets still bear a red hand, known as the red hand of Ulster.

England's interest in India. Stations were established in Africa also, and everywhere England was beginning to contend with the Dutch for the supremacy in commerce. English ships now traded with almost all the ports of the Mediterranean, and with Spain, Portugal, France, Hamburg, and the Baltic ports. A large business was done in the fisheries off Newfoundland and in the whale fisheries of the North Atlantic.

348. Raleigh's Venture, 1617; His Execution. 1618.— James was ready to listen to any scheme for making money, of which he stood in so great need, and when Sir Walter Raleigh, who had been thirteen years in the Tower (§ 342), offered, if released, to head an expedition to Guiana in search of some gold mines of which he had heard in his visit to that country many years before, the king willingly acceded to the proposition.

Sir Walter started in 1617. He agreed not to take any warlike measures against the Spaniards, with whom James was now at peace, a promise which it was impossible to keep, for the alleged mines were in territory claimed by Spain, any intrusion into which she would certainly resent. After many difficulties the small fleet reached the mouth of the Orinoco, and Raleigh waited there while some of his vessels went up the river. They found a Spanish settlement and, in a skirmish which ensued, were defeated. Raleigh was compelled to go back to England. Meantime the Spaniards demanded that he should be punished as a pirate. James, fearful of a break with Spain, finally caused Raleigh to be executed under the old unjust sentence of treason. The common view at the time was that he was executed simply to please Spain, and modern investigation has only confirmed it.

349. Favorites.— Sir Robert Cecil, who had been created Earl of Salisbury, died in 1612, and James determined to rule without a chief minister of state. Unfortunately he could not get along without some kind of adviser, and so came under the influence of favorites, men who were interested simply in their own advancement and concerns. The first of these was Robert Carr,

a Scotsman, who was made Viscount Rochester, and later Earl of Somerset. After several years he fell into disgrace, and a new favorite was found in George Villiers, afterwards Earl, and later, Duke of Buckingham. It was soon recognized that no plan or policy had a chance of success unless it was approved by him, and so he became the real ruler of the land.

350. Prince Charles and the Spanish

Scheme. 1616. — The year which saw the death of Cecil (1612) saw also that of Prince Henry, James's eldest son, who was about nineteen. He was a youth of the greatest promise, and there have always been suspicions that his death was not wholly the result, as claimed, of cold and fever. The removal of Prince

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STUART KINGS

Henry and Cecil deprived James of the only men who might have restrained him from his foolish course. The heir to the throne was now Charles, the second son. James, full of the desire for peace and an alliance with Spain, and supported by Buckingham, determined to marry Charles to the Spanish Infanta Maria, granddaughter of Philip II and sister of the ruling king of Spain. Instinctively the English people felt that, if carried out, such a policy would make England the practical supporter of Spain. This belief united men who would not otherwise have acted together—those who feared for their estates, those who feared for their religion, and those who feared for their country.

James now began to show toleration toward the Catholics, and for the first time in many years Catholics had an easy time, provided they were content to remain quiet. This course was unpopular, for the people at large regarded favor to Catholics as favor to Spain. Spain was willing enough to carry on negotiations with James, for, as long as they continued, there was not much likelihood of England's interference with Spanish designs.

351. Thirty Years' War. 1618–1648. — In 1618 the Thirty Years' War, one of the most desolating wars in history, broke out on the Continent. The immediate occasion for the outbreak was a struggle for the crown of Bohemia between Frederick, Elector-Palatine of the Rhine, and Ferdinand of Austria; but it really was a struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism. Frederick had married Elizabeth,¹ (1613), James's only daughter, and, as the representative of Protestantism, was strongly supported by English opinion; but when he begged James for help his appeal was refused, though volunteers were allowed to join his forces. It was not long before Frederick lost both the crown of Bohemia and the Palatinate. (App. I, §§ 143–152.)

352. Parliaments of 1614 and 1621. — In 1614 James called his second Parliament, but it was unwilling to do anything for him until he abandoned his illegal methods of taxation, and ceased his interference with elections. James in anger dissolved the Parliament, which in consequence of not having passed a single act was called the "Addled Parliament." James now began to raise money by benevolences, somewhat as Henry VII had done, but he was soon forced to call his third Parliament (1621). This Parliament refused to grant supplies until grievances had been redressed. First it dealt with monopolies; these were hated chiefly as an abuse of royal power, though monopolies of such necessities of life as salt, oil, etc., were always unpopular.

353. Impeachment of Bacon. 1621. — The next thing that Parliament took up was the conduct of government officials, and Francis Bacon, the Lord Chancellor, was chosen as an example. He was a friend to monopolies, and some suitors in his court claimed that he had received bribes. In those days it was generally understood that presents were to be given to judges and others; indeed it was a recognized method of payment for services rendered. Bacon had received such gifts or bribes before judgment

¹ After the death of Queen Anne (1714), the grandson of Elizabeth, George of Hanover, came to the throne of England as George I.

was pronounced, and while the case was still pending, thus laying himself open to grave charges. He confessed the facts and was sentenced to pay a fine of £10,000, to be imprisoned in the Tower at the king's pleasure, and to retire from public life. He was even forbidden to come within twelve miles of the court. James, probably more because he considered Bacon's impeachment an infringement on his royal rights than from compassion, remitted the fine and released him after two days' imprisonment.¹

GOLD COIN OF JAMES I

This coin, commemorating the union of England and Scotland, was the first to bear the legend "Great Britain."

The essential point in the case, as in the prosecution of certain of the monopolies, was that the Commons had revived the right of impeachment of the officers of the crown, a weapon which could inflict powerful blows (§ 162, note).

354. Conflict with Parliament. 1622.—Having disposed of the monopolies and of Bacon, the Parliament was ready to grant James some small supplies. After a recess it came together again, and at this time the negotiations with Spain were being carried on. The Commons immediately sent word to the king, requesting him to marry his son to a Protestant princess. James replied that Parliament had no right to discuss matters upon which he had not consulted them, and that they should not "meddle with mysteries of state." Not only this, but he threatened to punish members for their words in the House. This roused the ire of the Commons, and they put on record a notable statement of their right to free speech in the House, and to an unhindered discussion of all matters relating to the realm.

¹ Bacon claimed, and, so far as records show, justly, that in no case had his decisions been affected by bribes, but with that question the Commons were not concerned.

James was so angered that he sent for the Journal containing this declaration, and tore out the leaf with his own hands. In a few days he dissolved the Parliament, and threw several of the prominent members into prison.

355. The Spanish Scheme Fails. 1623. — Meantime the negotiations in regard to the Spanish marriage dragged on. Buckingham and Prince Charles resolved to see what a visit to Madrid would do. When they reached that city, they found that not only all sorts of difficulties were thrown in the way, but that the Infanta herself was unalterably opposed to a marriage with any heretic. After numerous disputes and adventures they gave up the matter in disgust and returned to England, to be received with enthusiasm, not because either Charles or Buckingham was popular, but because the proposed alliance with Spain had failed. Buckingham now turned to France and proposed that Charles should marry Henrietta Maria, the sister of the king, Louis XIII.

356. Last Days of James. 1624-1625. — The last Parliament which James called (1624) pronounced monopolies illegal and canceled all grants except bona fide patents which were to run fourteen years. War was declared against Spain, and troops for the aid of Frederick were authorized to be raised in England. Of the twelve thousand Englishmen who went out to fight the cause of Protestantism, fully three fourths perished in Holland from cold and disease, so poorly furnished were they with needful supplies. (App. I, § 145.)

In Scotland James's course had been as ill-advised as in England. Greatly pleased by the reception which he had received from the strong churchmen in England, he had resolved to introduce episcopacy into Scotland. Bishops were appointed, and the Presbyterian system was modified, though not without opposition. As a matter of fact the bishops had little power.

James died in March, 1625, and was succeeded by his son Charles I.

357. Charles I Marries. 1625.—Charles was at that time twenty-four years old. In many ways he was a better man than his father, and he was unquestionably desirous of ruling well. His private life was exemplary and he was free from many of the vices common in his day. On the other hand he was obstinate, impulsive, unwise, impatient of detail, inclined to double dealing, and had, like his father, an overweening sense of his divine right as king. He was handsome and dignified, devoted to the church, and, in his way, pious. He could not understand any point of view other than his own, and was rarely able to make up his mind what line of action to pursue. He failed to understand his people, and though he had devoted friends he was never popular except for the few months after his return from Spain.

CHARLES I

After a painting by Vandyke

A treaty with France had been arranged in 1624, and before he called his first Parliament the marriage with Henrietta Maria of France had been celebrated by proxy in front of the doors of the great church of Notre Dame in Paris (June, 1625), and the young queen of sixteen came to England.

358. Spanish War; First Parliament. 1625.—When the first Parliament of Charles met, the nation was already at war with Spain, and he naturally expected that large grants of money would be made; but he was granted only two comparatively small amounts, and "tonnage and poundage"¹ for one year, though

¹ "Tonnage and poundage" was another name for customs duties.

it had been usual to make such a grant for the lifetime of a new king. The Commons distrusted Buckingham and his influence upon the king, and the power to grant or withhold supplies was in those days the only weapon which they could use, for even the right of impeachment was still questioned. Charles wrathfully dismissed the Parliament, and he and Buckingham managed to send off an expedition to Spain, but it was a failure.

359. Charles's Second Parliament, 1626; Impeachment of Buckingham. — Charles, from want of funds, was compelled to call another Parliament (1626), but this second body was no more tractable than the first. Charles had tried to get rid of the leaders of the former House by making them sheriffs and hence ineligible for election to Parliament. But it was of no avail, for new chiefs appeared. Under the leadership of Sir John Eliot, a Cornish gentleman, the Commons impeached Buckingham, charging him with mismanaging the revenue, with buying and selling offices, and with lending ships to France. These charges were true, but a number of others included in the impeachment were clearly unjust. The vote passed the Commons, and Sir John Eliot and Sir Dudley Digges were chosen to present the charges before the House of Lords. Charles, under the pretext that they had used seditious language, threw Eliot and Digges into prison. Parliament refused to transact any business until their release. When they were set at liberty the prosecution was again taken up, and Charles, to save Buckingham, dissolved Parliament, without getting a penny of supplies.

360. Forced Loans. — In order to obtain funds Charles had recourse to forced loans, benevolences, etc. Many of those who refused to pay were committed to prison, among them Eliot; others had soldiers billeted upon them, or were compelled to join the army or navy. In 1627 war broke out with France,¹ and to provide for it a forced loan was attempted. For denying that this was legal the Chief Justice was dismissed from the bench. Five gentle-

¹ This war was occasioned by King Charles sending the French attendants of the queen out of England.

men who refused to pay were thrown into prison, and when a writ of *habeas corpus*¹ was issued in their favor, the jailer replied that the prisoners were kept by the king's order and could not be released. When their case came before the court, the judges sent the prisoners back to jail, thus practically acknowledging that the king had the right to imprison at his pleasure. Charles, however, finding that he did not gain anything in this way set the five gentlemen free.

361. Charles's Third Parliament. 1628. — Finding it impossible to get along without supplies, Charles called his third Parliament. Among its members was Sir Thomas Wentworth, who, with Eliot, John Pym, and Sir Edward Coke, took the lead in the great struggle for the rights of the individual in regard to person and property. This matter took precedence of all other business. At first the grievances were drawn up in the shape of a bill, but the king refused to consider it; then the Commons drew up a statement in the form of a petition enumerating the grievances of the past and providing for the future. Wentworth withdrew his support from this. Charles at first refused to have anything to do with the petition, but finding that it had the support of the Lords and that he could not get anything out of the Parliament unless it was signed, he finally attached his signature and the Petition of Right became law (1628).

362. The Petition of Right. 1628. — The four subjects of the Petition were: martial law, billeting of soldiers, arbitrary taxation, and arbitrary imprisonment. It made provision that martial law should not be employed in time of peace; that the soldiers should not be quartered upon private citizens against their wish; that all such methods of raising money as a forced gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge without consent of Parliament should be considered illegal; and that no one should be imprisoned without some definite charge. As soon as it was known that the king had signed the Petition there was great rejoicing over all Eng-

¹ *Habeas corpus* — the writ issued by a judge or proper officer demanding that the prisoner should be brought before him to see if the commitment to prison was legal or justly made.

land, and Parliament immediately granted Charles five subsidies (£350,000).

The Petition of Right¹ has always been considered one of the great constitutional safeguards of English liberty, but its importance lies in the fact that by it the people asserted and gained the right to set a limit to the arbitrary power of the king and his government. It was a statement of principles, but it made no provision for carrying them out; for instance, while it required that each man should have a trial, there was nothing to prevent that trial from being an unfair one, or from being held before judges wholly in the king's interest. No surety was given for the appointment of impartial judges, and they continued, therefore, to be appointed and removed at the king's pleasure. Again, the language was vague, so that within a week a serious question arose between the king and Parliament as to its meaning. But with all these shortcomings it marks a definite stage in the struggle for constitutional liberty.

The Commons next took up the question of tonnage and poundage, which they held to be a tax, though the king claimed that these duties did not come under the Petition of Right. They had been granted by Charles's first Parliament for only a year, but he had collected them ever since. The Commons, moreover, renewed their attack on Buckingham, so Charles prorogued Parliament.

363. Assassination of Buckingham ; Rochelle Expedition. 1628.—Having now enough money, the king planned an expedition for the relief of the Protestants of Rochelle in France, which was besieged by the French forces. Buckingham was to lead it, but while he was at Portsmouth ready to embark, he was assassinated.

The expedition sailed for Rochelle, but when it arrived off the harbor and the masters of the merchant vessels which had been pressed into service saw the preparation for defense, they refused to go into action and Rochelle was left to its fate. Charles later (1630) made peace with France and Spain.

¹ It was called the Petition of Right to show that it was intended to explain old rights and privileges, not to curtail royal prerogatives or gain new liberties.

364. Religious Difficulties. 1629.—Meantime other difficulties existed regarding religious doctrines and practices. The Catholic successes on the Continent, known in history as the Counter-Reformation, had frightened the English Protestants. Besides, there were the negotiations of James and Charles with France and Spain, both Catholic powers, and in addition the fact that Queen Henrietta Maria was a Catholic.

The preaching and teaching of the men trained in the continental schools during Mary's reign had brought its legitimate fruit, and a large number of the educated classes were now strong Calvinists and Protestants, while their representatives had an overwhelming majority in Parliament. To them uniformity in Calvinistic doctrine was essential. Tolerance, either of another's belief, or of his religious practice, if it differed from Calvinism, was believed to be a positive sin.

On the other hand, there was a party of High Churchmen strongly opposed to Calvinism, laying much stress on ritual and ceremony. The followers of this party, believing that the king was the head of the church, were staunch supporters of the royal authority and high in favor with Charles. The Puritans believed that unless the royal power was curtailed, it meant the complete supremacy of High Church authority. Religion and politics were, therefore, inextricably interwoven, and gave a bitterness and relentlessness to the struggle which a purely political conflict would not have had.

365. Parliament of 1629. Eliot's Resolutions. Parliament Dissolved. 1629.—Parliament met in 1629. The question of tonnage and poundage came up again. One of the members of Parliament had refused to pay this tax and had been imprisoned. Parliament claimed that his arrest was an attack on their privileges, one of which was that members should be secure from arrest.¹

¹ This would seem to have been an extravagant claim, for Parliament was not in session at the time, but technically there was something to be said for it. Pym urged the Commons to dispute tonnage and poundage only on the ground that it was illegally levied.

Charles steadfastly refused to let the officers who had arrested the men appear before the Commons, and adjourned the House. He was unsuccessful in his efforts to influence members, and when the House came together again he sent orders for another adjournment (March 2, 1629). The members, fearing that Parliament would be dissolved, shut the doors so as to keep the king's messenger from coming in, and also to insure privacy. Then followed a scene of the wildest confusion, during which the Speaker was forced to remain in his chair while three resolutions, offered by Eliot, were agreed to with shouts of assent.

The substance of the famous articles was that whoever should bring in innovations in religion or any opinions differing from the "true and orthodox church"; or who should advise the taking and levying of tonnage and poundage, if not granted by Parliament, or be an actor therein; or who should voluntarily yield or pay said subsidies, these not being granted by Parliament — should be reputed a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth. As soon as the resolutions were passed the House adjourned. In a few days Charles dissolved Parliament, and none was called for eleven years.

366. Punishment of Sir John Eliot and Others. — Charles determined to punish the chief of his enemies. Nine members of Parliament were brought before the Privy Council. Most of them apologized after experiencing imprisonment and were released; the others were brought before the Court of King's Bench. These denied the jurisdiction of the court, claiming that they could not be called in question for what was said within the House of Commons. They were charged with riot and sedition, and were condemned to pay fines, and to lie in prison until the fines were paid and apologies made to the king. Sir John Eliot, who was one of them, declined to pay the fine or to apologize. He lay in the Tower three years; then, having contracted consumption, he begged to be allowed his liberty. Charles refused, and in a month Eliot died (1632), a martyr to the cause of parlia-

mentary privilege and political liberty. To the earnest and respectful petition of his son that his body might be taken to his old home, Charles heartlessly replied, "Let Sir John Eliot be buried in the church of that parish where he died." So he was buried within the inclosure of the Tower and his grave is now unknown. Eliot's companions in imprisonment, Valentine and Strode, remained in the Tower until they were released in 1640.

COSTUMES OF THE NOBILITY, TIME OF CHARLES I

· 367. **Personal Rule of Charles.** 1629-1640.—Charles now entered upon the second well-defined period of his reign — that of personal government — during which he tried to get on without Parliament. This might have been possible had it not been for the money question. Though Charles was not extravagant, he was not economical, and the ordinary revenues were insufficient. It must not be supposed that the government was altogether bad ; it was the principle upon which the government was administered, its illegal methods of raising money, and the punishments it inflicted for refusals to pay fines and levies, that were evil. Charles and his counselors failed to realize that some compromise between king and Parliament was needful. The Commons were equally unable

to understand the situation. A conflict was inevitable, but in bringing it to an issue Charles was certainly the most to blame.

Charles's later advisers were Richard Weston, afterwards Earl of Portland, Lord Treasurer; William Laud, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury; and Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford—all able men. Weston was a good financier, and his skill was of the utmost advantage to Charles. But Wentworth and Laud were the most influential.

368. Sir Thomas Wentworth; Laud.—Wentworth's course has always been something of an enigma: he was one of the most earnest participators in the early debates which led to the passage of the Petition of Right, and had himself drawn the bill first presented to the king, but took no active part in the debate regarding the Petition itself, and then went over to the royal side, becoming the king's earnest supporter. He was a firm believer in the royal power, and seems to have been honest in his conviction that a despotic rule was best for the country, and that it was more likely that a king would be intelligent and patriotic than a Parliament. But he had an ill-concealed contempt for public opinion, for the people as the source of power, and for individual liberty.

William Laud, the last of the three great advisers, was, like Wentworth, conspicuously an honest man. He was a zealous High Churchman and hated Puritanism. He was a strong upholder of uniformity in church services, and indeed of outward conformity in every way. He was a persecutor, just as those in power had been under Mary and Elizabeth. He differed from them in this, that he did not put to death, but all that imprisonment, mutilation, loss of position, and exile could do was done. The press was under the control of the archbishop, therefore no Puritan sermon, tract, or treatise was allowed to be published; it had been customary in many places for the churches to be used as halls for discussion and meetings of various kinds; this was strictly prohibited, and lecturers and private chaplains were forbidden to

address an audience. When men and women met in the woods or in barns to hold devotional services they were seized and tried for illegal worship. Like Wentworth, Laud had no sympathy with free thought and the doctrine of individual liberty. One result of his policy was to send twenty thousand men and women of the sturdiest blood in England to seek a home in the wilds of North America. In this way Laud was really the founder of Anglo-Saxon supremacy in North America, for it is hardly to be supposed that except to escape religious persecution so many of that class would have braved the suffering and the risks of a seventeenth century emigration.

369. The Star Chamber ; High Commission ; Council of the North. — The government of the country was now practically carried on by Wentworth and Laud. There were three tribunals which were made instruments of much tyranny. These were the Court of Star Chamber, the Court of High Commission, and the Council of the North,¹ all of them, for the purposes to which they were now put, of questionable legality.

Those who were accused of resisting the royal will were brought before the Star Chamber. For instance, Doctor Alexander Leigh-

¹ The Court of Star Chamber was a court organized in 1487 for the trial of offenders, especially nobles and powerful men, and those who could not be reached so well through the ordinary tribunals. It was composed of members of the Privy Council (§ 219).

The Court of High Commission was instituted by Mary in 1557 for the purpose of examining and punishing cases of heresy and schism. It was reorganized under Elizabeth (1559) and made a permanent tribunal in 1583. It was composed of prelates, Privy Councilors, and a few others.

The Council of the North was originally established by Henry VIII after the Pilgrimage of Grace (§ 247) to keep the northern counties in order and administer justice in the king's name. Wentworth, soon after he joined the king's party, had been appointed its president, and had reorganized it after the plan of the Star Chamber. It was composed of members of the Privy Council.

Still another court was the Council of Wales, set up in 1536 by Henry VIII; it was similar to the Council of the North.

All these courts, however excellent they had been, had become the instruments of tyranny. They tried cases without a jury and often arbitrarily. They violated the first principles of justice, for the members of the courts were too often both accusers and judges. All were abolished by Parliament in 1641.

ton, a Scotch physician and minister resident in London, presented a petition to Parliament for the abolition of episcopacy, and afterwards expanded it into a book in which all the ills of the country were charged to the king and the bishops. For this he was brought before the Court of Star Chamber, and condemned to be flogged, and to have his nose slit, one ear cut off, and his face branded. William Prynne published a long and dreary, but severe, attack upon the stage, called *Histriomastix, or the Scourge of Stage-players*. In it he was specially severe on actresses. It happened that the queen had just taken part in some theatricals at the court, and it was held that he had not only attacked the king, who supported the stage, but also the queen. For this offense he was expelled from the bar, deprived of his university degree, sentenced to lose his ears in the pillory, to pay a heavy fine, and to be imprisoned at the king's pleasure. This was in 1633-1634. In 1637 Prynne with two others incurred the wrath of Archbishop Laud, by publishing, from their prison, books attacking the bishops. The offenders were brought before the Court of Star Chamber, and were heavily fined; the ears of Prynne's companions were cut off, his own were sheared more closely, and the three men were sent to distant separate prisons, and finally to the Channel Islands. On their way from the prison to the pillory they were greeted by thousands of sympathizers and hailed as martyrs.

370. The Policy of "Thorough." — Laud and Wentworth became close friends and supported each other. Laud told Wentworth that he "was all for 'thorough,'¹ the system of complete discipline on which his heart was set." Laud was the better able to carry out his principle of "thorough" because he was a member both of the Court of Star Chamber and of the Court of High Commission. In the course of three years he caused every parish in England to be visited and the practices of the clergymen in-

¹ This word "thorough" has been inseparably joined with the name of Wentworth, though Laud seems to have been the first to suggest it. In their use it meant "the prompt and resolute prosecution of any policy."

quired into. If any deviation from the precise form of the Prayer Book was found, or if anything was not done in exact accord with directions, Laud was informed and unless the clergyman conformed he was cited to appear before the Court of High Commission, and was either suspended or deprived of his office. That there was in many places need of better order and decorum is quite likely, but Laud was doubtless not aware how much Puritanism had increased; his requirements seemed to many like a return to Catholicism, and it was honestly believed in some quarters that it was Laud's idea to bring England back to Rome.

371. "Book of Sports." 1633. — At Laud's advice Charles issued the *Book of Sports*. This was a declaration, originally drawn up in the reign of James I (1618), stating that certain sports, such as bowls, leaping, wrestling, vaulting, etc., were lawful on Sundays. Had the proclamation been made in the usual way, it would hardly have made much

BOYS' SPORTS
From a book of 1659

disturbance; but every clergyman was ordered by Laud to read it from his pulpit after service on a Sunday. To many this seemed a direct violation of the law of God; some refused to read, and others got around it in various ways. One clergyman, it is said, read the declaration and then the Ten Commandments, saying, "Dearly beloved, you have heard the commandment of God and of man; obey which you please."

372. Wentworth in Ireland. 1633-1639. — Meanwhile Wentworth had been appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland. He assumed

charge of that island in 1633, and immediately put into vigorous practice his policy of "thorough." In his administration he showed his extraordinary power of organization and government. He ruled despotically, he required implicit obedience, and he was often unjust. "He moved straight to his object over all obstacles whatever, and if he found his path obstructed by disloyal and contumacious persons, he scrupled little as to the particular method whereby to brush them aside;" but after six years of rule he left Ireland more prosperous than she had ever been before. Trade had never been so profitable or so extensive, the linen industry had been introduced, the revenues of the island showed a surplus instead of a deficit, churches which had been in ruins had been rebuilt, well-considered laws had been enacted and were enforced, and the Irish Sea was cleared of the pirates who had long infested it. Besides this he had created an army, well drilled and effective. But his rule was hateful to all classes in Ireland.

✓ **373. Gustavus Adolphus; Thirty Years' War. 1630-1632.**— On the Continent the Thirty Years' War (§ 351) was still devastating Europe. The Protestants had at last found a leader in Gustavus Adolphus, the famous king of Sweden, and the tide seemed to be turning. The English people were deeply interested in the success of Gustavus, and would have gladly aided him, but with the exception of some Scotch and English volunteers, no aid was extended. Charles had no sympathy with the religious movement. At Lützen (1632), the great Gustavus lost his life, and for sixteen or seventeen years longer the terribly devastating war dragged on.

374. Ship Money. 1634.— Various expedients were adopted by Charles to raise money without summoning Parliament. These were principally the revival and extension of old royal prerogatives, the best known of which was "ship money." In old times during war a king could call on the seaport towns for ships to defend the realm. This right Charles, at the suggestion of the attorney-general, Noy, determined to revive (1634). London responded with a certain number of vessels, but the other towns gave money.

This method was so successful that Charles resolved to extend it to inland towns (1635). These of course would furnish money, not ships. Charles spent the revenue thus secured upon a navy. A third writ of ship money was made in 1636. It was now clear that the king meant to impose a permanent and general tax. There was much grumbling, and, to make a test case, John Hampden, a wealthy country gentleman of Buckinghamshire, refused to pay the amount for which he was assessed. It was a matter of only twenty shillings, but with him resistance was a matter of principle.¹

The case was tried (1638) before twelve judges, and seven of the twelve pronounced in favor of the king. The claim was made that "ship money" was not a tax, but money contributed for the defense of the realm instead of personal service. On the other hand, it was argued that it was a tax levied without consent of Parliament. The small majority by which the king's victory was obtained took from it much of its value, while the arguments of the lawyers and the opinions of the judges excited the deepest interest and were read far and wide.² The tax was felt by every one who had any property, and Hampden's case brought the whole question of royal power before the country as nothing else had done. Ship money continued to be collected, but it was paid with more and more reluctance.

375. Enlargement of the Forests.—The king also obtained funds by extending the bounds of the royal forests, in connection with which fines were imposed. Originally very much of the land of the kingdom had lain within the domains of what were known as the royal forests, but for more than three hundred years these boundaries had been fixed in accordance with an arrangement made in the reign of Edward I (1272–1307). The king

¹ Lord Saye, one of the Puritan lords, also protested, but Hampden's was made the test case.

² Finch, the Chief Justice, in his opinion upheld the absolute power of the king. "Undoubtedly," said a contemporary, "my Lord Finch's speech made ship money much more abhorred and formidable than all the commandments by the Council table and all the distresses taken by the sheriffs of England."

now set up a claim that this arrangement was invalid and seized large tracts. The occupiers of these lands were compelled to pay fines or lose their property.¹

376. Scottish Opposition. — The first open revolt against arbitrary royal power came from Scotland. Though England and Scotland had now the same king, they continued to have separate laws and separate Parliaments. Charles's first visit to Scotland after his accession had been in 1633; he had been enthusiastically received and was crowned at Holyrood. But he very soon managed to arouse strong opposition.

Neither Charles nor Laud could rest until a new Prayer Book was drawn up for Scotland. Though this was more Protestant than was the English book, it was still a church service book and was called the "mass in English"; for Scotland, even among the ranks of the clergy, was overwhelmingly Puritan.

377. The Scottish Liturgy; the Covenant. 1638. — The new Liturgy was read for the first time in St. Giles's church, Edinburgh. Hardly were the opening words uttered when a scene of great confusion took place. Women shouted their disapprobation, and it is said one woman threw a stool at the dean's head, narrowly missing the archbishop. The Council ordered the omission of both the old and the new services till the king's pleasure could be known. Charles refused to yield, but it was impossible to find a clergyman in Edinburgh who would use the book.

Resistance to the royal command became almost universal, and thousands signed a national covenant, engaging to defend the reformed religion, and promising "to labor by all means lawful to recover the purity and liberty of the gospel, as it was established and professed before the innovations."

An assembly of the church held at Glasgow declared that the king had no right to meddle with the religion of a nation, and went on to abolish episcopacy, canons, and liturgy.

¹ Seventeen villages were added to the Forest of Dean; Rockingham Forest was enlarged from six miles to sixty, and Waltham Forest in similar fashion.

378. Scottish Rebellion ; Treaty of Berwick. 1639.—This was rebellion indeed. Charles's treasury was empty, he had no army, and little moral support. By forced loans and other means he collected enough money to raise 12,000 troops, but they were mutinous, ill-trained, and unsympathetic. On the other hand, the troops which the Scots gathered were well disciplined, ably led, and were full of enthusiasm for their cause.

Charles, finding that his men would not fight, was compelled to negotiate with the Scots the verbal treaty of Berwick (June 2, 1639). The substance of this agreement was that Charles promised the Scots a General Assembly, a free Parliament, and an act of pardon and oblivion ; while the Scots, on their side, agreed to disband the troops, to do away with unlawful committees, and to restore the castles to the king's officers. The statements were vague and no provision was made for possible disagreements. The Scottish Assembly and Parliament (1639) insisted on the abolition of episcopacy, and on other matters almost equally distasteful to Charles. The bodies were adjourned and Charles again determined to try force.

379. Strafford (Wentworth) ; "Short Parliament," 1640 ; Advance of the Scots.—Charles now chose for his chief adviser Wentworth, who was recalled from Ireland and created Earl of Strafford. Much as Strafford disliked and distrusted English Parliaments, he saw that the only chance for the success of Charles in Scotland lay in gaining the support of England, and this must come through Parliament. Charles unwillingly followed his advice, and in April, 1640, after an interval of eleven years, Parliament met. But under the leadership of Pym and Hampden, Parliament positively refused to grant any supplies until grievances were redressed. Charles was not ready for this, and after three weeks the Parliament, without passing a single act, was dissolved (May 5, 1640). From its brief session it is known as the "Short Parliament."

The Scots invaded England (August, 1640). Again Charles managed to raise an army and sent it to the North, but it fell back

before the enemy, leaving an open path for the invaders. The Scots entered Yorkshire, and Charles was forced to treat with them. He promised to pay the expenses of their army until a permanent treaty could be arranged, and as a pledge left Durham and Northumberland in their hands. He called a great council of the peers at York for advice, but they could only advise him to call another Parliament and to open fresh negotiations with the Scots.

- ✓ **380. Beginning of the "Long Parliament."** 1640. — As there was nothing else for him to do, Charles summoned a Parliament. From the length of its existence it is known as the "Long Parliament."¹ It consisted largely of country gentlemen, among whom were John Pym, John Hampden, Edward Hyde, and a man, almost unknown at the time, but destined to become the greatest of them all — Oliver Cromwell.

It began its sessions November 3, 1640. Pym at once took a leading part. There can be little doubt that the Parliament voiced the popular feeling as few of its predecessors had done, and moreover had behind it the Scottish army, ready to march at any moment if Charles failed to keep his promise of paying its expenses. This payment, as no one knew better than Charles, was impossible unless Parliament voted supplies. The Parliament came together believing that the whole body politic needed reformation. Three things were to be done at once: (1) the victims of Charles's arbitrary government were to be set at liberty; (2) the king's advisers and ministers were to be punished; (3) the government of the realm was to be so modified as to prevent arbitrary rule in the future.

In pursuance of the above determination, Prynne, Leighton, and others were released from prison; Strafford was impeached on a charge of treason, and soon after Laud was imprisoned.

381. Trial of Strafford. 1641. — The trial of Strafford is one of the most celebrated in English annals. He was at the head of the king's army in Yorkshire and in comparative safety. He was fully aware of the risk he ran in coming to London, but,

¹ Beginning November 3, 1640, it was not formally dissolved until March 16, 1660.

EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF STRAFFORD

After a contemporary print

Charles having assured him that if he came "he should not suffer in his person, honor, or fortune," he made the journey. He was at once impeached by the Commons and sent to the Tower.

Strafford's trial began before the Lords in the great Westminster Hall, March 22, 1641. After the trial had lasted more than three weeks the Commons, becoming assured that from lack of legal evidence he would not be convicted of treason, passed a bill of attainder, which required a simple majority vote, and sent it to the Lords. Had the Lords not heard rumors of a royal plot to liberate Strafford and intimidate Parliament by bringing the army from Yorkshire, it is possible that the bill would have been rejected. But convinced that the king's chief adviser was a dangerous man, they passed the bill by a small majority. The signature of Charles was still required to make the bill effective. To his eternal discredit, Charles authorized a commission to give the

royal assent,¹ thus breaking his word of honor to Strafford. "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation,"² Strafford exclaimed, when the news of Charles's action reached him. He was executed on May 12, 1641, "rather because men feared his ability than because his offenses were legally punishable with death."³

382. Legislation of the "Long Parliament." 1641. — The "Long Parliament" passed what is known as the Triennial Bill. This required that every Parliament should sit not less than fifty days, and that a Parliament, whether summoned by the king or not, should meet at least once in three years. Charles was compelled by the condition of affairs to sign this bill. The Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission, the Councils of the North, of Wales, of Lancaster, and of Chester (§ 369), were abolished, and the districts formerly covered by them were placed under the common law. Ship money, compulsory knighthood, and the work of the forest commissions were done away with, tonnage and poundage was declared to be illegal, and various other reforms were made effective. Judges were hereafter to hold office during good behavior and be no longer removable at the king's pleasure.

Thus far, the "Long Parliament" had acted, in the main, on the line of reformation rather than revolution. Even the treatment of Strafford, under the circumstances, might be condoned ;

¹ In an impeachment the Lords would be obliged to decide according to the law, and the evidence submitted; while in a bill of attainder they could act according to the spirit rather than the letter. In an impeachment the accused has the opportunity of making a defense, of which Strafford made good use; in a bill of attainder the accused is condemned unheard. There is little question that in the earlier days, at least, men were condemned by a bill of attainder, because it made the nation responsible, and the monarch could thus shift the responsibility to Parliament, or divide it with that body. The gross injustice of such bills made the framers of the Constitution of the United States insert the article forbidding them. (Article I, § 9.) They are now universally abolished.

² So given in Whitelock's *Memorials*; compare Psalm 146: 3.

³ The populace in London demanded Strafford's death, and a mob gathered around the palace of Whitehall, shouting for his execution. Charles claimed that the life of his queen and of his children were in danger, and this was his excuse for giving assent to the bill.

but the Parliament did not stop with these things. Among other acts, a bill was passed forbidding the dissolution of Parliament except with its own consent.¹ This prevented a monarch from appealing to the people by ordering a new election, and made it possible, as was afterwards abundantly shown, for Parliament to become as great a tyrant as the king had ever been.²

383. Ecclesiastical Measures ; Distrust of the King. 1641. —

An act, known as the "Root and Branch Bill," which provided for the abolition of episcopacy, failed, for though many were willing that most of the innovations introduced by Laud should be done away with, they were not ready to abolish episcopacy.

Charles visited Scotland, as there now seems no doubt, to try to persuade the Scots to support him in his endeavors to coerce the English Parliament. But Ireland suddenly claimed his attention. The native Irish had risen in rebellion against the English and Scottish settlers, and it was reported that terrible atrocities were taking place in that island. Could Charles be trusted with the command of an army? It was even rumored that the king and queen were in sympathy with the rebels.

384. The Grand Remonstrance. 1641. — Parliament in justification of its position drew up a paper known as "The Grand Remonstrance," in which the evil deeds of the king and his counselors were set forth at great length.³ To this there was comparatively little objection, but when it was proposed to name the remedies for these evils, a very decided difference of opinion was manifested. The debate on the document was long and passionate, and not until the early hours of the morning, by the small majority of eleven in a House of three hundred and seven members, was

¹ Charles with great reluctance signed the bill.

² In republics and constitutional monarchies this possibility is met by fixing the exact time for which legislative bodies are elected, or by limiting the period of their existence. In England by the Septennial Act (1716) no Parliament could sit for more than seven years, and by the Act of 1911 the limit has been reduced to five years. The average length of Parliaments has been about three or four years.

³ It contained 206 clauses.

the bill passed. It was ordered to be presented to the king and to be printed for distribution.

385. Attempted "Arrest of the Five Members." 1642. — There was a decided reaction in favor of Charles ; and if he had possessed any wisdom, or if he had shown himself deserving of confidence, reformation rather than revolution would have been the outcome. But his words and conduct dissipated any hope of conciliation.

He believed that he had proof that Pym and his friends, during the late troubles (1640), had invited the Scots to enter England under arms. If this were true, they were legally guilty of treason. He therefore ordered the Attorney-General to impeach them as traitors before the House of Lords. His right to do this was questionable.¹ Not content with this, the next day (January 4, 1642), followed by about four hundred men, he went to the House of Commons, and demanded that the five members should be given up to him.² Intelligence of the king's purpose had reached the accused, and slipping out of the House, they were conveyed by way of the river to the city.³ It was not a moment too soon, for, as they were entering the boat, the king passed into the House. He advanced to the Speaker's chair and told the House that he had come for the five traitors, but when he looked around he could not see them. After some words he turned to withdraw and was followed by cries of "Privilege," "Privilege." This attempt of Charles to intimidate the House with an armed force was a stupendous blunder;⁴ it roused opposition to his cause as nothing else had done ; and it confirmed Parliament in the opinion that it was useless to treat with him. The inhabitants of the city of London, who had welcomed him joyfully a short time before,

¹ The right of impeachment rested, by custom, with the House of Commons. In the United States it rests with the House of Representatives.

² The accused were Lord Kimbolton of the House of Lords, and Pym, Holles, Hampden, Haslerig, and Strode of the Commons.

³ The "city" was London proper, from Temple Bar eastward beyond the Tower. Parliament sat in Westminster, which was west of Temple Bar.

⁴ The king's right to arrest any one personally was open to question, because as the king's person was sacred, there would be no remedy for a false arrest.

were now hopelessly alienated. The Commons voted that the king's entrance by force was a breach of "privilege," and that the attempted arrest of the five members was "false, scandalous, and illegal." Deeming Westminster unsafe, they adjourned to the city.

386. The King leaves London. — On the 10th of January (1642), Charles, believing it to be a safer place, retired with the queen and his children to Hampton Court. He did not see London again until he came as a prisoner to stand his trial and meet his death (1649).

On the departure of Charles, the Commons returned to Westminster in triumph.

TEMPLE BAR

Taken down in 1878; reërected near Waltham Cross, 1888.

The king had placed himself distinctly in the wrong. During the first six months of 1642 efforts were made both by king and Parliament to gain control of the military forces of the kingdom and to put themselves legally in the right. A bill for the exclusion of the bishops from the House of Lords was, by the advice of the queen, signed by the king, and this was the last important concession which he made. Soon afterwards, Henrietta Maria, the queen, fled from the kingdom with the crown jewels, intending to sell them and raise an army for Charles.

Parliament was undoubtedly moved by the concessions made; but various incidents, and especially a warrant of the king authorizing the Earl of Newcastle to take possession of Hull, one of the

few strong fortresses of the kingdom, brought back all the old distrust of Charles.¹

387. The Militia Bill, 1642 ; The Nineteen Propositions, 1642. — Parliament retaliated by passing the Militia Bill, by which the control of the army, militia, and all military stores and arms was given to Parliament. Charles refused to agree to give up what had always been the royal prerogative. On learning of his refusal both Houses made the bill an "Ordinance"² and determined to enforce it without the king's consent.

In June, 1642, Parliament sent to the king at Oxford what are known as "The Nineteen Propositions." These were revolutionary in character, for by them all power, executive as well as legislative, would, for all intents and purposes, be placed in Parliament. It was impossible for Charles to assent to any such proposals, and it cannot be supposed that the majority of the nation would have approved of them at that time.³

References. — Green, *Short History*, chap. viii (§§ 1-6); Gardiner, *Student's History*, chaps. xxxi-xxxiii; Terry, *History*, Part III, Book III, chaps. i-iii (pp. 618-680); Tout, *Advanced History*, Book II, chaps. i-ii (§ 28); Gardiner, *Puritan Revolution*, chaps. i-vi; Traill, *Social England*, vol. IV, chap. xiii; Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents* (§§ 181-206); Cheyney, *Readings*, chaps. xiv-xv (§ 11); Colby, *Selections* (§§ 68-73); Kendall, *Source-Book* (§§ 69-79); Lee, *Source-Book* (§§ 148-159).

¹ This seemed sufficient proof that he was intending to use force.

² The first ordinance of this kind had been passed in 1641, and from this time an ordinance was understood to mean "a declaration of the two Houses without the necessary concurrence of the king."

³ Parliament at the present day does govern England executively as well as legislatively, but only through the cabinet, which is really a committee of Parliament. This, however, is a very different thing from direct executive action, which Parliament in June, 1642, proposed to establish, and actually attempted later. Besides this in 1642 Parliament strove to force its will on the nation, while now it professes to abide by the will of the people, and a new election of members must be held at least once in five years.

CHAPTER XX

THE PURITAN REVOLUTION AND THE COMMONWEALTH

388. Civil War Begins. 1642. — Charles, having made York his headquarters, went to Hull, where war supplies were stored and demanded their surrender. Sir John Hotham, the Parliamentary commander in charge, refused to give them up or even to admit Charles within the walls. After causing his heralds to proclaim Hotham a traitor, Charles retired. Both he and Parliament began to collect troops, and on August 22, 1642, Charles set up his standard at Nottingham. This is usually taken as the beginning of the Civil War.

The contest was waged by minorities, for it can hardly be doubted that the majority of the English people were decidedly adverse to war. That it was waged at all is due to two facts: (1) that the influential men in the kingdom were divided between the two parties; (2) and to their conviction that only the sword could settle the problems before the country. On each side were ranged men of every class and position in the community, it being a common thing to find families divided, father against son, brother against brother, and friend against friend.

As compared with wars preceding and following it, it was humane, and by the side of the Thirty Years' War on the Continent, which was contemporary, it was merciful. Though there was much plunder, and some destruction of property, there was no laying waste, and scarcely any ruthless treatment of the inhabitants.¹

¹ When the conflict was in Scotland, or in Ireland, or when Irishmen or even Irishwomen were found in the king's armies, exceptions must be made to the above statements. Both Scotland and Ireland were regarded as enemies, and against Ireland the Parliamentarians felt especially bitter, because it was believed that Charles, if successful, would restore the Catholic religion, in return for their aid.

The majority of the nobility were on the side of the king. On the side of Parliament were perhaps a third of the nobility, a large minority of the gentry, most of the middle class, many of the yeomen, and the commercial, manufacturing, and burgher classes. Parliament had control of the wealth of the country, and of almost all the large cities and seaports. It must be remembered that in those days the bulk of the population was in southern England.¹ All the north and northwest of England was agricultural, with a comparatively scattered population.

389. Conditions affecting the Conflict. — The total population of England was about four and a half millions, or not much more than half that of greater London at the present day; and of this population three fourths were agricultural. The number of men usually engaged in a battle was small, and the cavalry formed a very important part of the armies, at times even one half. This was probably due in part to the relatively poor equipment of the seventeenth century foot soldier, and partly to the unfenced and unhedged character of the country, which allowed cavalry to be used to great advantage.

Geographically, it may be said that the lands south of the Humber and east of the Severn were on the side of Parliament, and the others on the side of the king. A line drawn from Hull to Gloucester will nearly indicate the dividing line at the opening of the conflict. Of course, there were many exceptions, as, for instance, Oxford and the country immediately surrounding it and all Cornwall were for the king, while Plymouth and the south central part of Yorkshire were for Parliament.

390. Religious Differences, etc. — The real division among the people was on account of religion more than anything else. It was Puritanism that attracted the upholders of Parliament; and a fear of Puritanism, the love of episcopacy, and the genuine belief in

¹ There were of course wealthy nobles and others on the side of the king, but the wealth of the nobility was largely in land and not so available as the property of the Parliamentarians.

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the divine right of kings, that brought supporters to Charles.¹ The Catholics were royalists. They might possibly find a friend in the king; from the Puritans they could look for nothing but persecution.

The problems presented to a patriotic and thoughtful Englishman in 1642 were difficult of solution, and none can be blamed for taking either side in the conflict. Good and patriotic men could be found on both sides. It was a war of civilians taking up arms, for the most part unwillingly, because it was thought to be absolutely necessary. The war produced but two men of unusual military skill: Prince Rupert among the royalists;² and Oliver Cromwell, the Puritan, who proved himself one of the great commanders of history.

391. "Cavaliers and Roundheads," 1642; Edgehill, 1642.—The war broke out in the summer of 1642. In money and general resources the Parliament had the decided advantage of the king, for London, then as now the great financial center of the kingdom, was strongly for Parliament. Besides this, Parliament controlled the usual methods of raising money and held the sea-ports; the navy also was on its side. On the other hand, the king had the best officers and those accustomed to the army. Very soon the followers of Charles were called Cavaliers, and the Parliamentarians were nicknamed by their opponents Roundheads.³

Charles gave the command of his forces to the Earl of Lindsay, and the command of his cavalry to his nephew, Prince Rupert. The Earl of Essex⁴ commanded the forces of Parliament. Charles's

¹ Cromwell said the war was undertaken for "the maintenance of our civil liberties as men, and our religious liberties as Christians." (1644.)

² Prince Rupert (§ 351 and note) was the son of Elizabeth, daughter of James I, and Frederick, the Elector-Palatine. He was only twenty-three when he came to his uncle's assistance, but had already in Germany, during the Thirty Years' War, seen much rough service. He seems to have been the strategist of the royal side, but not to have been able to carry out a campaign. "He was one of the most versatile men of his time, being an artist, philosopher, experimentalist, and inventor, as well as soldier and sailor."

³ Cavaliers meant originally horsemen, then gentlemen; the cavaliers wore their hair long, while the Puritans wore theirs cut short, hence the nickname, roundhead.

⁴ Essex was the son of Robert Devereux, Elizabeth's favorite (§ 329).

plan was to attack London, but he was overtaken by Essex, and the first battle of the war was fought at Edgehill, not far from Banbury (October 23, 1642). The immediate advantage was with the king. He marched to Oxford, and then toward London. He reached Brentford, only a few miles from the capital, but was afraid to encounter the London militia drawn up to meet him, and so retired to Oxford. Charles never again was so near actual success as at this time.

392. Royalist Successes. 1643. — During the early part of 1643 fortune favored the royalists, but each party had learned valuable lessons, — the royalists, that the men opposed to them were determined in their purpose; and the Parliamentarians, that unless they could improve their cavalry it would go hard with them. No one was more convinced of this than Cromwell, and to him more than to any one else is due the formation of a body of cavalry of which he himself said, “They had the fear of God before them, and made some conscience of what they did.”

During the year 1643 the Parliament lost ground; and was deprived of two of its ablest supporters, John Hampden, who was killed in a skirmish, and John Pym, who died of illness. Bristol was sacked in July by Prince Rupert, and Gloucester was besieged. This city was at the last extremity when Essex marched to its relief and raised the siege. The tide in favor of the king was stayed.

393. Charles and the Irish; Solemn League and Covenant. 1643. — Both parties now sought foreign aid. Fortunately for England the Thirty Years' War (§§ 351, 373) was still engrossing the attention of the chief continental powers, and so England was spared the presence of foreign troops and their excesses. Charles turned to Ireland and made a treaty with the Irish, known as the Cessation of Arms, but it was of little real advantage to him. Parliament, on its part, made overtures to Scotland. Through the efforts of Pym an agreement known as the Solemn League and Covenant had been entered into. This bound the Parliament to endeavor to bring “the religion of

England, Scotland, and Ireland to as much conformity as possible, and to reform religion according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches." This meant Presbyterianism. To the Scots this matter was vital; with them it was "no Presbyterianism, no Scottish army," and Parliament had to yield. There followed the pulling down of crosses, breaking of stained glass windows in the churches and cathedrals, tearing down of crucifixes and altars, and defacing of memorial tablets and monuments.

394. Laud executed, 1645; Marston Moor, 1644. — Late in 1644 Archbishop Laud, who had been in prison since 1640 (§ 380), was brought out for trial. Like Strafford, he was finally condemned by an act which really was an act of attainder though called an "ordinance." He was executed in January, 1645.

After the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant, a Scottish army crossed the border and joined the Parliamentary forces. The armies met at Marston Moor near York (July 2, 1644). The royalists were led by Prince Rupert and Lord Byron; the Parliamentarians by Fairfax, the Scots by the Earl of Leven, and the cavalry by Cromwell. Owing to the steadiness of the Scots, and above all to the discipline and enthusiasm of Cromwell's troops of horsemen, the royalists were routed. From this time Cromwell occupied a place in the front rank of the Parliamentary leaders.

395. Self-denying Ordinance; the "New Model." 1645. — Notwithstanding the defeat at Marston Moor, Charles was able to gain some successes in the south. Cromwell saw that the army should be on a firmer basis, and through his efforts and those who sympathized with him, Parliament passed the Self-denying Ordinance (April 3, 1645). By this, members of either house of Parliament were disqualified from holding positions in the army. But a special exception was made in the case of Cromwell. Indeed, he could not be spared in either position. Another bill was passed, by which a regular paid army was created, with a severe discipline

modeled after the example of Cromwell's soldiers. This army was known as the "New Model" and was one of the most remarkable bodies of troops the world has ever seen.¹ Higher praise could hardly be given than that awarded by the Cavalier historian Clarendon, who says, "An army whose order and discipline, whose sobriety and manner, whose courage and success, made it famous and terrible all over the world." Under the new regulations Fairfax was made commander in chief and Cromwell lieutenant general.

396. Naseby. 1645. — The new army met the king's forces at Naseby, near the center of England (June 14, 1645), and after a severe battle routed the royalists. Charles fled, leaving his baggage, including his private correspondence, to be captured by the enemy. Perhaps worse for him than his defeat were the revelations made of his secret negotiations with the French, with the Duke of Lorraine, and with the Irish, to bring troops into England to support him, and also of his willingness to abolish the laws against the Catholics.

One after another the royalist towns and fortresses fell into the hands of the Parliamentarians, the Scottish royal army was at length defeated, and by the middle of the year 1646 the war was practically ended.

397. Charles turns to the Scots, 1646; Negotiations. — Charles concluded to throw himself on the mercy of the Scots, and in May, 1646, rode into their camp and gave himself up; Doubtless with the hope of playing off the Scots against the English.

The Scots took Charles to Newcastle, and then followed a series of negotiations between Charles and Parliament, and between the Scots and Parliament. The principal demands of Parliament were, that Charles should (1) abolish episcopacy and enforce the Covenant (§ 393); (2) give up to Parliament the control of the militia for twenty years; (3) enforce the laws against the Catholics. Charles should have declined these prop-

¹ It is to the "New Model" that England owes her red-coat uniform.

positions at once ; but, as usual, he followed a policy of delay. Large arrears of pay were due the Scots, for which they were clamorous, and an arrangement was reached by which they agreed to return to Scotland on receipt from Parliament of a certain sum of money. This was given ; and in January, 1647, they departed for Scotland, leaving Charles in the hands of agents of the English Parliament.

398. Presbyterians and Independents ; the Army. — There were now two determined parties in England — the Presbyterians and the Independents. The former had, as far as possible, made England Presbyterian, and their gréat object was to keep the control of the church in the hands of Parliament. The Independents, who were the successors of the Brownists (§ 325) of Elizabeth's reign, holding that each congregation should rule itself, naturally believed in toleration, something which was as hateful to the Presbyterians as it had been to Laud. The Independents had no objection to Presbyterianism as such, provided there was toleration, but the course of action that Parliament was taking alarmed them.

The strength of the Independents lay in the army, a fact which the majority in Parliament did not sufficiently take into account. The war was at an end, but large arrears of pay were due the men, and Parliament attempted to disband the army before paying it off. This step united the army against Parliament. Cromwell, having in vain tried to bring matters to a satisfactory conclusion, took the side of the army, seeing that a mutiny which had already begun, if not arrested, would end in civil war or anarchy. He might be able to prevent either. Parliament had already opened secret negotiations with Charles, and also with the Scots. In the eyes of the Presbyterians to be under the army and independency would be even worse than to be under Charles.

399. Seizure of Charles ; the Army and Parliament. 1647. — Cromwell saw that the king was the key of the situation ; without him neither Parliament nor the Scots could accomplish

much. Charles had been removed to Holmby House, near Northampton, under the charge of strict Presbyterians. In order to forestall any attempt of the latter to carry off Charles, Cromwell sent Cornet Joyce with a body of soldiers to secure the royal prisoner for the army. Joyce, however, deemed it best to remove Charles to a place of greater safety. When asked by Charles for his authority, Joyce pointed to his soldiers and said, "There is my commission."

Cromwell joined the army, restored order, and marched toward London. Parliament, justly frightened, promised the army the payment of all arrears and the retraction of sundry offensive declarations. The army, conscious of its strength, would not be satisfied with this, but insisted on the exclusion from Parliament of eleven Presbyterian leaders, on religious toleration, short Parliaments, the right of petition, and other changes in the direction of democratic government. Parliament tried to gain time by temporizing. The eleven leaders fled from London. The city was Presbyterian in its sympathies, and a mob broke into the building where Parliament was sitting. Upon this the army marched into the city and was master of the situation.

400. "The Heads of Proposals." 1647. — Fairfax, Cromwell, and Ireton, the men at the head of the army, were none of them extremists; they did not wish a military rule, and once more negotiations were opened with Charles, who was now at Hampton Court. The chief points of the "Heads of Proposals," as the propositions were called, were religious toleration, certain reforms in Parliament, control of the militia by Parliament for ten years, and the appointment of a great Council of State to rule in connection with the king. These were more liberal terms than Charles could expect. Convinced, however, that another war was imminent, and sure that one side or the other would turn to the royalists, he again pursued his old policy of double dealing by carrying on at the same time secret negotiations with the royalist party in Scotland.

The conciliatory policy of the leaders was very distasteful to a large body of extremists in the army known as Levellers, who boldly accused Cromwell and his companions of betraying the cause of the people, and demanded that Charles should be "brought to justice." Charles, aware of his danger, fled to Carisbrooke Castle in the Isle of Wight, where he was treated as a prisoner.

401. Risings in Favor of Charles, 1647; "Second Civil War." — The double dealing of Charles convinced the Independent leaders that he was wholly untrustworthy. Meanwhile the Scots, who had entered into an agreement with him by what is known as the "Engagement," marched from Scotland; many in England were weary of fighting, had no liking for a military rule, and felt that they would rather trust Charles than the army. There were risings in Wales, in Kent, in Essex, and other places. Thus began the Second Civil War¹ (May, 1648).

Cromwell marched to the north and in a series of engagements completely defeated the Scots. The rising in Kent was soon put down by Fairfax; refugees fled to Colchester, hoping for aid from the Scots. After a siege Colchester fell (August, 1648), and the citizens and defenders suffered terribly for their defense. Two of the leaders were shot, and the soldiers were sent to the West Indies, there to serve as unwilling laborers, while the property of the citizens was given to the besiegers.

The whole country was at the mercy of the army, which was almost as angry with Parliament as with the king.

402. Treaty of Newport; "Pride's Purge"; "The Rump." 1648. — Meanwhile Parliament had been carrying on negotiations with the king, known as the Treaty of Newport.² Charles temporized as usual; Parliament continued to treat with him; but by the orders of the army Charles was taken to Hurst

¹ For the Second Civil War Cromwell held Charles responsible; it was in his sight an unforgivable sin.

² So called from the town in the Isle of Wight where the negotiations were carried on.

Castle. On December 5, 1648, a party of soldiers under the command of a Colonel Pride stood at the door of the House of Parliament and excluded all who were known to be unfriendly to the army or in favor of the king. This action is known as "Pride's Purge." One hundred and forty-three members were thus driven out. The remnant left was called in contempt the "Rump."

CARISBROOKE CASTLE, ISLE OF WIGHT

Tower erected by Anthony Woodville, in the time of Edward IV. Gateway erected by Elizabeth, 1598.

403. Trial and Execution of Charles I. 1649. — The next step was to remove Charles. The remnant of the House of Commons was in accord with the army; but the few peers would not join in bringing the king to trial, so the Commons, declaring that as representatives of the people they had all power, proceeded to create a high court of justice to try the king, "that man of blood." One hundred and thirty-five men were named as members of the court, but less than half of them were present when the trial began.

Charles was charged with treason by bringing on civil war, and raising armies "against the Parliament and the kingdom." The trial began on January 21, 1649. The king denied the jurisdiction of the court, and refused to plead. The trial was a mockery; Charles was convicted, and on the 27th his sentence was read.

The long document recites the several charges and concludes, "For all which treasons and crimes this Court doth adjudge that he, the said Charles Stuart, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy to the good of the people of this nation, shall be put to death by the severing of his head from his body." The sentence was carried out on January 30, 1649, in front of Whitehall Palace, London.

Charles bore himself with dignity and calmness during his trial and at the time of execution ; and this has cast a halo around his character which it does not deserve. That he richly merited punishment can hardly be questioned ; that he deserved death is quite another matter ; that he was illegally tried and condemned is scarcely open to debate ; that most, if not all, of the regicides, as they were called, were sincere and honest in their belief that his death was a necessity must be acknowledged ; that his trial and execution were blunders was abundantly proved by subsequent events ; that, in spite of its illegality, it was a terrible precedent to establish the fact that kings are responsible to their subjects must be granted.

404. Effect of the Execution of Charles.— The news of the death of Charles was received by the vast majority of Englishmen with horror, the act "outraged beyond hope of reconciliation the two parties in the state who were strong in numbers and in conservative tradition, the Presbyterians and the Cavaliers ; and it alienated the great mass of men who had no party at all." Had it not been for hopeless differences, which not even this act could heal, it would have gone hard with the Independents. The royalists distrusted the Presbyterians, and the Presbyterians distrusted the royalists. The small party of the Levellers distrusted all others ; their program, "manhood suffrage, annual Parliaments, and religious liberty," which seems reasonable enough at this day, was unwelcome to all but themselves.

In such a condition of affairs it was evident that if the leaders of the army did not assume the power, the result would be anarchy ;

and so we have the curious spectacle of a small body, professing to represent the people, entering upon a career of despotism upheld by force. Fortunately for England and English institutions the men who controlled affairs were honest, self-sacrificing, and, with

TRIAL OF KING CHARLES I IN WESTMINSTER HALL

few exceptions, disinterested. During their official career there can be no question that the government was administered more economically and with a far greater regard to the public good than it had ever been under the Stuarts; nevertheless it was a kind of rule justly hateful to the patriotic Englishman.

405. The Commonwealth. 1649.—The death of the king was followed by the setting up of a republic. King and Lords were abolished, and the country, under the name of a Commonwealth, was to be ruled by a House of Commons. As the

members of the "Rump" did not dare to risk a new election, they assumed the position of the Commons and appointed a Council of State of forty-one men, which was to take place of the old Privy Council. A new judiciary was appointed, and the government went into operation.

406. Dangers confronting the Commonwealth. 1649.—The new republic was beset with dangers. First, from the royalists, who had been greatly moved by the king's death; and then by the publication of a little book called *Eikon Basiliké*, or the Royal Image, purporting to be an autobiography of Charles, written during his last days, with his prayers and meditations suggested by his approaching death.¹ This volume was widely read and exercised an enormous influence. John Milton tried to answer it with his *Eikonoclastes*, or Image Breaker; but with little avail, for while Milton's book appealed to the understanding, the other appealed to the heart.

Perhaps a still greater danger arose from the dissatisfied Levellers, who clamored for a thoroughgoing democracy. Cromwell saw that mutiny in the army would be fatal to success, and the mutinies which occurred in several places were rigorously crushed.

407. Charles II proclaimed in Ireland, 1649; Cromwell in Ireland. 1649.—As soon as the news of the death of Charles reached Ormond, the royalist leader in Ireland, he proclaimed Prince Charles as Charles II. The Presbyterians of Ulster (§ 346) went over to his side, and Prince Rupert with several ships held the south of the island. Affairs in Ireland looked desperate for the Commonwealth. The Council of State offered the command to Cromwell. He landed at Dublin in August, 1649, with a small army and began a course of conduct which, more than any other of his career, has laid him open to severe criticism. Everywhere

¹ This book was almost universally believed at the time to have been written by Charles I; it has been proved since to have been the work of Dr. John Gauden, a clergyman, after the Restoration made Bishop of Worcester.

the well-trained men of Cromwell's army were successful. Drogheda was taken a few weeks after his landing, and then Wexford. In each case the garrison had refused to surrender, the towns had been carried by assault, and each garrison, with the exception of a few men sent to the West Indies, had been slaughtered without mercy.¹ Cromwell justified this terrible severity, first by the laws of war, which allowed victors to put to death those who refused to surrender, and secondly, as a punishment for the "innocent blood which had been shed" in the rebellion of 1641 (§ 383). Though successful in striking terror into the hearts of his opponents, these massacres remain a sad blot on the memory of Cromwell.

408. Subjection of Ireland, 1652. — By the close of 1649 all the coast of Ireland, except the single town of Waterford, was in Cromwell's hands. But a new danger menaced the Commonwealth from Scotland, and in May, 1650, Cromwell was recalled to England. He left his lieutenants to complete the conquest of Ireland. This was accomplished by the middle of 1652. It was subdued as it had never been before, but it "was devastated from end to end, and a third of its population had perished during the struggle."

The Irish settlement after the conquest resembled Strafford's plan (§ 372). Cromwell's idea was confiscation of the land of Irish owners who had taken part in the rebellion;² colonization by English Protestants; conversion of the Irish Catholics; and the impartial administration of justice. In religious matters the Irish were little better off than they had been, for while liberty of conscience was allowed, and no one was compelled to attend Protestant places of worship, the outward exercise of Catholicism was strictly forbidden, and under the Commonwealth and the Protector, "priests were hunted down, and either imprisoned or

¹ At Drogheda 2800 men were put to the sword, and at Wexford 1500, as well as every priest who fell into the hands of the victors.

² It is estimated that about two thirds of the land of Ireland passed to new owners.

exiled." With all his ability and greatness Cromwell was not able to see that such treatment would inevitably inspire a hatred of Protestants and of English rule. There can be little doubt that it was the treatment in regard to religious matters which aroused the lasting resentment far more than any political tyranny.

409. Scotland. Dunbar. 1650.—The Presbyterians in Scotland had no sympathy with the Independents, and on receipt of the news of Charles's death had proclaimed his son as Charles II, King of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The Scottish envoys at London demanded that "upon just satisfaction given to both kingdoms" he should be given the crown. Parliament refused to entertain any such proposition and expelled the envoys from England. This was war. It was, however, necessary for Charles II and the Scots to come to some sort of an agreement. The Scots insisted that Charles should subscribe to the Covenant and force Presbyterianism upon England and Ireland. Against these conditions he strove for some time, but finally yielded. He came to Scotland and was crowned at Scone, January, 1651.

Parliament had voted that both Cromwell and Fairfax should command the army against the Scots, but Fairfax refused to take the field against his old allies and resigned his position, and Cromwell became commander in chief. The army entered Scotland in July, 1650; the first few weeks were discouraging, but at Dunbar, September 3, 1650, Cromwell gained one of his greatest victories—"three thousand men fell in the battle and ten thousand were taken prisoners." Though this victory gave him the southern part of Scotland, the northern still held out for Charles.

410. Defeat of Charles II at Worcester. 1651.—The disaster at Dunbar tended to unite the royalists and Presbyterians in Scotland and inspired a hope that a similar union might be brought about in England. So Charles's army, under David Leslie, hastened southward, Charles accompanying it. England, however, was so tired of war that few persons joined the royal standard. "Englishmen disliked the government much, but they

disliked the Scots more." Cromwell, with part of his army, hastened after Leslie and Charles, overtook them at Worcester, and compelled them to fight a much larger force than their own, September 3, 1651, the anniversary of Dunbar. The result was a rout; only a remnant of the Scots was able to reach Scotland.

GREAT FRIAR'S STREET, WORCESTER

After an old print

Charles, after many hairbreadth and romantic escapes, managed to reach France.¹

411. Union of England and Scotland. — General Monk, who had been left in charge by Cromwell, reduced Scotland to submission (1652), and like Ireland it was given a new form of government. The Scottish Parliament was abolished; trade was made free between England and Scotland; toleration for all Non-conformists except Catholics was established; and the judicial system was reformed. Scotland was given thirty members of Parliament at Westminster, while the country was governed by a council of nine (after 1655), of whom two were Scots. Under

¹ "Though the Englishmen would not fight for Charles, they would not betray him, and of the scores he trusted not one proved false."

their rule Scotland had such order and safety as had not been known before.¹ But with few exceptions the Scots hated the union with England.

When the news of the victory at Worcester reached Parliament, it voted Cromwell a large income and gave him Hampton Court for a residence.

412. Foreign Affairs ; Holland. — The government could now turn its attention to enemies abroad, where the Commonwealth was not regarded with favor. As almost all the continental governments were monarchical, the execution of Charles was to them a blow of deep significance. Besides this the courts of Europe were full of English royalist refugees. The ambassadors of the Commonwealth had been received with coolness at the various courts to which they had been sent, and two had been killed by royalists.

It would seem that England and Holland, both being republics, should have been at least friendly ; but William II, the stadtholder, had married Mary, a daughter of Charles I, and so was friendly to the royalists. He, however, died in October, 1650 ; the office of stadtholder was abolished, and the United Netherlands became still more democratic. But the strong commercial rivalry growing up between the Dutch and the English kept the countries apart. By 1650 the Dutch controlled the carrying trade of Europe and had grown rich. They had the best ships and sailors in the world. Wherever the English ships went, — whether in the East or West Indies, in the Baltic or the North seas, and even in America, — they found the Dutch, and political and commercial disputes were constantly arising.

✓ **413. Navigation Act, 1651 ; War with Holland, 1652–1654.** — These disputes and the growth of the Dutch trade led to the passage by Parliament of the famous Navigation Act of October, 1651. By this act it was forbidden to bring into England any

¹ Scotland was treated much more leniently than Ireland. There was no general confiscation of the land, the penalty of forfeiture being imposed on only a few.

goods from any ports in Asia, Africa, or America, except in vessels built in England, owned by Englishmen, and manned by English sailors. A similar regulation was made for goods exported from England. From any European country goods could be carried only in vessels owned in that country, or in English vessels. As an enforcement of the Navigation Act would deprive the Dutch of all the profitable carrying trade to England except in the few articles of Dutch manufacture, they protested, but without avail.

Besides this England claimed that the sovereignty of the seas surrounding Britain belonged to her, and that homage should be given her for these; she claimed certain fishing rights in the North Sea; also the right to seize goods of an enemy even if found on a neutral ship. All these claims the Dutch denied, and, as an agreement could not be reached, war broke out between the English and the Dutch (1652). The war was wholly a naval one. The Dutch had many merchantmen; and the English had a larger navy. The Dutch had, however, the first naval captain of his day in Van Tromp. The English found a great captain in Robert Blake.¹ Good soldiers at that time were supposed to be good at sea also, and Blake, who had distinguished himself in the Civil War, had in 1649 been appointed Admiral and General at Sea. He had sailed against Prince Rupert, and had done good service in the Mediterranean and elsewhere, and was now chosen to meet Van Tromp. Many sea fights took place with varying fortunes until early in 1653, when Blake and his companion, Monk, another soldier turned sailor, defeated Van Tromp off Portland Bill. Blake won another victory in June, 1653, and in July Monk defeated the Dutch off the Texel, and Van Tromp was killed. The next year (1654) peace was made, the Dutch agreeing to the Navigation Act and some other of the English demands. The result of the war was to remove any danger of interference in the

¹ Blake, born in 1599, was fifty when he took his first naval command. How much training he had is not known. It is possible that as a young man he may have made some voyages, though there is no reason to suppose it was as a sailor (§ 424).

domestic affairs of England by foreign powers, and greatly to increase the respect paid to the Commonwealth.

414. Expulsion of "The Rump." 1653. — Meanwhile the "Rump" (§ 402) had become more and more unpopular. Funds had been raised by compelling royalists to pay large sums of money in order to retain their estates. More than this, all measures of reform were stopped, a course which greatly angered the army. The "Rump," regardless of the remonstrances of the army, proceeded to form a plan of government ingeniously contrived to retain the power in the hands of the "Rump" itself.

When Cromwell learned that Parliament was about to pass an act with this end in view, he went to the House (April 20, 1653) "dressed as he was, not like a general or a soldier, but like an ordinary citizen, 'clad in plain black clothes with grey worsted stockings,' and sat as he used to do in an ordinary place." When the speaker was about to put the question, Cromwell rose and spoke, strongly rebuking the members for their selfish conduct, and ended by saying, "You are no Parliament; I say you are no Parliament. I will put an end to your sitting." "Call them in," he said to one of his friends who sat near him; and presently twenty or thirty of Cromwell's own regiment came in and drove out the members. Cromwell ordered the door to be locked, and then went off. Henceforth force was to rule. Evil as force was, it was at least something real and not a pretense.

It was a bloodless revolution. "There were no resignations, no arrests, and no further force. The fighting men approved, the officials obeyed, and the nation acquiesced."

415. The "Barebones Parliament." 1653. — Cromwell, not fond of force, wished to set up a government with at least some show of being representative. But not daring to order a new election, he and his fellow army officers summoned an assembly, nominated by themselves, consisting of one hundred and forty men from different parts of England, and a few from Scotland and Ireland. This body was called in ridicule "Praise God Bare-

bones¹ Parliament" after a man of that name who represented in it the City of London. Another name by which it is known is the "Little Parliament," but strictly speaking, it was no Parliament at all. As might be expected, it was one of the most unmanageable and impracticable sets of men ever gathered in an assembly. The

CROMWELL DISSOLVING THE LONG PARLIAMENT

more moderate men in the assembly shrank from the wilder acts and plans of their fellow-members, and by a trick, passed a bill dissolving the body and resigning its power into the hands of Cromwell (December 12, 1653).

416. "The Instrument of Government," 1653; Cromwell "Protector." — The officers of the army now tried their hand and

¹ His name is given as Barbon, Barebone, and Barebones. He was a leather seller. He survived all the dangers of the Civil War and Restoration, and died in 1679.

proposed "The Instrument of Government." By this it was provided that the government of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland should be vested in one person styled the Lord Protector, appointed for life, and in a Parliament which should meet once in three years. The power of the Protector was limited by a Council of State. The scheme was really a limited monarchy restricted by a written constitution.¹ Though distasteful to the extremists, it was acceptable to the army and to most persons. Before the Parliament should meet the Protector was authorized to pass "ordinances." Of this permission Cromwell, who was of course appointed Protector, took liberal advantage, and for the most part his laws were wise and all in the direction of improving the morals and order of the Commonwealth.

417. Oliver Cromwell. 1599–1658.—However opinions may differ concerning Cromwell's personal aims and conduct, in the long list of great Englishmen he must always stand in the front rank. He was born in 1599 of a good family in Huntingdonshire.² He attended the Huntingdon Grammar School and at seventeen went to Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. How long he remained at the university is not known, but he was married at the age of twenty-one and soon after set up as a country gentleman. In 1628 he was elected to represent Huntingdon in the third Parliament (§ 361) of Charles I. He early took the side of the people in his own neighborhood and became popular and influential in the eastern counties. Before he was thirty he was "a professor of religion" and was known as a zealous Puritan. He was a member of the Short Parliament (§ 379) and also of the Long Parliament (§ 380). In person he was slightly under six feet, strong and well made; his light brown hair he wore

¹ The title was taken from that of the Protector Somerset in the time of Edward VI (see § 263). Cromwell was more nearly a regent than anything else. The office was not to be hereditary.

² He was descended from the sister of Thomas Cromwell (§ 236), the great minister of Henry VIII. Her son Henry took the name of Cromwell. From Henry Cromwell, also, John Hampden was descended.

long, allowing it to reach to his shoulders ; his eyes were blue or gray, and his eyebrows heavy ; his nose was large, and likewise his mouth, which was firm-set. He was dignified in his bearing, and often affable. In his youth he was athletic and he retained his love of sport all his life ; he was fond of riding, hunting, hawking, playing bowls, and other exercises. He was devoted to music and when at Hampton Court had two organs, which were frequently brought into use. He valued art and learning and encouraged them.

His greatest personal characteristic was his religious faith. His sense of personal responsibility was profound, and in all his actions he moved, as he believed, under divine

OLIVER CROMWELL

guidance. Not to recognize this fact is to misunderstand his life. The former country squire, who had known comparatively little of active public life until he was more than forty, was now at the age of fifty-four the ruler of England. He had a keen sense of his duties and responsibilities, and, though a firm believer in law, in a constitutional government, and in the rights of the people, it was his misfortune to feel compelled to wield absolute power.

418. England in 1654. — There can be scarcely a doubt that some such rule as that of Cromwell was needed in England in 1654. "He had with him the Puritan rank and file, and the great majority of the superior officers, . . . the men of business ; all moderate men of every party who desired peace, order and good government ; the great cities, the army and navy."

His opposers were not only the Cavaliers, for against him he had the Republicans, to whom the revolution meant republican equality more than liberty, and legal right even more than order and prosperity. Besides these were the "Sectaries," men of every shade of religious belief and fanaticism, who sprang up as the result of the religious conflicts of the time.

The weakness of the Instrument (§ 416) was that it provided no means, such as the American Supreme Court, for deciding doubtful points, nor was there any provision for amendment.

419. First Protectorate Parliament. 1654. — The first Protectorate Parliament met in September, 1654. Cromwell was bitterly disappointed with its action. Its first work was to call in question the authority by which the Instrument of Government had been drawn up, and then it proceeded to evolve a scheme of its own, in which the greater part of the power would be in the hands of Parliament.

This was something which Cromwell would not endure, for he was determined that, if he could prevent it, there should not be the rule of an irresponsible Parliament. Parliament, on its part, was equally determined that there should not be military rule and a despotism. Cromwell was in a grave dilemma, and chose what seemed to him the lesser evil. As soon as five months had elapsed he dissolved the Parliament and entered upon autocratic rule, though, so far as possible, governing according to the Instrument of Government.

420. The Major Generals; Military Rule. 1655. — Plots against his life became frequent, Ireland and Scotland were restive, and there were risings of Cavaliers, and also of Levellers. Cromwell now divided the country into ten military districts, over each one of which he set a major general with practically arbitrary powers. This was pure military rule, which only the unsettled state of affairs could possibly justify. To maintain these officers and their men he taxed the Cavaliers, on the ground that it was due to them that the necessity existed. This policy, while it cer-

tainly insured good order and personal safety, angered the royalists beyond remedy, and also forced upon the whole country the fact that his government was a military despotism. Men now began to refuse to pay some of the taxes imposed, on the ground that they were not levied by Parliament.

421. Cromwell's Religious Policy.—Cromwell's treatment of the religious difficulties in the country is greatly to his credit. Under his rule there was greater tolerance and religious liberty than had ever been known in England. The chief exceptions were "Papists" and "Prelatists," as the Puritans called them, and these were excepted chiefly on political grounds, for they were inevitably hostile to the government. But even the "Prelatists" or Episcopalians were treated with leniency, and congregations meeting in private were not molested. The Catholics also, though not allowed to celebrate their worship publicly, were not in other respects disturbed, and fared better than they had at the hands of the Parliaments of Charles I or the Commonwealth. The Jews, too, who had been proscribed since the time of Edward I (1290) (§ 127), while not legally tolerated, were allowed to reside in England and worship in private houses.

The result of Cromwell's policy was the rise of many sects, for it was a period of religious and intellectual stirring among the English common people. Under no other régime for fifty years before or after would such a result have been possible. That this toleration temporarily fell with the Protectorate is due to the fact that the toleration was only partial, for political rights were confined to Puritans and those who in essentials agreed with them. The non-religious people were alienated by the severe rule of the major generals, the restrictions upon amusements, arbitrary arrests, imprisonments, deprivation of political rights, and other features of despotic rule; while the smaller but more influential class of landholders was even more alienated by what they had to undergo. The result was that Puritanism began to mean to a large and increasing class almost everything hateful. It was poetic

justice that when the Puritans fell, their successors should treat them to a dose of their own medicine.

422. Cromwell's Foreign Policy. — Meanwhile Cromwell's foreign policy prospered. He had a very clear conception of what he wanted : (1) to prevent the restoration of the Stuarts by foreign aid ; (2) to form a league of all the Protestant nations in Europe ; (3) to foster and increase English commerce so that it would become supreme. The military and naval success of the Commonwealth prevented the likelihood of interference with the domestic concerns of England. But to unite the nations on a religious basis alone he found was impracticable.

At the Peace of Westphalia (1648) France, under Louis XIV, was the strongest power in Europe. Her supremacy was disputed only by Spain. After the peace with the Dutch (1654) (§ 413) Spain and France alike were desirous of an alliance with England. Cromwell wavered for a time. From Spain he asked among other things toleration for English merchants in Spanish ports and freedom of trade for English traders in the West Indies. These privileges Spain declined to grant. Cromwell turned to France, for in that day it was not thought advisable, perhaps not possible, to remain neutral.

423. The Vaudois. 1656. — Meanwhile the Duke of Savoy was striving by force of arms and persecutions to compel the inhabitants of the Vaudois valleys, whose religion long antedated the Reformation, to become Catholics. In this effort terrible outrages had been committed, the news of which deeply stirred the Protestants of England. Cromwell informed Cardinal Mazarin, the French Minister of State, that until this persecution was stopped no treaty would be concluded with France. Mazarin was so anxious for the English alliance that he compelled the Duke of Savoy to end the persecution and grant the Vaudois liberty of worship.

424. Naval Victories ; Penn and Venables ; Blake. 1654–1658. — In the meantime Cromwell had sent an expedition under Admiral

Sir William Penn¹ and Robert Venables, a successful soldier, to the West Indies (1654) to seize the island of Hispaniola, and to injure the Spanish interests in the West Indies as much as possible. The attack on Hispaniola was a failure, but Jamaica was captured and has since remained a part of the British Empire. An expedition to the Mediterranean under Admiral Blake (§ 413) was a brilliant success.

A treaty with France was signed (1655) and war with Spain broke out in earnest. Blake captured a Spanish fleet with a large amount of treasure on board, and also destroyed a large Spanish fleet off Teneriffe, but died at sea on the way home. The same year English troops joined the French forces and later gained a victory over the Spaniards (June 4, 1658) near Dunkirk, which fell into the hands of the allies and was given to England.

425. Cromwell's Colonial Policy. — FLAG OF THE COMMON-WEALTH

Cromwell was appointed one of the commissioners of plantations early in his political career, and so was brought very soon into comparatively close touch with colonial affairs. At one time he seems to have thought about emigrating himself. His colonial policy was successful, and his influence was enduring. He desired an ever-increasing empire bound to the mother country by strong ties and yet with a reasonable freedom of its own. It was in fact a plan closely resembling the present policy of Great Britain.

With the New England colonies settled by Puritans and Independents he was in close sympathy, and throughout his rule he cultivated their friendship. During the time of the Civil War the northern colonies in America were adherents of the Puritans, and

¹ Admiral Penn was the father of the still more celebrated William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania.

the southern followers of the king, and at its close many Cavalier refugees fled to Virginia and the West Indies. On the death of Charles I, Governor Berkeley of Virginia proclaimed Charles II, and in Barbados there was practically rebellion against the Commonwealth. But the government in England sent an expedition to compel the allegiance of the refractory provinces.

426. Colonization Schemes. — The passage of the Navigation Act (1651) (§ 413) was a severe blow to colonial commerce and was unpopular everywhere, but nevertheless at the time it tended to increase the authority of the mother country, and though Cromwell would not give up the act, certain small concessions were made to the colonies. So far as their internal affairs were concerned Cromwell interfered very little if at all.

The expedition of Penn and Venables (§ 424) was part of the same colonial plan, and though Cromwell was chagrined at the apparent failure of that scheme and both Penn and Venables were sent for a short time to the Tower, the expedition laid the foundation of England's influence in the West Indies which has never been lost. Though Jamaica was held of small account, Cromwell made great efforts to colonize it with Englishmen, and offered great inducements to New Englanders to remove there. He himself said that "an opportunity is offered for their enlargement and removing them out of a barren country into a land of plenty." But the sturdy New Englanders preferred their "barren country" to an unknown tropical island and a climate which they dreaded.

427. The Second Protectorate; Parliament, 1656; Humble Petition and Advice, 1657. — The continental policy required money, and Cromwell, not only because he wished more money, but also from his inherent love of constitutional methods, felt it needful to call a second Parliament (1656), but, as before, no one was allowed to be seated who was not supposed to be in general sympathy with the government. This body was accommodating. Cromwell withdrew his major generals (§ 420), and the House voted him money. A plot against Cromwell was discov-

ered, and Parliament, weary of the constant troubles, thought that a nearer return to the old constitution would be helpful. A new scheme of government was devised, called the "Humble Petition and Advice," which provided for two houses of Parliament, a revision of the powers of the chief executive, and greater liberality in the matter of religion. Cromwell was asked to take the title of king, with the power of naming his successor. The army was opposed to the name of king, or it is likely that Cromwell would have assumed it. He kept the title of Lord Protector, but was king except in name.

428. Parliament dissolved, 1658 ; Death of Cromwell, 1658.—In accordance with the new constitution he appointed a new House of Lords, and the new government went into operation. It was not a success ; the two Houses quarreled with each other, the members excluded by Cromwell were seated, and there was a majority hostile to him. At last (February 4, 1658) Cromwell, grievously disappointed, dissolved the Parliament with sad and bitter words.

Cromwell was now beginning to break down both in health and spirits. In August he became ill and on September 3, 1658, the anniversary of his great victories of Dunbar (§ 409) and Worcester (§ 410), he died. His body, after lying in state, was privately buried in the Chapel of Henry VII in Westminster Abbey. He was given a magnificent public funeral.

For many years after Cromwell's death he was regarded by many almost with detestation, but opinion has changed in a remarkable degree. Though his shortcomings are recognized, his great ability is universally admitted, and it is acknowledged by most persons that "it was his design to do good in the main." Cromwell's error, it would seem, was the attempt to govern England as the representative of a minority. He held his position only because of his ability. It was inevitable that such a course should end in despotism.¹

¹ This change in opinion was chiefly due to Carlyle's *Life and Letters of Oliver Cromwell* (1845). One evidence of the change is the erection of a fine statue to his memory under the very shadow of the Houses of Parliament (1899).

429. Richard Cromwell ; Protector, 1659 ; Resigned, 1659. — After Cromwell's death his son Richard was promptly proclaimed. The strength of the Protector's rule was shown by the apparently willing acquiescence by almost all parties in Richard's succession. A new Parliament was summoned, chosen on the old basis of the Long Parliament (§ 380). The members were disposed to make friends with Richard because he was not a soldier, for the one thing the Commons feared, and justly, was the army.

The situation would have been difficult even for a man of Oliver Cromwell's ability, and for his son it was impossible. The army made the first move. It demanded that the command should be given to Fleetwood,¹ with powers independent of the Protector. Richard could not afford to accept such terms, but consented to dissolve Parliament and allow the long Long Parliament to be recalled. In this the Republicans were supreme. The power in the state was claimed both by Parliament and the army, there was no room for a Protector, and Richard, practically coerced, resigned his position (May 25, 1659), leaving the army and Parliament to fight it out between themselves.²

430. The Army ; "The Rump" ; Monk, 1659-1660. — It was to be expected that the army and the "Rump" (§ 402) should quarrel. Lambert, who was now at the head of the army, followed the example of Cromwell and turned out the "Rump." But the army leaders found that it was no easy task to run a government, and in a few weeks recalled the remnant of the Long Parliament. There was, however, a man who had not yet come upon the scene, General Monk, who had been in charge of Scotland.

He saw that unless something were done anarchy would come upon the country. He therefore crossed the border and entered England (January 1, 1660), was joined at Newcastle by Fairfax of

¹ Fleetwood was the brother-in-law of Richard; and Desborough, another of the army leaders, was his uncle. His foes were truly of his own household.

² On the Restoration (1660), Richard Cromwell retired to Paris, and lived there under an assumed name for about twenty years. He then returned to England and spent the rest of his long life in retirement. He died in 1712.

Civil War fame (§ 394), and together they marched upon London. No one knew what course Monk would take. He found that the "Rump" was hated by all parties, and so declared himself in favor of a free Parliament. He demanded the restoration of all members who had been expelled from the Long Parliament by Pride's Purge (§ 402), and having an army at his back, he was obeyed. This Parliament provided for the election of a new Parliament called the "Convention Parliament,"¹ appointed Monk general of the army, and voted its own dissolution (March 16, 1660). Monk recognized that the restoration of the old monarchy and Charles II as king was the nation's wish, and saw to it that the elections were free. Monk's character has been the subject of much deserved criticism, but he rendered an incalculable service to England in bringing about the Restoration in a peaceable and orderly manner.

431. Declaration of Breda. 1660. — Meantime communications were held with Charles, and to make his restoration easier he issued his Declaration of Breda (April 4, 1660).²

Charles in this document offered a general pardon to all except those specially exempted by Parliament, and to consent to a bill for "liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom." The document was drawn so as to throw the whole responsibility upon a Parliament which would be likely to be favorable to his interests.

432. Convention Parliament invites Charles ; His Arrival. 1660. — The Convention Parliament met April 25, 1660. The Declaration of Breda was welcomed with joy, and Parliament voted that, "according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this kingdom, the Government is and ought to be, by King, Lords, and Commons."

¹ So called because, though conforming in other respects to the old laws, it was summoned without royal writs.

² So called from the town in the Netherlands where it was issued.

On the 25th of May, 1660, Charles landed at Dover, and was greeted with cheers. His entrance into London on his birthday, four days later, was a time of still greater rejoicing. There can be little doubt that underlying all motives for this rejoicing was the very real fear of anarchy and civil war. The restoration was the one measure upon which the nation as a whole could agree.

433. Results of the Puritan Revolution. — Though the old order appeared to be restored, it was not so in fact, for much of the influence and some of the salutary legislation of the Long Parliament were too deeply rooted to be overthrown. The revolution had arrested the growth of an absolute monarchy, and roused a lasting feeling of dislike to absolute power, whether wielded by King, Parliament, Protector, or army. It was never afterwards possible to have a court of Star Chamber, or Council of the North, or to lay taxes by royal prerogative; and public officers could no longer be shielded from the action of Parliament; and, though it was many years before real toleration and religious freedom came about, it was from the Commonwealth and the Protectorate that their advocates gained their inspiration. Besides all this, and by no means of least importance, the English acquired a wholesome dread of civil war and military rule.

References. — Green, *Short History*, chap. viii, §§ 8–10; Gardiner, *Student's History*, chaps. xxxiv–xxxvi; Terry, Part III, Book III, chaps. iv–v; Tout, *Advanced History*, Book VI, chap. ii, §§ 30–47, chap. iii; Gardiner, *Puritan Revolution*, chaps. vii–x, § i; Traill, *Social England*, vol. IV, chap. xiv; Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, §§ 207–221; Cheyney, *Readings*, chap. xv, §§ iii–v; Colby, *Selections*, §§ 73–76; Kendall, *Source-Book*, §§ 79–89; Lee, *Source-Book*, §§ 160–174.

CHAPTER XXI

THE RESTORATION, AND THE REVOLUTION OF 1688

434. Charles II. 1660.—The restoration of Charles was a compromise, for the Declaration of Breda recognized the power of the people in a way and to a degree that Charles I never would have done. The position of the king was a difficult one: he brought back with him not a few Cavaliers whose claims must be recognized, and many of the royalists, whose estates had been confiscated under the Commonwealth, were clamorous for their return or for indemnities; while, on the other hand, those who had profited by the confiscations were by no means ready to give up their lands. The army was safely disposed of by paying it off, after which all the soldiers except about 5000 were disbanded.

Charles II was a much abler man than his father, and if his moral character had been even fairly good, and if he had been less selfish, he might have been an excellent ruler. But he was unscrupulous, supremely selfish, and doubtless the most immoral sovereign that ever sat upon the English throne. His court was a disgrace to the nation. He was not, however, without some good points, for he wished to see England powerful abroad, and to develop her colonial and commercial policy. He was naturally tolerant, and one of the early acts of his new power was to order the persecutions of the Quakers in New England to cease. Indeed, all through his reign, he was favorable to toleration, but his laziness and selfishness were always most prominent, and when his own personal gratification was in question other things were deemed of slight account. He had one quality which his father utterly lacked, and that was an instinctive perception of how far he could go, and for this reason the opposition to him never went as far as rebellion.

It is said that he had made up his mind on one point — that he “would never go upon his travels again.”

435. Treatment of the King's Enemies. — On the whole it cannot be said that those who had fought against Charles I and Charles II were harshly treated. An act of general indemnity and pardon was passed, excepting only the regicides — as those who had sat in judgment on the king were styled — and a very few others.¹ In all, thirteen were put to death, and others imprisoned or exiled. One of the acts which might be termed despicable was the exhuming of the bodies of Cromwell and others of the Parliamentary leaders. The bodies were dragged through the streets on a sledge, then hung on the gallows at Tyburn for a day, after which they were cut down and decapitated, and the heads of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw were set up on the top of Westminster Hall. The bodies were buried at the foot of the gallows.²

The Convention Parliament, besides passing the Indemnity Act, abolished military tenures, feudal dues, and the right of purveyance.³ The Navigation Act of 1651 (§ 413) was reënacted. There was such a division of opinion in regard to the religious problems that they were left unsolved. The result of the legislation was to restore social conditions very nearly to the state in which they had been before the Commonwealth. This Parliament was dissolved in December, 1660.

436. The “Cavalier Parliament.” 1661–1679. — A new Parliament was called, which met in May, 1661. From its strong royalist feeling it has been called the “Cavalier Parliament,” and

¹ In the matter of lands the question was so difficult that it was said, “Parliament had passed an Act of Indemnity for the King's enemies and Oblivion for his friends.”

² There seems to be little doubt that “where Connaught Square now stands, a yard or two beneath the street, trodden under foot and beaten by horsehoofs, lies the dust of the great Protector.”

³ Purveyance is the right of a sovereign to buy up provisions and other necessities for the royal household at an appraised price, in preference to all others, even without the owner's consent. The king could also compel certain other services. To compensate Charles for this loss he was granted certain excise duties.

sometimes, from its length, the "Second Long Parliament" (§ 380). It also resembled that body in being fully as intolerant and vindictive in its measures. As the Convention Parliament had restored political and social conditions, so this was resolved to restore religious conditions and destroy Puritanism. While Parliament also restored some of the prerogatives of the king, it had no intention of giving him control over revenues, or the coasts; or furnishing him with a standing army; or allowing personal interference with freedom of speech in Parliament, which henceforth was to be checked only by Parliament itself.

CHARLES II

One of the first acts was to confirm the legislation of the Convention Parliament, which had not been legally summoned. This act of confirmation was only passed by the earnest efforts of both Charles and his chief minister, Lord Clarendon. Later (1664) it repealed the Triennial Bill (§ 382), restored the bishops to the House of Lords, and gave back to the Established Church (1661) all its property which had been seized.

437. The Clarendon Code. 1661-1665. — Parliament now began the enactment of what is known as the "Clarendon

Code.”¹ The first act was the Corporation Act. By this, membership in the various bodies which governed the towns was confined to such persons as would partake of the communion by the rites of the Church of England, would renounce the Covenant (§ 393), and take the oaths of allegiance, non-resistance,² and supremacy. All Nonconformists by the act were debarred from political power.³

The Act of Uniformity (1662) required all clergymen to use the Episcopal Prayer Book and give their “unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained and prescribed in and by the book.” Those who refused to do this by St. Bartholomew’s Day (August 24), 1662, were to be expelled from their livings. Those who dissented from the doctrines of the Church of England were now called “Dissenters” rather than Nonconformists.⁴

The next law relating to church matters was the Conventicle Act (1664), the purpose of which was to prevent Dissenters (ministers or laity) from holding meetings for worship. By the act the attendance of adults at any religious meeting or conventicle⁵ other than the Church of England was punished by imprisonment for the first and second offense, and transportation for the third, on pain of death if the criminal returned to England.

Thousands, rather than obey such a law, braved all dangers and in consequence suffered terrible persecution. Hundreds died in the filthy and horrible jails of that day, and others endured long imprisonment. The most celebrated of these was John Bunyan,

¹ So called from the Earl of Clarendon, Charles’s minister, whose policy was carried out. This succession of laws was, (1) The Corporation Act (1661), (2) Act of Uniformity (1662), (3) Conventicle Act (1664), and (4) the Five-Mile Act (1665). Together they made a code unequalled in English history for what can hardly be called by any other name than tyranny.

² This was the doctrine that it was unlawful at any time to take up arms against the sovereign.

³ The chief nonconformist bodies at that time, besides the Roman Catholics, were (1) the Presbyterians, (2) the Independents, (3) the Baptists, and (4) the Society of Friends, or Quakers.

⁴ The title Nonconformists has in recent years again come into general use to distinguish Protestants who do not belong to the Established Church.

⁵ This was defined as a meeting of five or more persons for religious worship.

the Baptist, who spent eleven years in Bedford jail rather than obey the law.¹ The Quakers suffered most of all, for they not only refused to obey the Conventicle Act, but also, on conscientious scruples, declined to take any oath whatsoever, though they were always willing to make a declaration of their allegiance to the government. During the reign of Charles II 13,000 Quakers suffered imprisonment, mainly on account of the Conventicle Act.

But the purpose was to root out dissent, and to further this the Five-Mile Act was passed (1665). By this act no clergyman or schoolmaster was allowed to settle within five miles of a city, or corporate town, or any place where he had been minister or teacher, unless he declared that he would not "at any time endeavor any alteration of government either in church or state," and would subscribe to the doctrine of non-resistance. This act bore most heavily on those clergymen who had been expelled from their livings by the Act of Uniformity (1662). Unable to exercise their former office of minister, many had turned to teaching. By this legislation they were cut off from almost all means of self-support, for many of them were too old or feeble to turn to manual labor. Besides this there is little doubt that it seriously retarded the progress of education.

438. Results of the Clarendon Code. — That it was possible to pass such drastic legislation as the Clarendon Code is due to several causes. There was a wave of enthusiasm passing over the country which carried into Parliament a large royalist majority.² Many of the members were young men belonging to families which had suffered from Puritanism, and were large landowners or members of the landowning class. To such the democratic system of the Presbyterians, Independents, and others was wholly distasteful.

The result of the Code was to make a permanent change in the

¹ It was while thus imprisoned that he wrote *Pilgrim's Progress*.

² Charles recognized this fact, and, knowing it was not likely he would get another such Parliament, did not dissolve it for eighteen years.

religious life of the kingdom. The Presbyterians and Independents among the gentry and nobility, unwilling to forfeit their political rights and social position, almost all conformed to the state church. To do this was made easier by the great reaction from Puritanism.

The persecutions of the Restoration period were caused more by political hatred than by religious intolerance.

439. The Restoration in Scotland. — In Scotland the union so carefully planned by Cromwell (§ 411) was set aside. As in England, so in Scotland, the nobility and gentry were pleased at the Restoration, for they had suffered much under the Commonwealth. But the Scottish Parliament, which soon met, was as obsequious to the wishes of Charles as the Convention (§ 430) and the Cavalier Parliaments (§ 436). It declared that with the king lay "the sole choice and appointment of all the chief officers of the kingdom and of summoning and dismissing Parliaments, and of making war and peace." It declared "the king supreme Governor of this Kingdom over all persons and in all cases." But even worse than this, all that had been done in the Parliaments which had been held since 1633 was declared null and void. Besides this it voted the king an annual grant of £40,000, an amount which the nation could not afford to pay.¹

440. Punishment and Persecution in Scotland. — As in England, it was felt needful to punish some of those who had supported the Commonwealth and Protectorate. The chief of these was the Marquis of Argyll. The evidence against him was scanty and slight, but, notwithstanding, he was condemned and executed (May 27, 1661).² Several others also suffered death. Acts similar to the Act of Uniformity and Five-Mile Act were also passed.

¹ So sweeping were the acts of this Parliament that it was said that the members were drunk, and it went by the name of "the Drunken Parliament."

² Argyll had been at the head of the Covenanters. He had been one of the chief agents in the restoration of Charles, and trusted to the declaration of pardon. But this did not save him. It is said that the chief evidence against him was given by Monk, "an example of baseness which staggered even the public men of that day."

The Scottish Covenanters then suffered a persecution similar to that inflicted upon the Nonconformists in England, and the brutal treatment of the Covenanters remains one of the blackest chapters in Scottish history.

441. Restoration in Ireland. — In Ireland, as in Scotland, the union was dissolved, and the Parliament discontinued by Cromwell was reëstablished. Though the religious persecution was less than in England the political policy pursued was worse, for it permanently alienated the large Catholic population of that island. The Irish problem, it is true, was a difficult one. The government at first by the Act of Settlement (1661) allowed the settlers under the Cromwellian rule, and those who held land gained under the rule of Charles I, to hold their lands. Later, owing to the number of claimants among the royalists and among the favorites of Charles II, it was deemed needful to dispossess some of the Cromwellian settlers (Act of Explanation, 1665). This, however, did not benefit the Irish, and the result was that only a third of the land and possibly even less was held by Irish Catholic owners,¹ and though there was an Irish Parliament, it was filled with men of English descent and Protestants,² who confirmed all acts of government, while the Catholics had no voice.

Politically also the dissolution of the union with England was greatly injurious to the interests of Ireland, for it deprived the island of all benefits of the general legislation of the English Parliament, placing her almost in the position of a foreign country, and making possible that feature of absentee landlordism which has been such an instrument for evil.

442. The Restoration and Foreign Affairs ; French Alliance. — The Restoration made more difference in the foreign policy of England than appeared on the surface. Cromwell always shaped

¹ It is stated that "whereas before 1641 about two thirds of Irish land fit for cultivation had been in the hands of Catholics, before the end of the reign of Charles II, two thirds were in the hands of Protestants."

² "So complete was the English supremacy thus established, that (up to 1687) one Catholic only had been returned to Parliament since the Restoration."

his policy for what he believed to be the benefit of England; while Charles made his own personal advantage the chief object. France, under Louis XIV, was the strongest power in Europe. It was clearly for the interest of England that the influence of France should be checked. But Charles believed that the French alliance would be to his personal advantage and so fell in with the wishes of Louis.

Dunkirk, acquired under Cromwell (§ 424), he sold in 1662 to the French. This act, though unpopular at the time, was really a good thing for England, as holding Dunkirk was a heavy expense, and continental possessions were a hindrance to her independence. In the same year, as a result of the French diplomacy, Charles married Catharine of Braganza, a Catholic princess, sister of the king of Portugal, a close ally of the French. The treaty made with Portugal on the occasion of this event gave England Tangier, opposite Gibraltar, and Bombay with the island on which it is situated, in India. Bombay was soon handed over to the East India Company and became the most important of its stations. In addition to these transfers Catharine brought a large dowry. This marriage made a bitter enemy of Spain, for it strengthened Portugal, which, formerly a part of Spain, had cast off her rule in 1640. The French alliance was displeasing to many in England.

443. War with Holland, 1664–1667 ; New Netherland captured, 1664.—The Dutch were still the great commercial rivals of the English. England had reënacted the Navigation Act (§§ 413, 435), and various conflicts had arisen between the two nations. In addition to this, Charles was angry because the Dutch had elected John De Witt, an able statesman, as their Stadtholder, instead of his own nephew, Prince William, son of the late William of Orange. Fighting began in 1664. English ships took possession of New Netherland (afterwards New York), while the Dutch seized English possessions in Africa.

In 1665 war was formally declared. The Dutch had the abler officers, and their fleet under Admiral Ruyter at one time sailed

up the Thames, entered the Medway, burned several war vessels, and blockaded London itself. Such a thing had not been known in centuries and has never occurred since. Notwithstanding the Dutch successes, England gained some victories and showed her power conclusively. Louis XIV joined the Dutch, partly in accordance with a treaty and partly because he had no wish to see England mistress of the seas.

444. Peace with Holland; England gains New Netherland.

1667.—The Dutch were glad to conclude a peace with the English (1667). By this treaty each nation was to retain possession of what lands it held at the time. This agreement brought New Netherland under English dominion. Charles granted it to his brother James, Duke of York, and the name was changed to New York. The acquisition of New Netherland was of vast importance, for it gave the English an unbroken coast line in America, and uninterrupted territory from Maine to Florida. The colonial policy of the Restoration was a continuation of the expansion policy of the Protectorate, as is seen in the establishment of Carolina (1663); New Jersey (1667); and Pennsylvania (1681).

445. The Plague, 1665; The Great Fire, 1666.—During the Dutch war London was visited by a terrible epidemic (1665). The plague, as it was called, had appeared in England at intervals of about five years. But this was the most devastating invasion. It is estimated that in London out of a population of 500,000 about 70,000 perished. All that were able to do so fled to the country, business was practically suspended, and a pall of horror was over the city. So numerous were the deaths that all usual formalities were dispensed with; “carts were the biers, and wide pits the graves.” At night the carts went slowly through the city, the driver ringing a bell and calling, “Bring out your dead.” On the coming of cold weather the disease was stayed.¹

¹ At that time considered as a visitation of Providence, it was probably the bubonic plague, and its ravages were vastly increased by bad water, filth, the absence of sewerage, and of everything now known as sanitation.

The year following the visitation of the plague, London was visited by another calamity in the shape of the Great Fire. This began on September 2, 1666, and continued three days. A large part of the city was destroyed; it is said that eighty-nine churches, among them the splendid Gothic cathedral of Saint Paul, and

FLEEING FROM THE PLAGUE IN LONDON

After an old print

over 13,000 houses were consumed, and more than a third of the inhabitants were rendered homeless. Though the fire occasioned great loss and suffering at the time, it was in fact a great blessing, for all the plague spots and hundreds of ill-built and unsanitary buildings were destroyed.

446. Clarendon; His Daughter marries James, the King's Brother. 1660. — The chief minister and adviser of Charles was Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon (§ 437). He was an upright, moral man compared with those around him, and was undoubtedly, from his point of view, patriotic, but his ideas of government were those of a previous age. "By representing king against Parliament in matters of money, and Parliament against king in matters of religion, he incurred the hostility of both."

His unpopularity increased, and in 1667 Charles dismissed him

from office. A few months later the Commons impeached him on a charge of high treason, but the evidence was so flimsy that the Lords refused to send him to prison. By the advice of Charles he fled to France, and Parliament passed an act of banishment.¹

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, REBUILT AFTER THE GREAT FIRE

447. The "Cabal Ministry," 1667; Aims of Charles II. — Up to this time Charles had been greatly influenced by Clarendon; now Charles determined to rule without any chief minister of state, but he frequently consulted five men more than others. These men were Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale. As their initials spelled *Cabal* they came to be called the "Cabal

¹ While abroad he finished his *History of the Rebellion*, a valuable work, though greatly prejudiced.

Ministry."¹ Of these Lord Ashley, afterwards the Earl of Shaftesbury, was the ablest. All were unprincipled, selfish, and corrupt. Except upon a few points they were not united and cannot be considered as a cabinet in the modern sense. Their common dislike of the old Cavalier party led them to support toleration at home and peace abroad.

Charles II has not had credit enough given him for the skill and tenacity with which he pursued for a long series of years the object of his wishes — personal power, freedom from the dominion of the Episcopal party, and the reëstablishment of Catholicism; his method was intrigue at home and abroad. His main reliance was upon Louis XIV.

448. Intrigues of Charles II and Louis XIV.—The rapidly growing power of France had been regarded with apprehension by the English, and in 1668 a triple alliance was formed between England, Sweden, and Holland for the purpose of forcing Louis to give up his scheme of increasing his possessions at the expense of Spain. Louis, deeming it wisest to yield for the time, made peace, and gave up some of his conquests (1668). Charles, outwardly supporting the Triple Alliance, was negotiating secretly with Louis, to whom he had privately communicated the terms of the Alliance.

As a result of the influence of Louis, Charles negotiated with him a secret treaty called the Treaty of Dover (1670). The main points were that Charles agreed to support Louis in a war against the Dutch; to support him in his claim to the Spanish throne in case the king of Spain should die without a direct heir; and to avow himself a Catholic "as soon as the affairs of his kingdom should permit." Louis on his part was to give a large sum of

¹ The word was used to signify a number of persons uniting to gain some private ends. It was nothing but a coincidence that the initials of the men in question should form the word. Lord Ashley had been prominent in the Commonwealth as Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper; Buckingham was the son of the old favorite of Charles I (§§ 349, 363) and had the reputation of being "the maddest, wittiest, most profligate man in England"; Lauderdale was "the Episcopal tyrant of Scotland"; Clifford was a strong Catholic; and Arlington was favorable to Catholicism.

money in return for the aid against the Dutch ; turn over to England the province of Zealand in Holland in case of success ; give Charles personally £200,000 a year for declaring himself a Catholic ; and also to furnish troops and money to support Charles in England. No English monarch ever made a more disgraceful treaty, and Charles did not dare to make known some of its provisions even to the members of the Cabal.

One of the reasons which induced Charles to enter into the arrangement with Louis was his difficulty in raising money. In 1671 Parliament granted a large sum nominally for the navy, after which Charles prorogued Parliament. In 1672 the treasury was bankrupt and Charles suspended payment of all loans which had been made to the government.¹

449. War with Holland, 1672 ; William of Orange. — In the same year war was declared against Holland in accordance with the Treaty of Dover. This war was unpopular. The Dutch had not expected war, and when the armies of Louis invaded Holland they were unprepared. William, the young Prince of Orange, nephew of Charles,² though under twenty-two, was made general of the Dutch forces, but he had too few men to take much risk. De Witt, the Grand Pensionary, or ruler of Holland, seeing no other resource, cut the dikes which kept out the sea and effectually prevented a further advance by the French.

Meanwhile William had been proclaimed Stadtholder in Holland, and his career more than justified the choice. When Buckingham, who was sent from England to urge him to accept the terms of Louis, said to him, "Do you not see that the republic is lost?" it is reported that William replied, "I know one means of never seeing it—to die in the last ditch." From this time

¹ This, known as the "Stop of the Exchequer," was really the beginning of England's national debt. Among the loans whose payment was thus stopped was one of £11,000 due Admiral Sir William Penn, the father of William Penn. It was in recognition of this debt that Charles II granted William Penn the province of Pennsylvania.

² He was the son of Charles's sister Mary, who married the Prince of Orange in 1641.

with his death (1702) William was the leader of Europe against Louis XIV and the aggressions of France.

450 James, Duke of York, becomes a Catholic; Declaration of Indulgence. 1672.—James, Duke of York, the brother of the king, publicly joined the Catholic Church (1672). Charles, while Parliament was not sitting, issued a Declaration of Indulgence;¹ this suspended the penal laws against Nonconformists and thus gave liberty of worship to Catholics as well as Dissenters. It released from prison thousands who were held for disobeying the ecclesiastical laws of Parliament. Many of the Dissenters dreaded the use of the king's claimed prerogative even more than the penal laws against themselves.

451. Parliament meets; The Test Act. 1673.—Parliament came together again after an interval of nearly two years. A resolution was passed that "penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical cannot be suspended but by act of Parliament." Charles found that no money would be forthcoming unless he withdrew the Declaration, and so he unwillingly complied with the wish of Parliament (1673).

Fearful as it had been of dissent, Parliament was now still more fearful of the Catholics,² and so passed the Test Act. This required, among other things, that all persons holding office under the crown must partake of the communion according to the usage of the Church of England. It was impossible for a Catholic to retain office under this act, and among those who resigned their positions were the Duke of York, Clifford, and Arlington. Charles

¹ Charles claimed the right to issue this declaration under the royal power of pardon and dispensation. No one doubted the power of the king to pardon in individual cases, and this power to some extent implied the power of dispensation, that is, to dispense with a law in an individual case. But to make such a general dispensation as Charles claimed would mean the annulling of the acts of Parliament at the king's pleasure.

² The real cause of the great opposition to the Catholics was not religious, but political. It was believed that Catholic rule would bring England under the political control of the Pope. This feeling was in part an inheritance from the time of Elizabeth.

did not dare to refuse to sign the bill, for no grant of money had been made, but immediately after he had affixed his signature Parliament made a large grant.

The king, wishing to placate the Commons, appointed Sir Thomas Osborne high treasurer and practically prime minister. He became the Earl of Danby, and is generally known by that name. He was a strong Cavalier and great supporter of the church, but he recognized fully the danger England was in from Louis, and would have gladly renewed the Triple Alliance (§ 448) had it been possible. The war with the Dutch, however, was ended in 1674.

Meanwhile, the Duke of York had married Mary of Modena, an Italian Catholic princess.¹

DUKE OF YORK
Afterwards King James II

Should she have a son, he would be heir to the throne of England, and with Catholic parents he would undoubtedly be educated in their faith.

452. Intrigues of Charles; Danby. 1673-1678.—From this time the reign of Charles was so full of intrigues on all sides that it is exceedingly difficult to thread one's way through the tangles

¹ The first wife of James, Ann Hyde, daughter of Clarendon, had joined the Catholic Church shortly before her death in 1671. Her two daughters, Mary and Anne, had been brought up as Protestants, and should James come to the throne, his heirs would be Protestants, but now there was possibility of a Catholic heir.

of deceit and falsehood. As Danby was working against France, and Charles secretly for France, the result was that England's position became little short of scandalous. Charles prorogued Parliament and did not call it for about a year. Meanwhile he made another secret treaty with Louis, promising to enter into no engagement with a foreign country without the consent of Louis, accepting all the time heavy bribes from him. Danby, on his part, used bribery in order to gain members of Parliament over to his side, and Louis, aware that Parliament was hostile to him, also sent bribes to Shaftesbury to secure his support in a scheme to get Parliament dissolved.

When Parliament met in 1677 it urged Charles to make war upon France, whereupon Charles adjourned it. A third secret treaty was made with Louis, by which Charles got the promise of more money. Notwithstanding these treaties with France, Charles in 1678 gave his consent to the marriage of his niece, the Princess Mary of York, to his nephew, William of Orange, Stadtholder of Holland, the archenemy of Louis.¹

453. Louis makes Peace, 1678; "Popish Plot," 1678; Parliament Dissolved, 1679. — Louis XIV, disgusted by the duplicity of Charles, and distrustful of him, made a peace with his enemies (Peace of Nimeguen, 1678). He began to bribe the opposition in Parliament and made known the character of the secret dealings that he had had with Charles. During the negotiations between Louis and Charles, Danby, at the command of Charles, had written a letter to Louis asking him for money. This correspondence was published and led to the impeachment of Danby.

Just at this time an ex-clergyman, Titus Oates, announced that he had intelligence of the existence of a plot to assassinate the king and restore Catholic rule. The intrigues which had come to light and the general fear of Catholicism caused the

¹As has been seen above, Mary was at the time the next heir (§ 451, note) to the English throne after James. She and her husband afterwards came to the throne as William and Mary.

reality of the plot to be believed, in spite of its improbability and of the fact that Oates had a very bad record showing him to be totally untrustworthy. Informers abounded, and many innocent Catholics suffered imprisonment and death. Parliament passed an act disabling Catholics from sitting in Parliament, and five Catholic peers were impeached.¹ Charles, to save Danby, dissolved Parliament (1679). It had been chosen in 1661 and thus, with the single exception of the famous Long Parliament (§ 380), is the longest Parliament in English history.

454. Habeas Corpus Act, 1679; Exclusion Act. — The new Parliament (March, 1679) was violently Protestant. Two measures especially engaged its attention: (1) a *Habeas Corpus* Act² for the protection of persons accused of crime. This act Charles signed with reluctance. (2) A bill for the exclusion of James from the succession to the crown, on the ground of his being a Catholic. The Commons passed such a bill, but before it was acted upon by the Lords, Charles, to gain time, dissolved Parliament.

455. "Petitioners and Abhorrrers;" Whig and Tory; High Church and Low Church. — Another Parliament was chosen (October, 1697), but Charles dared not allow it to meet. About this time the people began to divide into two parties, the one favoring the exclusion bill and hence the meeting of Parliament; and the other defending the king's prerogative to call Parliament or not as he pleased. The adherents of the former were called "Petitioners," because they sent petitions for the meeting of Parliament, and the others "Abhorrrers," because they expressed their abhorrence of the petitions. These names before long were changed to Whig and Tory,³ the Whigs being those who supported exclusion.

¹ Though undoubtedly false, the Oates plot had lasting results, for the exclusion of Catholics from Parliament continued till 1829, one hundred and fifty years.

² By this act accused persons were secured from the evasions of the old *habeas corpus* requirements (§ 361, note).

³ Whig was a name which had been applied to the Covenanters of Scotland; Tory was a name taken from Irish outlaws. From this time Whig has been used to indicate those who advocate liberal measures, and Tory those who are essentially conservative or opposed to change.

Two other terms came into use about this time which have also come down to our times with comparatively little change of meaning. The strong advocates of the church received the name of the High Church Party, and the more liberal members the name of Low Church Party. The Tories were practically all High Churchmen, and the Whigs, Low Churchmen.

456. Scotland, 1679 ; Duke of Monmouth. — The administration of Scotland had roused much ill-feeling. The Covenanters had murdered Archbishop Sharp (§ 440) and a revolt broke out. The Duke of Monmouth,¹ sent to put this down, was successful, and then treated the rebels with much clemency ; but the Duke of York, who was sent as Lord High Commissioner, exercised great severity, using torture to extract information against the rebels. Shaftesbury, to carry out his own plans, began to use Monmouth, who was now spoken of as a possible heir to the throne.

457. Oxford Parliament. 1680. — At last, a year after it was chosen, Charles called the Parliament elected in 1679 to meet at Oxford. The temper of this Parliament was similar to that of the preceding one. A new Exclusion Bill was hurried through the Commons, but, by the efforts of the Marquis of Halifax, defeated in the Lords. The Commons on this refused to pass any money bill unless the Exclusion Bill was first enacted. Halifax was impeached, and Lord Stafford, one of the Catholic peers accused by Oates, was tried and executed.² Charles had no recourse but to dissolve Parliament. As money was a necessity, the king resolved to make an attempt to secure a more tractable Parliament, and another election took place, and the new Parliament, like the previous one, was called to meet at Oxford.

458. Charles's Fifth Parliament, 1681 ; Personal Rule, 1681–1685. — Parliament, still bent on an Exclusion Bill, believed that, as Charles was greatly in need of money, they controlled the situation. But Louis XIV, having got all he wished from the Whigs,

¹ Monmouth was one of the many illegitimate children of Charles.

² The charge was almost without question a false one.

turned again to Charles as the better tool. A verbal treaty had been made through the French ambassador by which a three years' supply of funds had been promised Charles. He was now free to carry out his plans. After Parliament had been in session only a week he suddenly appeared in the House of Lords, summoned the Commons to meet him, and forthwith dissolved Parliament. No other Par-

SILVER CROWN OF CHARLES II

liament was called during his reign, and the Tories had complete control. This period has been called the "second Stuart tyranny."

459. Attacks on Town Charters.—Charles and the Tory Party at once began to put into force the old Clarendon Code (§ 437), and Dissenters were persecuted even more severely than they had been under the Cavalier Parliament (§ 436). Shaftesbury, a special object of hatred to the king, was accused of high treason, but before he could be legally tried, the Grand Jury of Middlesex (his place of residence) had to find a true bill against him. But as London and Middlesex juries were strongly Whig, there was no hope of an indictment. By what is known as a Writ of *Quo Warranto* the city of London was accused of certain irregularities and its charter was taken away; the king took upon himself the appointment of a Lord Mayor and other officers, and thus obtained control. Other cities and towns were treated in the same way, and still others resigned their charters, hoping to make better terms with the king. In all there were sixty-six cities and towns whose charters were thus forfeited or remodeled. Meanwhile Shaftesbury escaped to Holland and died in exile (1683).

460. Rye House Plot, 1683; Execution of Russell and Sidney, 1683.—A new plot now startled the country. Some of the more violent of the Whig party formed a plot to attack both the king and James at a place called the Rye House, on their way

back from the Newmarket races, and seize or murder them. Charles returned earlier than was looked for and so escaped. The plot was revealed by one of the conspirators. Among those seized were Lord William Russell, Essex, and Algernon Sidney. Russell and Sidney were convicted on scanty evidence, and were executed. Essex, found dead in the Tower, is supposed to have committed suicide. At these unjust trials Judge Jeffreys¹ became prominent, and his career earned for him the title of the "infamous judge."

461. Charles defies the Laws; His Death, 1685.—The effect of the Rye House Plot was to increase the power of the crown and to make Charles popular. He now dared openly to disregard the laws: by neglecting to call a Parliament, though more than three years had elapsed since the dissolution of the preceding one; by restoring the Duke of York to the Council in defiance of the Test Act; and by releasing Danby from the Tower (§ 453).

Shortly after this Charles was seized with apoplexy, and in four days died. Before his death he acknowledged himself a Catholic and was admitted to that church. So strongly were the Tories intrenched that James, Duke of York, brother of Charles, succeeded to the throne without opposition.

462. James II, 1685.—James was fifty-two years old. He had had considerable experience in administration and was businesslike in his habits. He resembled his father in his belief in the divine right of kings, in his obstinacy, tenacity of purpose, and inability to see any side of a question but his own. So far as his mental ability may be judged from results, it was much below that of Charles. Like Charles, he was extremely immoral. He came to the throne under favorable circumstances, the Tories being in full power and the nation inclined to give him a fair trial. He had only himself to blame for the fact that his reign lasted only three years.

One of his first acts was to allow the celebration of the mass

¹ It is said of him that "as a criminal judge he was undoubtedly the worst that ever disgraced the bench."

in the royal chapel; another was to collect the customs duties before they were granted by Parliament. As he had issued writs for a new Parliament, these matters did not excite the comment which they might otherwise have done. He desired above all things to be free from the control of Parliament, and to reëstablish the Catholic religion; but fearing that Parliament might not be in accord with his wishes, he followed the example of Charles and secured a promise of aid from Louis if Parliament should be contrary. But Parliament met, having a large Tory majority, and granted James for life not only the revenue given Charles but £500,000 in addition.

463. Scotland, 1685; Argyll's Attempt, 1685.—The Scottish Parliament had also met, but, as only Episcopalians could sit in it, and those represented but a small part of the population, the legislation was not in accord with the wishes of the majority of the people. This Parliament, as strongly Tory as was the English one, avowed its belief in the divine right of kings and passed laws against the Covenanters even more bitter than those which had been in force. To give or take the Covenanters' oath was made treason; it was also enacted that, "All persons, preachers, or hearers, proved to have been present at a conventicle were henceforth to be punished by death and confiscation." This went beyond the English laws.

It was not long before serious attempts to overthrow the new king were made both in Scotland and in England. Holland was the great resort of refugees from England and Scotland. Here Argyll was the chief among the Scottish refugees, and Monmouth, the illegitimate son of Charles, among the English. Argyll was the son of that Argyll who had suffered death in the early days of the Restoration (§ 440). A simultaneous attempt at insurrection in England and Scotland was planned, Argyll to lead the Scottish and Monmouth the English rising. Argyll, disappointed in not receiving the expected support, was soon captured and was executed without trial (1685), under an old bill of attainder which had been passed against him (1681).

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464. Monmouth's Attempt. 1685. — Monmouth landed in June, 1685, at Lyme Regis, Dorsetshire, declaring himself the legal successor of Charles II. He soon gathered about five thousand men who enthusiastically supported him as the Protestant defender of England. He was proclaimed king at Taunton. Monmouth, however, gained no recruits from the gentry or nobility, which of itself was fatal to his cause. Though he marched to Bath and Bristol, neither of these towns would receive him. The king had meanwhile sent an army under Lord Feverisham and Lord Churchill.¹ Monmouth attempted a surprise at Sedgemoor, near Bridgewater, but was defeated (July 6, 1685). This was the last battle fought on English soil. He was captured, taken to London, and executed (July 15) under a Bill of Attainder which Parliament had already passed.

465. Treatment of the Rebels ; Judge Jeffreys. — The treatment of the rebels was vindictive and cruel in the extreme, and the months following the Monmouth rebellion have a record unmatched in English history. A large number of his followers were hanged by the command of one Colonel Kirke. He was followed by a commission of judges headed by Jeffreys. This series of trials is known by the name of the "Bloody Assize."² During its continuance, in addition to the executions by order of Kirke, more than 300 persons were put to death,³ and over 800 sold to the West India plantations. Besides the executions an immense amount of plunder was secured. The demeanor of Jeffreys on the bench toward the unfortunate accused was brutal. "He shouted, swore, and laughed over his victims," taunting them, and treating them savagely. On his return to London he was rewarded by being appointed Lord High Chancellor.

466. Effects of the Monmouth Rebellion ; Course of James. — The crushing of the Monmouth rebellion and the punishment of

¹ John, Lord Churchill, afterwards the Duke of Marlborough, England's greatest general.

² Assize, the sitting of the courts to try cases.

³ For more than fifty years death had been considered as the punishment for leaders only. James returned to the practice of Henry VIII and Elizabeth.

the rebels had some important effects. First, it showed the power of a standing army, and the hopelessness of resistance by untrained men ; secondly, it united most of the Protestants, the Whig refugees, and the Whig party in favor of William, Prince of Orange, and his wife, the Princess Mary ; thirdly, it caused James to rely on his army ; and finally, it helped to bring about the loss of his crown.

James, believing himself secure, immediately set about restoring Catholicism. Officers of the state and of the army whose loyalty he doubted were replaced, as far as practicable, by Catholics or those who would support the king. Parliament was not in as complaisant a mood as before, and refused to alter the Test Act (§ 451) or the Habeas Corpus Act (§ 454), though it offered to make a liberal grant for the army. James thereupon prorogued Parliament, and it did not meet again during his reign.

467. James attempts Despotic Rule. 1687. — James not only attempted to rule without a Parliament, but fell back on the dispensing power of the crown, as Charles II had done. By changing the judges on the bench he managed to get a decision confirming this power to the king. He appointed Catholics to various posts of authority and influence ; he required the heads of Magdalen College, Oxford, to appoint a Catholic to be their president ; he constituted, though under a slightly different name, a new Court of High Commission, introduced Catholics into the Privy Council, and received a Papal Nuncio at court. He had already striven to conciliate Ireland so that he might have help from that island.

His course became so unpopular that he began to curry favor with the Dissenters, by issuing Declarations of Indulgence. By these documents (1687–1688) he, by royal authority, suspended all laws against Catholics and Dissenters. Contrary to his expectations, this act had a rather cool reception even among those whom personally it benefited most. For they saw clearly that James gave them liberty from prison and freedom for worship chiefly because thereby he hoped to gain their support. Still, "the prisons were opened to thousands of the best men in England,

and everywhere public worship was freely resumed by congregations who have never since been forced to close their doors," for no party that has since been in power has dared to reenact or enforce "conventicle acts" or the like.

✓ **468. Trial of the Seven Bishops, 1688; Birth of James's Son, 1688.** — The second Declaration of Indulgence was commanded by James to be read in all churches on two Sundays in June (1688). This at once aroused opposition, and six bishops, with the Archbishop of Canterbury, petitioned James against the Declaration. This proceeding he treated as a seditious libel, and ordered the seven prelates to be prosecuted on this charge. This action united all Protestants in support of the bishops. Had not James been blindly obstinate, he would have recognized the danger of thus proceeding against those supported by public opinion, but an event took place at this time which encouraged him to go on — the birth of a son. This child now became the legal heir to the crown.¹ Up to this time many had been willing to endure James because he was past middle life, and his heir, Mary of Orange, was Protestant. The whole aspect of affairs at once was changed.

James insisted on the continuance of the prosecution of the bishops. The jury rendered a verdict of acquittal (June 30) and London went wild with joy, and even the soldiers, upon whom James depended, cheered in their quarters on Hounslow Heath.

469. Invitation to William of Orange; William lands at Tor Bay. 1688. — On the same day as the acquittal of the bishops, seven prominent men of the kingdom² sent an urgent message to William of Orange, asking him to come to England and save the country. These represented all parties, but of course the Whigs were in the majority. Besides this, William received

¹ By the general law of succession a son takes precedence of his elder sisters.

² The seven signers were the Earl of Devonshire, Henry Sidney (brother of Algernon Sidney (§ 460)), Admiral Russell, and Shrewsbury, all Whigs; Compton, Bishop of London, a "trimmer," Danby, a former champion of the royal prerogative (§ 452); and Lumley, who had been a Catholic.

assurances of support from various persons still in the king's service, among them Lord Churchill (§ 464) and several other officers of the army. Having such a strong support, William gathered a force to take with him to England and secure the throne.

RELEASE OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS

He landed at Tor Bay November 5, 1688, not far from where Monmouth had landed (§ 464). He brought his Dutch and other troops with him, numbering about 15,000. At once all England deserted James. It was useless to attempt resistance, and James, who had accompanied the army, returned to London to learn that his other daughter, Anne, and her husband, Prince George of Denmark, had also deserted his cause, and that Churchill, the commander of the army, had joined forces with the invader.

470. Flight of James. 1688. — James, now ready to do anything to save his crown, agreed to call a Parliament, and appointed a commission to negotiate with William. But fearing the result of the conference, he sent his wife and infant son to France and sought safety himself in flight, having destroyed the writs for a new Parliament, and thrown the Great Seal of the Kingdom into the Thames. He was captured by some sailors and brought back. His presence greatly complicated affairs, and William made it easy for him to escape again. The fact of his flight rendered it possible to say that he had abdicated the throne, thus removing the scruples of some who, while quite ready to support William, could not conscientiously do so as long as James was in England and nominally on the throne. James's own blunders and folly made the way much easier for his downfall.

471. Difficulties before William, 1688; Convention Parliament. 1689. — The position of William was by no means an easy one. He had published a declaration before leaving Holland that he would restore the liberties of England, and that he would abide by the decision of a freely elected Parliament. To assume the throne by conquest would not be in accord with his declaration, and might raise up a host of enemies. After consulting with some of the leading men it was concluded to follow the example of Monk in 1660, and call a Convention Parliament (§ 430). It met in January, 1689, with a Whig majority, though there were Tories in the Commons and among the Lords who were reluctant to give up the divine right of kings. Two resolutions were passed. First, that James had broken the original contract between king and people by his conduct, and that having withdrawn himself from the kingdom had abdicated the government and left the throne vacant. Secondly, that it was "not consistent either with the safety or welfare of the kingdom to be governed by a popish prince."¹

¹ The first of these resolutions pleased the Whigs because it made James's deposition depend on his breaking the laws, and the Tories, because it declared the throne vacant by his own act, thereby relieving them from the charge of denying their old principle of divine right.

472. The Revolution of 1688. — William and Mary refused any plan of government which did not give equal power to each. This forced Parliament to accept the Whig doctrine that in Parliament, as representing the people, lay the right to decide who should reign in England. This was the real revolution of 1688, if such it may be called. It was then concluded to offer the crown to William and Mary as joint sovereigns; William to administer the government during his lifetime, Mary to succeed should she survive him.¹ The Whigs had no intention of repeating the experience of 1660, and so a Declaration of Right was drawn up as a statement of what was considered to be the law of the kingdom.²

This document was accepted by the Parliament and by William and Mary, who were proclaimed together, February 13, 1689. As the change of rulers was accomplished without bloodshed it bears the name of the "bloodless revolution," and the "glorious revolution."

Strictly speaking, it was not a revolution at all, for it made no change in the form of government, which was still that of King, Lords, and Commons. It did, however, change the theory of that government, which no longer was by divine right, but by the will of the people as expressed by Parliament. It formed a precedent by which any future Parliament could change rulers who were not acceptable.

References. — Green, *Short History*, chap. ix, §§ 1-6; Gardiner, *Student's History*, chaps. xxxvii-xli; Terry, *History*, Part III, Book III, chaps. vi-viii; Tout, *Advanced History*, Book VI, chaps. iv-v; Gardiner, *Puritan Revolution*, chap. x, §§ 3-6; Traill, *Social England*, vol. IV, chap. xv; Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, §§ 222-234; Cheyney, *Readings*, chap. xvi; Colby, *Selections*, §§ 77, 78, 81; Kendall, *Source-Book*, §§ 90-101; Lee, *Source-Book*, §§ 175-188.

¹ The succession was to go to their children if they had any; if not, then to Mary's sister Anne and her children, and then to any children of William by a second wife, should he survive Mary and marry again. William was at this time thirty-eight, and Mary twenty-six.

² There were, in fact, some new principles laid down in the Declaration of Right, as the illegality of the suspending or dispensing power of a Court of Ecclesiastical Commission, etc.

CHAPTER XXII

ENGLAND AT THE CLOSE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

473. Population ; Agriculture ; The Towns.—The population of England at the close of the seventeenth century was about five and one half millions¹ and of these about four fifths lived in the country. With so small a population it followed that much of the land was unoccupied, and forests, marshes, and fens abounded. But the general prosperity of the later years of the century led to the draining of marshes and fens and to increasing the amount of land devoted to agriculture and grazing, but in methods there was little improvement. The Poor Laws of Elizabeth (§ 301) were modified to some extent, but vagrancy and pauperism remained a great evil.

Town life was much as it had been, but there was considerable increase in the style and the comforts of living. London even then was the largest city in Europe, with a population of about 500,000. London Bridge was the only bridge across the Thames, the streets were ill paved, not lighted at night until 1682, and then only in winter. The police force was small and inadequate, and many robberies and abductions took place. The clubhouses of the day and the great lounging places, where news was discussed and gossip spread abroad, were the coffeehouses. Sanitary conditions, as in all cities and towns and indeed everywhere, were in a deplorable state. There were no sewers, heaps of offal often rendered the air foul, and the public squares were used as dumping grounds for all kinds of refuse.

¹ This is considerably less than the population of "Greater London" in 1911, which was 7,252,963.

The condition of the jails and houses of correction was such as to be almost unbelievable, and in consequence deaths from jail fever and exposure were frightfully common.

Outside of London, whose great and rapidly increasing size was a cause of much apprehension to thoughtful men, the only large towns were Bristol and Norwich, which numbered each perhaps 20,000 or less. Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, and Sheffield were all small; Leeds, the largest, having but about 7000 inhabitants. The northern counties were still sparsely settled.

COACH AND SEDAN CHAIR

After title-page of tract, *Coach and Sedan*, 1636

474. Travel; Letter Post; News. — Owing to the badness of the roads traveling was difficult. On important routes, from London to York, for example, there were "stage wagons" which carried light goods and passengers. These vehicles were without springs, and a ride in one of them was a rough experience. A journey from London to York in four days was considered to be making good time.¹ The wealthy traveled in their own coaches or on horseback. The roads, moreover, were infested with highwaymen, and robberies and even murders were frequent. The inns were, for the time, good, attractive, and comfortable, far more so than many private dwellings.

Postal service was poor, and in many places letters were delivered only once a week. Newspapers in the modern sense did not exist. The chief paper was the *London Gazette*, but it contained

¹ "In 1669 a Flying Coach left Oxford at six in the morning, and reached London at seven the same evening — fifty-five miles in thirteen hours."

very little intelligence. What was called the *News Letter* was more interesting. This printed the gossip of the coffeehouses and of London, and appeared usually once a week. It was sent into the country, and aside from private sources was the sole means of learning what was going on.

A POTTER

A TAILOR

After Comenius's *Orbus Pictus*, English edition, 1659

475. Trade ; Manufactures ; Minerals. — Domestic trade was considerable, but as the roads were bad, and canals had not been introduced, inland communication was necessarily by means of pack horses. There may still be seen in the north of England bridges built for the accommodation of such traffic, and afterwards widened for the use of wheeled vehicles. When not sent inland, goods were forwarded by coastwise vessels.

The foreign trade was extensive and was chiefly carried on from London and Bristol. Then, as now, London was the great shipping center of Europe.

Manufactures were backward. Almost all fine goods were imported. The chief domestic manufacture was that of wool, but other industries were springing up and were fostered by laws which at present seem very far from being based upon true economic principles. The use of some fabrics was entirely prohibited, and the manufacture or importation of other goods supposed to be injurious to the established manufactures was forbidden. The silk trade, which had existed from very early

times, was greatly increased by the French refugees after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685.

There were no large textile mills, but spinning and weaving were carried on in the homes of the operatives, and from them the fabrics went to the fullers who dressed the goods, and then to the dyers. The great mineral deposits, which at a later day made England so rich, were undeveloped, and the greater part of the steel and iron used was imported. Coal had not come into general use, wood being the chief fuel employed.

476. The Classes. — At the restoration the nobility regained their old influence and power. The clergy, even of the Established Church, were miserably paid and in the country were practically dependent on the good will of the gentry.

AN ENGLISH CITIZEN RIDING WITH HIS
WIFE

After a print of 1623-1625

Below the gentry came the yeomen or small farmers. These were sturdy individuals, and often very independent. Lower than these were the laborers. These had no political or civil power, and, owing to the Poor Laws, which had come down from the time of Elizabeth, and to what is known as the Law of Settlement (1662), were practically bound to the soil. The man who was willing and even anxious for work was not allowed to seek it outside his parish. This policy greatly increased the number of paupers who had to be supported.¹ The chief employment of the laboring class was agriculture of various kinds, including the raising of great quantities of sheep.

477. Social Life. — Partly owing to the difficulty of communication, and partly from habit, the country gentlemen spent most

¹ It is estimated that at this period "the paupers amounted to about one seventh of the community."

of their time in the country, and possibly some never went to London. At this period the gentry as a class were poorly educated and had little interest in anything beyond the management of their estates and in hunting and the like.¹ At the same time, as they were the local magistrates and officers of the militia, they exercised no small influence on the country at large.

Society in the cities, and particularly in London, underwent a great change after the Restoration. The reaction from the Puritanism of the Commonwealth was great. The loose and licentious manners introduced from France by Charles II and his court are beyond description. The conversation in the "salons," at court entertainments, and on the boards of the theaters was such as cannot even be named nowadays. At the same time it must be remembered that there were exceptions, and among the clergy and others there were not a few men and women of purity of life and noble characteristics.

478. Dress. — The dress of the upper classes, especially in London, was in striking contrast with that during the Commonwealth, for bright colors, a great deal of ornament, richly laced cloaks and collars, flowing plumes, silk waistcoats reaching to the calf of the leg, and the like were the rule. During this period was introduced the curled and flowing periwig — the most absurd of the fashions of the day. But though additional hair was thought needful for the top of the head, the face was clean shaven.

The dress of the women was, perhaps, relatively less extravagant than that of the men. While possibly they did not wear periwigs to the same extent as the men, these were common, fair hair being the fashion. Fringes of curls were popular. Black patches on the face, rouge, and cosmetics were greatly in vogue. The dress of the middle and lower classes was generally simple and appropriate.

479. Meals; Amusements. — Meals were still at early hours; ordinary dinner being at one o'clock, and even the more fashionable

¹ The picture Sir Walter Scott gives of the Osbaldistone family in "Rob Roy," though it is of a later date, is scarcely an exaggerated one.

persons kept early hours, leaving the house after a dinner-party as early as seven or eight o'clock. Mercantile business began at six or seven A.M., and to rise at four or five in the morning was not uncommon. Forks were not common, and the table manners would be considered unbearable now. Drinking was universal, and comparatively little water was used, but instead wines, ales, beer, and to some extent tea, coffee, and chocolate, though these last three were of recent introduction.¹ Even the children were given small beer in preference to water.

Among the upper classes particularly, there was a decided reaction from the later Puritan severity. Cockfighting and bull baiting were attended by many, though held to be rather vulgar. Theaters were crowded, and the plays and the acting were of such a character as would not be tolerated at the present time. Cardplaying was the favorite amusement of all, and gambling was carried to great extremes. Billiards were popular, masked balls and entertainments numerous; and for quieter home amusements even fine ladies and gentlemen did not disdain "crambo," "hunt the slipper," "blindman's buff," and similar games. Horseracing, fencing, boxing, and prize-fights were favorites among the sporting class. Tennis, pell-mell (a game of ball), bowls, and football were common. For citizens of almost all classes, pleasure grounds, parks, gardens, bear-gardens, were a great source of recreation. In the country, the old sports were still common.

Among the popular attractions were public executions. These were eagerly attended; on the occasion of an execution Tower Hill was crammed with lookers-on (§ 381), while windows which commanded a close view of the scene were let at fabulous prices.

480. Education. — Social accomplishments were generally considered of more importance in education than book learning: the dancing master was better paid than the schoolmaster. The elements of education were usually taught at home, and if the

¹ Chocolate was advertised as a new beverage in 1657, tea in 1658, and the first coffeehouse in London was opened in 1652.

parents were well off, the boy was sent to a grammar school or one of the schools like Winchester or Eton, and then to Oxford or Cambridge. For all who could afford it, travel on the Continent under a tutor was regarded as the finishing touch to a liberal education, and frequently this was given instead of university training.

OXFORD, SHOWING MANY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY BUILDINGS

In the education of girls, social accomplishments were even more important than was the case with the boys. Household acquirements were held in high esteem among the more sober people, but among the fashionable set or "women of quality" dancing, painting, music, and French took the first place. The children of the country gentry and of the yeomen had a meager education, and for the girls a training in household duties was all-important.

481. Architecture. — There was very little change in architectural styles until about 1640, when, largely through the influence of Inigo Jones, the Italian or classical style came into use and continued to be for many years the favorite style for public buildings, and even of dwelling houses. But the great exponent of the style was Sir Christopher Wren. The great fire of London (§ 445) afforded him a wonderful opportunity, and to his genius is due the great St. Paul's Cathedral which rose on the ruins of

the old, and remains one of the glories of London.¹ In addition to this great work, he designed fifty-two churches in London. Many of them are remarkable for the gracefulness and fine proportions of their spires.

From the time of Henry VII almost all the fine work in painting was done by foreign artists. Holbein, of the time of Henry VIII, has left a gallery

of portraits of A FINE TYPE OF SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ARCHITECTURE
inestimable value.

Vandyck, a Fleming of the time of Charles I, has left us portraits of that monarch and of distinguished persons of the reign, remarkable for beauty and what might be termed poetic touch. Charles I was a great patron of art and made a valuable collection of paintings. Under Cromwell and Charles II, Sir Peter Lely, a Hollander, was the great portrait painter.

482. Literature; Science.—The literature of the seventeenth century covers so many fields and is so vast that little can be done but call attention to this fact. The literature of the Elizabethan period really extended far into the reign of James, and there is no dividing line. The drama and lyric poetry, both secular and religious, abounded. Ben Jonson, George Chapman, Fletcher, Ford, Webster, among the dramatists; Herrick, Herbert, Crashaw,

¹ The cathedral is the third in size in Europe, and was thirty-five years in building. It was designed and built under one architect, one master mason, and one bishop. In the crypt is the famous inscription above the tomb of Wren (died, 1725): *Si monumentum requieris, circumspice*: "If you seek his monument, look around."

and others, among the lyrists, — lived far into the century. Later (1608–1674), John Milton gained a place only second to Shakespeare, while a host of graceful lyrists carried on the traditions of an earlier day.

Never had England had such a wealth of prose. Bacon, Sir Thomas Browne, Hobbes, Fuller, Jeremy Taylor, Walton, Bunyan, Baxter, and above all, for style and beauty of language, the Authorized English Version of the Bible, issued in 1611, which more than any other

JOHN MILTON

one book helped to keep English pure and simple.

Closely connected with literature was the great advance of science. In this century was made the discovery of logarithms by Napier, and of the circulation of the blood by Harvey. Bacon in his philosophical works, by laying the emphasis on experience and experiment, exercised a lasting influence in the field of scientific investigation. In 1662 the Royal Society, founded a few years earlier, received its charter. Among its founders were Sir Christopher Wren and Robert Boyle, the chemist.

References. — Traill, *Social England*, vol. iv, chaps. xiii–xv; Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History*, chap. vii (in part); Tout, *Advanced History*, Book vi, chap. v; Macaulay, *History of England*, chap. iii; Cheyney, *Readings*, chap. xvi, § 2; Colby, *Selections*, §§ 68, 74, 75.

CHAPTER XXIII

GROWTH OF PARLIAMENT AND PARTY GOVERNMENT

483. William III (1650-1702) ; Mary (1662-1694) ; 1688. — William was cold and haughty in manner, and had neither the wish nor the power to attract a personal following. He had been educated in the school of extreme Calvinism and had no sympathy with episcopacy. Though he never was popular with his English subjects, they learned to respect him. He was much helped by Queen Mary, who was handsome, winning in her manner, warm-hearted, gentle, and of irreproachable private character. She was, moreover, though broad in her sympathies, devoted to the Church of England.

William had accepted the invitation to come to England chiefly because the support of England was necessary for the Protestant league against Louis XIV. He loved Holland and his Dutchmen, and endured the English. He was courageous, an excellent general, and a keen and far-sighted statesman. No defeat or disaster caused him to yield in the slightest degree in his struggle to thwart the efforts of Louis for absolute supremacy in Europe.

484. Early Incidents of the Reign ; Non-Jurors. 1690. — William, as he had been put on the throne by the joint action of the Whigs and Tories, chose his ministers of state from both parties.

On the same day that William and Mary accepted the throne, the Convention Parliament (§ 471) was declared to be a true Parliament. This was partly on account of the risk in calling a new one, and partly because it had been so recently chosen that it was reasonable to suppose that it represented the views of the electors.

Several important matters claimed the attention of the Parliament. (1) A new oath of allegiance and supremacy was needed.

That all who held government offices should take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary went without saying, but in the case of the clergy it was not quite so clear. William being a non-churchman wished the clergy to be excepted, but the majority in Parliament insisted, and so all clergymen were required to take the

oath of allegiance to the king and queen and to acknowledge them as heads of the Church of England. All who did not take these oaths by February, 1690, were to be deprived of their benefices. Archbishop Sancroft and seven bishops refused and were in consequence deprived of their offices and others appointed in their place. About four hundred of the

WILLIAM III

clergy following their example were dispossessed of their livings. These men were called Non-Jurors, and formed a little body of their own which lasted for a century.¹

485. Bill of Rights; Toleration Act. 1689. — (2) The Declaration of Right (§ 472) was embodied in a formal Bill of Rights. This bill has long been considered as one of the bulwarks of British liberty. (3) A Toleration Act. Though not by any means giving religious liberty, this act was a vast advance on any-

¹ Of the eight ecclesiastics the Archbishop and four of the bishops were of the seven who had refused to read the Declaration of James (§ 468). They held to the divine right of succession and to the doctrine of passive obedience, both of which the Revolution had overthrown.

thing before it. Dissenters were still deprived of many privileges, and the laws against them remained on the statute books, the penalties only having been removed.¹

486. Mutiny Act, 1689; Parliament Dissolved, 1690; Act of Grace, 1690.—(4) A Mutiny Act. This was occasioned by a mutiny in the army, soon suppressed by William's Dutch troops.

A bill was passed giving the king power to maintain a standing army and enforce martial law, but restricting this latter power to six months (afterwards lengthened to one year). This meant that in order to keep the army together a new mutiny act must be passed by Parliament

QUEEN MARY

every year. This action had the further advantage of requiring annual sessions of Parliament. Thus it was one of the most important bills which had ever been passed.²

¹ It was many years before Dissenters were allowed to hold any public or military office unless they partook of the communion according to the usage of the Church of England; and not until 1870 could they enjoy all the privileges of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. To the credit of William III, it must be said that no Catholic lost his life at the time of the Revolution, and no cruel persecutions of any kind took place during his reign.

² The practice of passing annual Mutiny Acts has been continued down to the present time, and is one of the most important checks on royal power in the English constitution. In the United States a similar check on the President is made by the provision in the Constitution that no appropriation for the army can be made for a longer period than two years.

The strife between the Whigs and Tories was bitter, and it was difficult for William to mediate between them, and at last, in 1690, he dissolved Parliament and called another one. In this the Tories had a majority. It, too, was by no means pliant, but through William's influence an Act of Grace was passed which granted indemnity to all political offenders except a very few, and these were never punished.

487. Ireland; Siege of Londonderry. — If the Revolution was bloodless in England, it was by no means so in Ireland and Scotland. In Ireland the resistance was almost a national one, not so much because of personal opposition to William, as because a large party believed that it might be possible to secure the independence of Ireland, and so, though this party supported James, they did not do so simply for his sake. James landed in Ireland in March, 1689, bringing with him some French troops. He at once called an Irish Parliament to meet in Dublin. This was a Catholic body. It proclaimed the independence of Ireland and repealed the Act of Settlement (1661) (§ 441) which had confirmed land to Englishmen; it then passed "The Great Act of Attainder," by which 2443 Protestants named in the bill were, without trial or hearing, condemned to death and their property confiscated.

The Protestants in the southern part of the island were forced to submit to James. Those in the north, who were the most numerous, for self-preservation attempted resistance, and in Ulster they took arms in the name of William and Protestantism. The chief towns of Ulster were Londonderry and Enniskillen. Londonderry was soon besieged by the army of James. A boom stretched across the river prevented supplies from reaching the town, which was closely invested. Though reduced to the utmost extremities for food, the citizens held out for 105 days; then, when but two days' scanty provisions remained, ships sent by William broke the boom in the river and brought food to the famishing people. James's army raised the siege and Londonderry

was saved. A few days later the men of Enniskillen, who had undergone a somewhat similar experience, defeated their foes at Newton-Butler.

488. Battle of the Boyne, 1690; Treaty of Limerick, 1691. — William recognized the necessity of retaining Ireland if he wished to continue to be king. He therefore sent Marshall Schomberg, one of his best generals, to Ireland with a body of English troops. But this army, greatly weakened by an epidemic of camp fever, accomplished little. William himself then went to Ireland, landing at Carrickfergus in June, 1690. He brought 30,000 English and Dutch troops with him. On the first of July, at the battle of the Boyne, he defeated James and drove his army in a panic toward Dublin. James fled to France, but Schomberg was killed in the battle.

William entered Dublin as a victor and then went on to Limerick, but was unable to take the town. He returned to England at the close of the summer, leaving affairs in charge of one of his Dutch generals. Not until October, 1691, was the conquest of Ireland completed. Then by the Treaty of Limerick peace was made. The terms were not severe. All Irish soldiers who wished to do so were allowed to go to France and enter the service of Louis.¹ The other provisions of the treaty unfortunately were never carried out.

489. Intolerance of the Irish Parliament. — As the English Parliament had passed an act excluding Catholics from the Irish Parliament, the latter was now as strongly Protestant as its immediate predecessor had been Catholic. It refused to be bound by the terms of the Treaty of Limerick. Protestant supremacy was then settled in a way which went beyond even Cromwell or Strafford. Catholics were deprived of all political rights, and were not allowed to hold lands or will property except to Protestants ;

¹ It is said that 34,000 took advantage of this permission, and emigrated with their families. The famous Irish Brigade of France was formed from these men. Irish names have since occurred in French annals of civil and military service with credit and renown.

orphans, if minors, were put under the care of Protestant guardians ; Catholic schoolmasters were not permitted, nor were Catholics allowed to send their children abroad to be educated ; priests and monks were ordered to leave the island and not to return under pain of death. This code was one of the most vindictive and persecuting in British annals.

490. English Parliament, and Ireland ; Irish Emigration. — But it was not only the Irish Catholics who suffered. The English Parliament was now the final authority in relation to Irish affairs, and this body was as intolerant as it was unjust. To benefit English cloth makers the export of Irish cloth was prohibited, although this greatly injured the Protestants in the north of Ireland, to whom this industry had become a chief means of support. The Toleration Act (§ 485), to please the few Episcopalians in Ireland and the High Church Party in England, was not extended to Ireland, and so the Presbyterians, who had fought and suffered so much at Londonderry, were forbidden to worship according to their conscience. As a result thousands of Protestants, of that Scotch-Irish class so sturdy, so independent, and so able, found refuge in the New World, peopling the region then known as the backwoods of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas. It is hard to conceive of a policy short of bodily cruelty more fatal to harmony, development, and justice. The vast majority of Irishmen were permanently embittered against England. Had he been free from Parliament, William's well-known love of tolerance would doubtless have made a very much better settlement. But it must be confessed that, on the whole, his treatment of the Irish question, so far as he had the power, is not to his credit, and remains one of the blots upon his reign.

491. Revolution in Scotland. 1689. — The resistance in Scotland to William and Mary's rule was not so strong as in Ireland. In March, 1689, a convention was called to meet in Edinburgh. It proved to have a large Whig majority. It declared that James VII (James II of England) had forfeited the crown ; it

passed a Declaration of Right called the "Claim of Rights," and offered the crown to William and Mary. The offer was accepted, and William and Mary took the Scottish coronation oath at Whitehall, London, in the presence of Scottish commissioners, and agreed to carry out the wishes of the convention. The convention restored Presbyterianism, which became the state religion and has continued to be so from that time.

492. Highlanders and Dundee. 1689. — James's representative, John Graham of Claverhouse, now Viscount of Dundee, went to the Highlands to try to stir up the clans to rise for James. But these Highlanders were far more interested in their own petty feuds than in James or William. By skillful management Dundee got together a large force of men ready to do anything to keep down the clan Campbell, against the members of which all had grudges. As the Campbells were Whigs, they were supporters of William and Mary. Thus the enemies of the Campbells were hostile to William. The Highlanders under Dundee met the forces of William under Mackay at the pass of Killiecrankie and defeated them (July, 1689). But Dundee was killed and Mackay was soon able to rally his troops. The Highlanders, more desirous of plunder than of a successful campaign, soon retired to their mountain homes with their spoil. This left William master of Scotland, for James had no large following in the lowlands, which were the more populous portions of the country.

493. Massacre of Glencoe. 1692. — The Highlanders were still in a very restless state, and it was determined to attempt to buy them off. All who would not come in and take the oaths of allegiance before December 31, 1691, were to be considered guilty of treason. One of the chieftains, Macdonald of Glencoe, put off taking the oath till the last moment. A snowstorm delayed him, and though the magistrate explained how the oath was belated, Campbell, bent on personal revenge, sent an officer with a party of troops to Glencoe, the home of the Macdonalds. They were treated with hospitality for a fortnight. Then one

morning, before dawn, the soldiers fell upon their unsuspecting hosts, and slaughtered the chief, his wife, and thirty-eight of the clan, including some women and children. Two or three times as many perished from cold and hardship in their flight.

The primary responsibility for this massacre rests with Captain Campbell, who led the expedition, and John Dalrymple, known as the Master of Stair,¹ William's chief agent in Scotland; William, however, cannot be acquitted of blame. The most that can be said in palliation of William's share in this transaction is, that he, doubtless, had no idea of the way in which his order would be carried out. So great was the indignation excited by this deed that William was forced to dismiss the Master of Stair from office.

494. Foreign Affairs; Beachy Head. 1690. — After the Peace of Nimeguen (§ 453) William had succeeded in forming a great league known as the Grand Alliance against Louis. His accession to the English throne was of the greatest advantage to him, and without it he must have failed. The action of Louis in supporting James II was all that was needed to make England actively support the alliance. War was declared against France in May, 1689; but as William was in Ireland (§ 488), all authority was given to Mary. Notwithstanding Holland, Spain, Denmark, Sweden, and other powers were allied against him, Louis managed to hold his own. He equipped a strong fleet, and on June 30, 1690, the French Admiral Tourville won a great victory over the combined English and Dutch fleets off Beachy Head. The English were almost panic-stricken. The courage, wisdom, and ability with which Mary conducted affairs during this trying time endeared her to all Englishmen. The French contented themselves with burning Teignmouth, but for the moment all England was united. Following the defeat off Beachy Head came the news of William's victory of the Boyne (§ 488), and England once more breathed freely. Much as the victory meant to Eng-

¹ The eldest son of a Scottish lord was called by the title of Master.

land, it also affected the whole course of European history. For it destroyed any hope of attacking William by way of Ireland, and this left him free to carry out his continental plans against Louis XIV.

495. Victory of La Hogue. 1692. — The defeat at Beachy Head was a severe blow to the pride of England and also of Holland, besides making the danger of a French invasion a very real one. Had Louis been better advised, or had he dared to risk an invasion without waiting for a rising of the Jacobites¹ in England, he would have not only greatly injured England and her power, but have inflicted a possibly fatal blow upon William and his plans. As it was, England put forth great efforts, and by the time Louis felt ready to attempt an invasion Admiral Russell met the French fleet off La Hogue, Normandy, and inflicted a crushing defeat (May 19, 1692) before the eyes of James II, who was on shore watching the action. That victory saved England from any invasion and blasted the hopes of James.

496. Peace of Ryswick. 1697. — On land the fighting was mostly in the Netherlands, and the French were generally the victors; but somehow, William, who crossed over to Holland every summer, was able to bring it about that the French secured very little fruit from their success, and Louis scarcely did more than hold his own. William at last won a decided victory at Namur (1695), and in 1697 peace was declared and a treaty signed at Ryswick, near The Hague. Louis gave back all his conquests made during the war, and acknowledged William as king and the succession to the crown as had been fixed by Parliament. William thus succeeded in setting limits to the power of France, secured his own recognition, put an end to France's support of James II, had come out of the struggle stronger than at its beginning, and, moreover, had gained for England a position in Europe such as she had not held since the time of Cromwell. On the other

¹ The adherents of James from this time were called Jacobites, from *Jacobus*, the Latin for James.

hand, the Grand Alliance against France was dissolved, and France remained unquestionably the strongest and most united power in Europe.

497. The National Debt ; Bank of England, 1694 ; Triennial Bill. 1694.—The war had been costly to England, and the raising of funds to meet the outlay had been no easy matter. Out of this need arose two institutions which have lasted till the present day — the National Debt and the Bank of England. Heretofore, money had been generally raised by taxation, or by short loans from bankers or individuals, which were always considered to be temporary measures. But Charles Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed (1693) that the government should raise money by a loan, the payment of which should be in the distant future and the interest upon which should become a part of the fixed annual national expenses.¹ The next year (1694), at the suggestion of William Paterson, a member of Parliament and a successful merchant, a company of merchants agreed to lend the government £1,200,000 at a specified rate of interest in return for a charter conferring certain banking and financial privileges. The need of the country for better banking and monetary facilities made the enterprise a successful one, and the Bank of England not only became the financial agent of the government, but also gave the merchants of England a far safer place of deposit than the old-fashioned system of banking with the goldsmiths.

Not the least important result of these financial measures was the additional support that it gave to William's government and the principles of the Revolution. All who subscribed to the loans, or who had stock in the Bank, or deposited in it, became thereby personally interested in the permanence of the existing government ; for, if James II should return, it was morally certain that no effort would be made to pay interest on money which had been used to keep him from the throne.

Parliament also passed (1694) a new Triennial Bill, by which a

¹ The early loans were arranged upon a complicated system of life annuities.

was provided that no Parliament could sit longer than three years. This was a direct blow at the royal power, as it required frequent appeals to the voters. William had vetoed a similar bill in 1693, but felt obliged to assent to this.¹

THE BANK OF ENGLAND

The present building, Threadneedle Street, London

498. Death of Queen Mary ; The Succession ; Freedom of the Press ; Plots.—In the very last days of 1694 (December 28) a great sorrow fell upon England in the death, from smallpox, after a very short illness, of Queen Mary, at the early age of thirty-three. She was much beloved by the nation at large. To William the blow was a crushing one and he never fully recovered from it.²

As Mary and William were childless, Mary's sister was the next heir to the throne. She had married Prince George of Denmark

¹ By the Triennial Bill of Charles I (1641) (§ 382) it was required that a Parliament should sit at least once in three years; this bill called for a new election once in three years.

² William had not always been a faithful husband, and during the early years of their married life he had been unkind, but through Mary's devotion to him and his interests he became deeply attached to her.

The conduct of Mary in accepting her father's throne has been stigmatized by Stuart defenders as "a violation of the moral law," and as "unnatural conduct." But in royal affairs family relations have too often been sacrificed without condemnation to be severely dwelt upon in the case of Mary and Anne. That Mary recognized with pain the necessity of acting as she did is abundantly evident, but she felt that it was her duty to follow her husband.

(1683), but of her numerous children only one was surviving at the time of Mary's death.

In 1695 an important step in the direction of greater liberty was the removal of the censorship of the press; this was accomplished by the House of Commons refusing to renew the Licensing Act.¹ From this time the people could not only worship as they pleased, but also print what they pleased, provided it was not "libellous, seditious, or blasphemous."

Perhaps the most serious of the many plots to restore James was that called Fenwick's plot from the chief conspirator, Sir John Fenwick. He was seized, but owing to a new law in regard to treason requiring the testimony of two witnesses, he could not be convicted. Parliament therefore condemned him by a bill of attainder, and under it he was executed (January, 1697). This was the last bill of attainder passed by an English Parliament under which an execution took place.²

499. First Party Ministry. 1697. — William had chosen his ministers from both political parties. But the plan had not worked well. As there was always a reasonable doubt of William's ability to retain his crown, some of the leaders while in his service did not hesitate to communicate with James, and in some instances were mixed up with Jacobite plots. Marlborough, who had fought successfully for William in Ireland, had been dismissed in disgrace for complicity in some of these plots. Corruption, especially among the Tory leaders, had also come to light. William therefore was almost obliged to turn to the Whigs. On the advice of the Earl of Sunderland, once one of the ministers of James II, he

¹ A Licensing Act passed in 1662 had been renewed from time to time; by this it was made unlawful under severe penalties to publish any book or paper unless previously licensed by the government licenser. The act had been allowed to lapse in 1679, but had been reenacted in 1685.

² Though the old Law of Treason of Edward III had nominally required the testimony of two witnesses, it had been evaded. The new law made the sworn testimony of two witnesses essential. It also allowed the accused the right of legal counsel, a copy of the indictment before the trial, and other privileges which had previously been denied.

determined to form a ministry wholly of Whigs. Of these he consulted four more than others, and they became known as the Junto.¹ There is no reason whatever to suppose that William had in mind a ministry responsible to the House of Commons, but the plan was clearly a step in that direction.

500. Recoinage Act, 1696; The Loyal Association. — Another measure of great importance was the Recoinage Act (1696). Coins had been usually issued with smooth edges, and it was easy to clip slight pieces of metal from them, the result being that coins were seldom of their full nominal value. To remedy this it was decided to call in all coins and issue an entirely new set with milled edges to prevent clipping. To compel the presentation of the old coins for redemption, all old and mutilated coins were to cease to be a legal tender after a certain date. To insure the genuineness of the issue, Sir Isaac Newton, the noted scientist and philosopher, was appointed master of the mint.

At the conclusion of the Peace of Ryswick (§ 496) William was more nearly popular than he had ever been. The Fenwick and other plots against him had also aroused public sympathy, and as in the case of Elizabeth an association² was formed to protect him or avenge his death, should he be assassinated, and Parliament passed an act requiring all officers civil and military to join it.

501. The Darien Scheme. 1695–1699. — The selfish policy of England was seen, not only in Ireland, but in Scotland as well. For instance, the Navigation Act (§ 443) was not extended to Scotland, neither could the Scots have a share in the English trading companies. While English commerce was profitable and increasing, that of Scotland was small and hampered by the lack of privileges that England enjoyed. William Paterson, the originator of

¹ Junto, a Spanish word meaning a knot of men. The ministers were Lord Somers, Lord High Chancellor; Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Russell, First Lord of the Admiralty; and Lord Wharton, the "political boss" of the day.

² It was called the "Loyal Association." Over four hundred members of the House of Commons and thousands of private citizens joined.

the Bank of England, a Scotsman by birth, conceived the idea of establishing a trading company, somewhat like the East India Company, for trading with America and the West Indies. The Isthmus of Panama, or Darien, as it was then called, was selected as the main station, as it commanded both oceans. A charter was granted by the Scottish Parliament, and a large sum of money was invested in the scheme. Two expeditions of colonists went out (1698, 1699) and attempted to make a settlement, but two most important features were either overlooked or ignored: first, the tropical climate; and secondly, the fact that Darien was in Spanish territory. Besides this, both the East India Company and the Dutch merchants looked upon the scheme as an infringement of their rights. William disliked the plan, for it would, if carried out, inevitably lead to war with Spain, besides angering the Dutch. Through disease, attacks by the Spaniards, and lack of support the enterprise ended in failure and total loss for the stockholders and emigrants. The Scots laid the whole blame upon William, and there was much ill feeling against him and England.

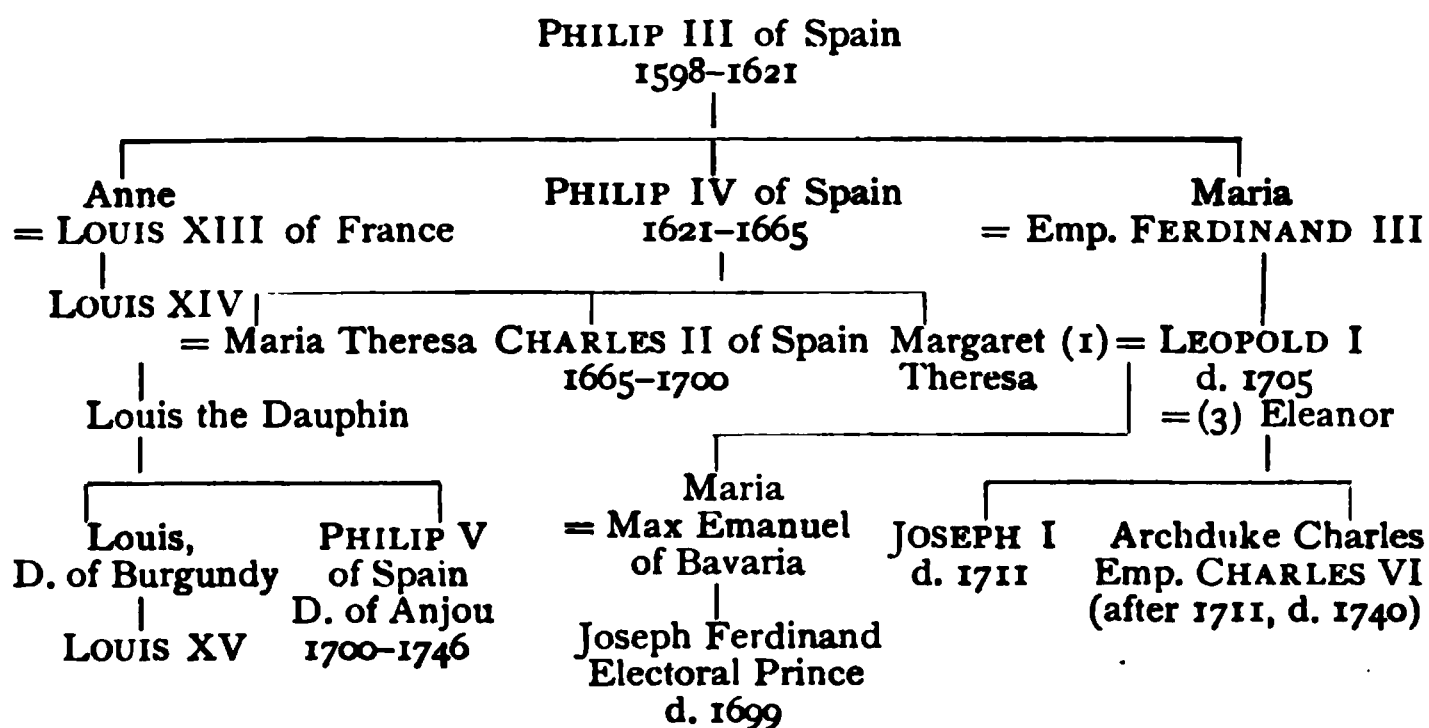
502. The Army; Irish Land Grants. 1699, 1700.—William recognized that the Peace of Ryswick (§ 496) was only a cessation of hostilities. In Parliament, however, the inherited fear of a standing army and the great expense of maintaining it united both Whigs and Tories in support of a measure to reduce the English army to a peace footing. In the face of William's opposition, by the end of 1700 the army had been reduced to 7000 men. Moreover, William was forced to send his faithful Dutch guards back to Holland. This so angered him that it is said that he threatened to abdicate. This action of Parliament was a sorry return for what William had done for England, and also a mean treatment of the Dutch soldiers who had bravely fought the battles of Englishmen.

Other troubles came from Ireland. Large tracts of land in that island had come into the possession of the crown after the

conquest ; of these lands William very unwisely made large grants to his favorites, especially to his Dutch friends. The House of Commons, ill pleased with this action, proceeded to annul these grants and divide the land among favorites of its own. It also declared forfeited land which had not been forfeited at all. The Lords, though opposed to these measures, finally yielded.¹ The Commons also fiercely attacked Somers, the Lord High Chancellor, and William required his resignation. This helped to establish a precedent that ministers of state unwelcome to the House of Commons cannot remain in office.

503. The Spanish Succession. 1698. — Louis XIV had agreed to the Treaty of Ryswick (§ 496) because he wished to get ready for another conflict which he saw was inevitable. This was in relation to the question as to whom the empire of Spain would descend. The king of Spain, Charles II, was childless and in such ill health that he might die at any moment. The first wife of Louis XIV was the older sister of Charles, and Louis might claim the Spanish crown for one of his sons or grandsons. The

The Spanish Succession



¹ The Commons gained their point with the Lords by attaching the land measures to a money bill which the Lords were forced to pass or leave the government without sufficient funds. In modern times this is called "attaching a rider." The Lords were not allowed to alter a money bill.

younger sister of Charles had married the German emperor, Leopold of Austria, whose grandson, a child, was the Electoral Prince of Bavaria. By the marriage settlement in each case the sisters of Charles had renounced any claim each might have to the Spanish crown; so, legally, they and their children were disqualified. Leopold, however, was claimant for himself or his son on the ground that he was the son of an aunt of Charles, who had made no renunciation of her claim. The Dauphin of France, son of the oldest sister, would have had the best claim, had it not been for his mother's renunciation.

The vast territories of Spain, both in Europe and the New World, made the question of the Spanish succession one of very great importance to every European government. If a French prince should be given the crown, it would enormously increase the lands under French influence and greatly strengthen the power of Louis; should the Austrian prince succeed, it would have a similar effect upon Austrian influence and power.

To England and Holland, independently of the increase of power brought to their great enemy, Louis, should the French claimant gain the throne, there might be an incalculable loss of commercial wealth and power. The greater part of the carrying trade of the world was now divided between England and Holland, and the trade of both with Spain and her colonies was extremely profitable. Besides this, Spain had become so weak that a very large part of her trade with her own colonies had fallen into English and Dutch hands. Should the Austrians gain Spain, the balance of power in Europe would also be affected, though not to so great a degree. William saw conditions far better than most, and strove to meet them in the way most favorable for the interests of England and Holland; and if possible to avoid war, which would inevitably break out should either France or Austria receive the crown.

504. The Partition Treaties. 1698, 1700. — Louis, not yet ready for another war, was willing to listen to the overtures of

William, who tried to persuade him that it was better for him to gain part of Spain's dominion peacefully than to go to war for the whole. As a result of this negotiation a secret treaty, known as the First Partition Treaty, was signed by England, France, and Holland (1698). This provided that in case of the death of Charles of Spain his crown should go to the young Electoral Prince of Bavaria, but that certain provinces of the kingdom should be divided between France and Austria. This certainly was the wisest plan, but unfortunately the child died the next year (1699). A second secret Partition Treaty was arranged (1700) between William and Louis by which the Archduke Charles, second son of Leopold of Austria, took the place of the Electoral Prince, and some changes were made in the disposition of the territories.¹

Where so many interests are involved, secrecy becomes almost impossible ; and when Charles of Spain and the Spainards learned of what had been going on, they were indignant at this parceling out of the destiny of Spain by foreigners.

505. Death of Charles of Spain ; His Will. 1700. — Charles of Spain died (November 1, 1700) and surprised every one by leaving all his dominions to Philip, Duke of Anjou, second son of the Dauphin, and so grandson of Louis XIV.² Louis was in a dilemma, but the Partition Treaty had not been accepted by Austria and would not be, for the will of Charles provided that in case the Duke of Anjou refused the inheritance it was to go the Archduke Charles, who would then get the whole dominion instead of part, as would be the case if Louis carried out the treaty to which he had agreed. Louis had to decide either to refuse the will and have Austria and Spain united, or accept the will and break the treaty and run the risk of having England, Holland, and Austria

¹ The fact that Charles of Spain was believed to be incapable of negotiating partly explains the otherwise high-handed measures of William and Louis.

² He was the younger son of the Dauphin Louis. Old renunciations were disposed of by the argument that they had been given so that the kingdoms should not be united, and as the will provided that "no part of the monarchy should be alienated from its main body, and that this should never be united with any other foreign state," there was no violation of agreements.

declare war. He concluded to accept the will and break his word. Louis's grandson was recognized as Philip V of Spain. At the time it seemed as if all that William had been striving for had been lost.

506. English Feeling ; The Act of Settlement. 1701. — The Tory Parliament was angry when the fact of the Partition Treaties came to light, and William's Whig ministers were impeached for their share in the negotiations on the ground that it put Protestantism in danger. Their impeachment, however, was dropped and the Parliament was dissolved. A new Parliament had also a Tory majority in the Commons. The important work of this body was the final settlement of the succession to the crown. Anne's last child, the little Duke of Gloucester, had died, and after Anne the succession was in doubt. By this time the vast majority of both Whigs and Tories had given up the doctrine of the divine right of kings, and held that the right to fix the succession lay in Parliament. Accordingly the Act of Settlement was passed (June 11, 1701), fixing the succession in case of either William or Anne having no direct descendants, in the Electress Sophia of Hanover¹ and her Protestant descendants. It was further provided that all future monarchs must be Protestants and members of the Church of England. Becoming a Catholic, or marrying a Catholic, would bar any heir from the throne. Other provisions were that no person holding office under the crown, or receiving a pension from it, could sit in the House of Commons.² Judges were to remain in office during good behavior and could be removed only by both Houses of Parliament. This act was the final blow in England to absolute power and the divine right of kings, for in fixing the succession as it did regardless of strict hereditary descent, it asserted

¹ Sophia was the daughter of Elizabeth, daughter of James I, who had married (1613) the Elector Palatine (§ 351), afterwards king of Bohemia. There were a number of heirs nearer in blood, but they all were Catholics. Elizabeth was a sister of Prince Rupert (§ 390).

² This provision was changed in a few years, when it was decided that any member of Parliament appointed to office must offer himself for reelection. This rule still holds good.

in the strongest way the right of the people to choose by whom they should be ruled.

507. The "Old Pretender" ; Grand Alliance. 1702. — Meantime, Louis entered upon a course which brought against him the enmity of even the extreme Tories. James II died in 1701, and Louis immediately recognized his son as James III of England, Scotland, and Ireland. This was contrary to the spirit if not the letter of the Treaty of Ryswick (§ 496), and at once aroused deep indignation among both Whigs and Tories. Louis also seized certain fortresses on the Dutch borders which had by treaty been garrisoned by Dutch troops ; he proclaimed that France would be treated as the most favored nation in trade with the Spanish-American colonies, and that Philip V was eligible to the French crown.

William had already been able to organize a new Grand Alliance, for Austria had declared war against France. A new Parliament was chosen which had a Whig majority. It soon passed an act of attainder against the Pretender, as he was called, who claimed to be James III. The act, though from some points of view foolish and harmless, showed the Pretender and Louis what they might expect. Louis had touched England in her most tender points — her commerce and the right to choose her rulers. Holland's very existence was threatened, as well as her commerce. The interests of England and Holland were one.

508. Death of William III. 1702. — Parliament authorized an army of 40,000 men and made a grant for the navy. While William was full of preparation for the new conflict, he was suddenly cut off. While riding from Kensington to Hampton Court his horse stumbled over a molehill ; William fell, broke his collar bone, and sustained internal injuries. Weak in body and in frail health, he was not able to stand the shock, and in a few days (March 8, 1702) he died, just when it seemed that there was the best chance of succeeding in his lifelong effort.

William was the last king of England who can without question be called great. "His record as a ruler pure and simple, as a

mere expert in the art of governing, has never been surpassed, perhaps never equaled in history." He was rich in the great saving virtues of "good sense, self-restraint, and honesty." He was always faithful to his compact with the people of England, and yet held "in one hand the threads of a vast network of European diplomacy, and in the other the sword which kept the most formidable of European monarchs at bay."

509. Anne. 1702.—Anne, sister of Mary, succeeded to the crown without opposition. She was the second daughter of James II (§ 451, note), and was thirty-seven at the time of her accession. Her husband, Prince George of Denmark, was a man of small capacity and coarse habits, who had little influence.¹ Anne was of "middle size, well proportioned; her hair was of dark brown color, her complexion ruddy; her features were regular, her countenance was rather round than oval, and her aspect more comely than majestic." In character she was kindly, honest, religious, and true to her friends; but she was also obstinate and narrow-minded, and of small intellectual power. She had a true sense of her responsibilities and was a thorough Englishwoman, having, as she said in her first speech, an entirely English heart. This fact, more than any other, endeared her to her subjects and, added to her kindness of heart, gave her the name of "good Queen Anne."²

Anne was High Church in her views and so sympathized with the Tories. Like most obstinate persons, when carefully managed she was easily influenced by a strong character. In her case such a one was found in Sarah, the wife of Marlborough, who, beginning as Sarah Jennings, a lady-in-waiting, became the bosom friend of Anne. A woman of strong will, ambitious, and not overscrupulous, she gained unbounded influence over the queen.

¹ Charles II said of him, "I have tried him drunk, and I have tried him sober, and there is nothing in him."

² There can be little doubt that the feeling was increased by the circumstance that she came between two foreign monarchs — William, a Dutchman, and George, a German.

510. Churchill, Earl of Marlborough (1650-1722).—John Churchill, Earl of Marlborough (§ 464), was at Anne's accession fifty-two years old. He was thoroughly selfish; he had not hesitated to betray James II or William, when he believed that his own interests could be served, and he was avaricious, insincere, and a time-server; in private morals, however, he was better than most public men of that vicious age. He was handsome in person, suave and graceful in his manners, tactful, and resourceful, apparently "never in a hurry, never vexed, and never worried." While somewhat lacking in broad statesmanship and true political ability, his tact and pleasant manner

QUEEN ANNE

made him almost as successful a diplomatist as William. Though it is said that he never commanded an army until he was more than forty, he never lost a battle; and he ranks with the best generals of history. The relations between Anne and his wife gave Marlborough the position which might not otherwise have been his. His course was dictated by selfishness, but it happened that, at least for a time, his selfishness coincided with the policy of William, England, and Europe against Louis XIV and Spain.

511. Tory Ministry ; War of the Spanish Succession. 1702–1713.—Anne soon exchanged William's Whig ministers for Tory ones, and through Marlborough's influence the chief minister was Lord Godolphin, whose son had married one of Marlborough's daughters. Godolphin was an unprincipled man, like his friend, but he was an able financier and a warm-hearted supporter of Marlborough and his plans.

War against France was formally declared in May, 1702.¹ It lasted twelve years and is known as the War of the Spanish Succession. Against France and Spain were allied England, Holland, Austria, most of the smaller German states, and Prussia, lately made a kingdom by the emperor of Germany to secure her for the Grand Alliance.²

Louis XIV had some support in Germany, for the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne were on his side. Another decided advantage was that, instead of being his enemies, the Spanish Netherlands were now under his control. The opposing forces were well matched and the issues involved were great. The active campaign was begun in the Spanish Netherlands. To Marlborough was given the command of both the English and the Dutch forces, and he was successful, capturing two cities and gaining control of the Rhine. In other places the allied states were not so fortunate. Marlborough returned to England, received the thanks of the Commons, and was created a duke by the queen. It was needful for the allies to set up some one as king of Spain, and the Archduke Charles, second son of the Emperor Leopold, was selected.

512. Blenheim. 1704.—Portugal joined the Alliance in 1703 (Treaty of Methuen); and Savoy, angered by the overbearing attitude of Louis, deserted him and joined the Alliance. Louis, believing that Marlborough would not leave the Netherlands,

¹ It was waged not only in Europe, but in America as well, where it went by the name of Queen Anne's War.

² The Electorate of Brandenburg became the Kingdom of Prussia, January 18, 1701.

attacked Austria. But Marlborough by forced marches joined Prince Eugene of Savoy,¹ and the combined armies met the French and Bavarian armies at Blenheim (German Blindheim) on the Danube, not far from Hochstadt, and completely defeated them (August 13, 1704). Austria was saved, Bavaria was at the mercy of the allies, and France humbled, for she had not lost a battle in the field for sixty years. The English in their delight presented the manor of Woodstock to Marlborough and began to erect upon it the huge pile of buildings called, after the victory, Blenheim.

513. Gibraltar, 1704; Marlborough and Allies Victorious, 1704-1709. — In the same year (1704) an expedition under Lord Rooke captured the fortress of Gibraltar, and the next year (1705) Lord Peterborough took Barcelona, and with an allied army of the English, Dutch, Portuguese, and Catalans (belonging to a revolting province of Spain) occupied Madrid (1706). Marlborough next began hostilities in the Netherlands and won a memorable victory over the French at Ramilies (May, 1706). Prince Eugene was successful in Italy, and the year 1706 closed with the allies victorious everywhere and the power of France humbled as it had not been for centuries. Louis was ready to make peace, but the allies, flushed with success, would not hear of his terms, and so the war went on.

The year of 1707 was one of disaster for the allies. Though they had won victories and taken Madrid, the capital, they had not advanced any nearer the real conquest of Spain. A few thousand men marching about does not mean control. The next year Marlborough came to the aid of the Dutch and gained another of his great victories at Oudenarde (1708) and also other successes. Again Louis made overtures for peace, and again they were refused. Louis made desperate efforts, and raised another army,

¹ Eugene was a younger member of the House of Savoy; he was born in France, but deeming himself insulted by Louis, he left France and entered the service of the emperor. He ranks after Marlborough as the best general of the Alliance.

only to be defeated by Marlborough and Eugene at Malplaquet (September 11, 1709), one of the most bloody battles on record.¹

This was the last great victory of Marlborough, for though the war hung on, it was marked by no great engagement.

514. The War Unpopular ; Dismissal of Marlborough, 1710 ; Negotiations, 1711.—The English were weary of fighting and the expenses had been enormous. Louis had been humbled, and reasonable terms had been offered. It was felt that Marlborough and the Whigs, who had gradually got into office, were prolonging the war for their own benefit. The Whigs made several false moves ; and Anne dismissed some of her ministers, dissolved Parliament, and called a new one (1710). This had a Tory majority. Private negotiations for peace were entered into with Louis, and Marlborough saw his influence and power steadily decline. In the same year he was accused of appropriating public money, and of other matters, and was by the queen herself dismissed from all public offices.² At last, in 1711 the allies opened negotiations with Louis, but it was not until 1713 (March 30) that the Treaty of Utrecht was signed and the long war came to a close.

515. Peace of Utrecht. 1713.—The main features of this most important treaty were : (1) Spain and the Indies were assigned to Philip V ; (2) it was agreed that Spain and France should never be united ; (3) France recognized the Protestant succession in England and agreed to expel the Pretender from France ; (4) the Dutch were to garrison certain fortresses along the southern frontier of what had been the Spanish, but which by the treaty became the Austrian Netherlands ; (5) to the Duke of Savoy was given Sicily in addition to his former possessions, with

¹ The allies lost about 20,000 of their 100,000 men, and the French about 12,000.

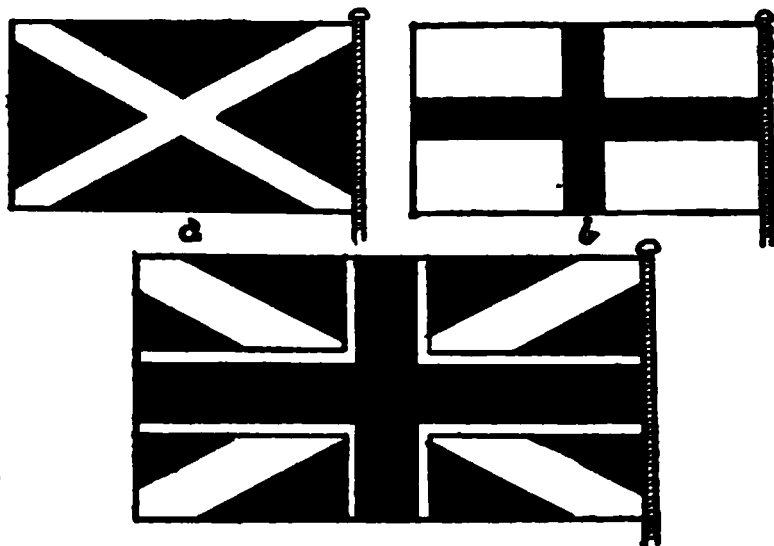
² Marlborough's defense was dignified. He claimed that he had received the funds in accordance with established precedent, and that they had been used, not for his own benefit, but in the secret service for the good of the general cause. Impartial judgment must acquit him of the charges. Marlborough retired to the Continent, not returning to England till the death of Anne. George appointed him commander-in-chief, but he was treated with neglect. His health failed, and he died in 1722.

the title of King of Sicily ; (6) Brandenburg was recognized as the kingdom of Prussia ; (7) England received Acadia (Nova Scotia) and Newfoundland, and France relinquished any claim to the Hudson Bay Territory ; (8) England retained permanently the fortress of Gibraltar and the Isle of Minorca.¹ Certain other political settlements were made. This treaty had a vast influence on the development of the British colonies in America. In the commercial agreements also England gained much. France agreed to receive no commercial privileges from Spain which would give her special advantage in the trade with Spain or her colonies, and Spain confirmed a recent arrangement by which the exclusive right to import negro slaves into the Spanish Indies was granted to England. This is known as the *Assiento*.

By this treaty England greatly strengthened her commercial and maritime position, but did not secure as much as she was entitled to, considering Marlborough's great victories,

and the enormous expenses the war had entailed upon her. France came out of the struggle retaining her territories, but shorn of her prestige, exhausted financially and economically, and worst of all, retaining the system of absolutism which was to result in the great revolution of the eighteenth century.

516. Union of England and Scotland (1707) ; Ireland. — Meanwhile the course of domestic affairs in England had been of no little interest. First of importance was the legislative union



UNION JACK

a. Scotch cross of St. Andrew. b. English cross of St. George

¹ Several treaties were required to arrange the great variety of interests involved, and the emperor did not agree to terms until the next year ; Peace of Rastadt (1714).

of England and Scotland. Various incidents had occurred to increase the ill feeling between the countries until it was clear that unless a union came about there would be trouble. A joint commission in which each country was equally represented was appointed to prepare a plan of union (1706). There was great opposition in Scotland to the terms agreed upon, but finally, the Scottish Parliament passed the bill of union, which was ratified by the English Parliament, and the union became a fact May 1, 1707.¹ Though unpopular in Scotland, and to some extent in England, the union was of incalculable advantage to each country, but particularly to Scotland.

There was no change in the laws against Catholics in Ireland, and the commercial regulations which practically crushed Irish trade and manufacturers remained unaltered.

517. Domestic Politics ; Creation of Tory Peers. 1711. — The Duchess of Marlborough, by her arrogance and ill temper, gradually lost her influence over the queen and her place was taken by a Mrs. Masham, a strong Tory. A new Parliament called by Anne had in it a large majority of Tories and High Churchmen.. A Tory ministry was now formed, with Robert Harley, soon to be Earl of Oxford, and Henry St. John, afterwards Viscount Bolingbroke, as chief men. It was through their influence that Marlborough lost his position (§ 514). There was still a Whig majority in the House of Lords, but this was overcome by the creation of twelve peers by the queen. This action was of more than temporary importance, for it had now come to be a fact that the ministry, if not wholly the ruling power in the state, was so in most things. A precedent

¹ The terms of the union were: (1) the Electress Sophia and her heirs, if Protestants, should succeed to the crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain; (2) the two countries should be governed by one Parliament sitting in London, in which Scotland should be represented by forty-five members in the Commons, and in the House of Lords by sixteen peers elected by the whole body of Scottish nobles for every Parliament; (3) all ports of England and her colonies should be open to the Scots; (4) Scotland should maintain her own church and her own law; (5) there should be one flag, made of the crosses of St. Andrew and St. George combined; this came to be known as the "Union Jack."

was established which hereafter made it possible for the government to create enough new peers to overcome any hostile majority in the House of Lords (§§ 619, 693).

518. Occasional Conformity Act, 1711; Schism Act, 1714.— Two intolerant acts were passed by Anne's last Parliament. The first of these was the Occasional Conformity Act (1711). This practically drove all Dissenters from office.¹ The second and far worse act was the Schism Act (1714). By this it was forbidden for any one to keep a school unless he had a license from a bishop of the Church of England. This would prevent any Dissenter from teaching in any public or private school and would force Dissenters, if they sent their children to school, to send them to church schools. Through the efforts of the Whigs, schoolmistresses were excepted and also those who taught only reading, writing, arithmetic, and a few other elementary subjects. This intolerant act remained in force four years.

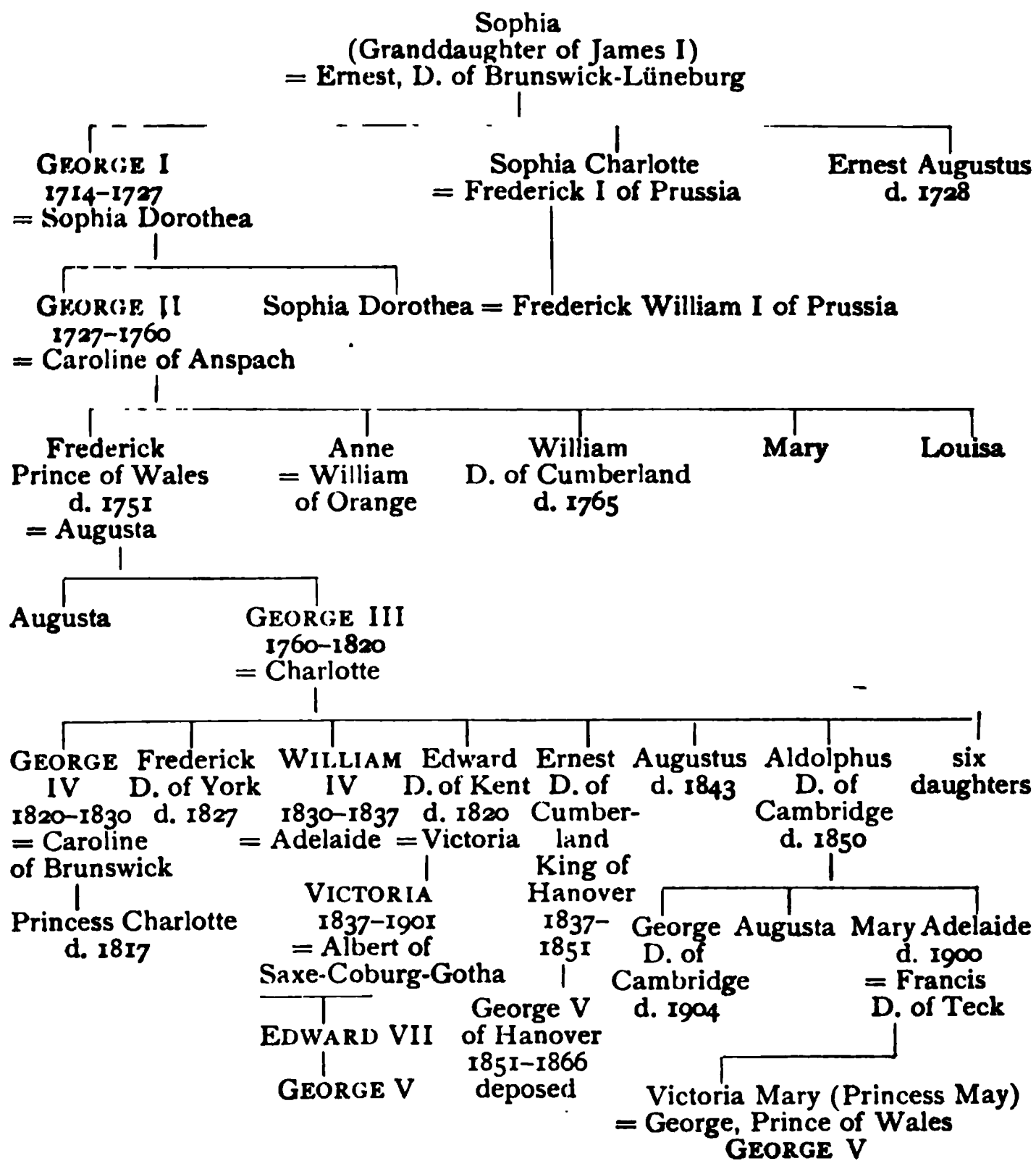
519. Death of Queen Anne. 1714.— Just at this time the Electress Sophia died at the age of eighty, and her son George became the heir to the crown. He was known to be favorable to the Whigs, and opposed to the Treaty of Utrecht (§ 515). Queen Anne's health was poor, and, should she die, it was practically certain that the Tories would go out of office. The sole objection in the minds of many High Church Tories to James the Pretender was his religion, and if he could be persuaded to turn Protestant it was believed that the Act of Succession could be repealed. James honorably refused to change his religion. Exactly what plans were being laid is not known, but before anything was matured Queen Anne died suddenly of apoplexy (August 1, 1714). Bolingbroke and his friends were unprepared, and the Whig members of the Council were able to proclaim George, Elector of Hanover,² as George I, King of Great Britain and Ireland.

¹ The provisions of the act made it impossible for any but members of the Church of England to hold office. It is greatly to the discredit of the Whigs in the House of Lords that this bill was passed through their connivance.

² Though he is usually so called, the correct title was Brunswick-Lüneburg.

520. George I (1660–1727). 1714. — George Lewis of Hanover, the son of Sophia, granddaughter of James I, was now fifty-four years old ; he was a soldier and had seen active service in the late wars. His private life was immoral ; in public his manners were cold and unattractive. Though he was charged with being slow in intellect, he had a very clear idea of European politics ; he administered his paternal inheritance with skill and success, and he was much liked by his Hanoverian subjects. Notwithstanding the fact that his mother spoke English fluently, and he knew that

House of Brunswick or Hanover



he would probably inherit the English crown, he never troubled himself to learn the English language, and throughout his reign of thirteen years he never was able to converse with his British subjects in their own tongue. He never cared for England, and, whenever it was practical, gladly visited his Hanoverian dominions.

He was endured by his British subjects as a necessity. His family life was tragic; he had been married when about twenty-one to his cousin, Sophia Dorothea. After eleven years he divorced her on a charge of infidelity and imprisoned her in a castle where she remained till her death, a period of thirty-two years.¹

He hated his eldest son, after-

GEORGE I

After the painting by Sir G. Kellner

wards George II, and never was fully reconciled to him.

521. The Whigs in Office ; Results of the Accession of George I. — Though ignorant of English politics and English ways, George recognized that it was to the Whigs he owed the crown, and he intrusted his English interests to the Whig statesmen. He was

¹ There is no doubt that there were faults on both sides, but the charges made against the unhappy princess have never been proved, and the whole transaction is a terrible stain on the character of George.

well aware of the influence England had in continental affairs and took good care that in England's foreign policy the interests of Hanover should suffer no loss. Notwithstanding their dislike of George, the English people owe him a large debt of gratitude. His ignorance of the English language forced him to govern through ministers, and as it was a farce for him to preside at deliberations which he was unable to follow, he set the precedent of staying away from councils. The result of this practice was that the ministers of the crown acquired increased power and became to a very large extent independent of the king. Moreover, as it was needful that the ministry should have a head, the office of prime minister was a natural development.

It also became more and more evident during George's reign that the ministry must be in accord with the majority in the Commons, for as the Commons held the purse strings of the nation, they could successfully block almost any action of the cabinet, and so it came about that the Commons and not the king had the final voice in government. The fact that George was a foreigner, more interested in continental affairs than in English, and moreover unable to speak the English language, added greatly to the ease and rapidity of the change to a limited monarchy and free constitutional government—a change which came about peacefully.

522. Unequal Representation in Parliament ; Whigs in Power.

1714. — The House of Commons represented the landholders and the merchants rather than the people. Members were chosen much as they had been in the days of Elizabeth or even earlier, and few changes had been made in the election districts. Owing to the changes of population, in some places a few voters chose two members of Parliament, while in others, where a large population had grown up, there were no representatives, because there had been no representative a century or more earlier. In the country, and often in the towns or boroughs as well, the large landholders had an overwhelming influence in elections. The government also often controlled elections by its influence and by

bribery, which now rightly looked upon as a crime was then a common method of gaining political ends. England was, therefore, an aristocratic rather than a democratic country. The party which had the most political skill was the one likely to get control and retain it. The Whigs at the accession of George were the best political managers; circumstances favored them, and they were not slow to see their advantage and seize it, and they retained the direction of public affairs for about fifty years (1714–1761). While there is much to blame in their methods, their long rule, which was based upon a policy of peace, was of inestimable benefit to England, for it gave her not only the opportunity to extend her commerce and develop her manufactures, but also a period of quiet in which political and religious differences became less and less acute.

523. Whigs and Tories (1714, 1715); Riot Act. 1715. — The Whigs, determined to get rid of the Tory leaders, impeached on a charge of high treason the Earl of Oxford, Bolingbroke, and the Duke of Ormond, against whom there was suspicion of having held communication with the Pretender, and on account of secret dealings with France during the negotiations connected with the Treaty of Utrecht (§ 515). Bolingbroke and Ormond fled to the Continent, and a bill of attainder was passed against them.¹ Oxford was tried and escaped with two years' imprisonment in the Tower. There were still many Jacobites in the country, and having failed to secure their end by intrigue, they resorted to revolt. There were riots in several towns and to cope with such occasions a new Riot Act was passed (1715).²

524. Scottish Rising. 1715. — Louis XIV, in defiance of the Treaty of Utrecht (§ 515), not only allowed the Pretender to re-

¹ Bolingbroke entered into the service of the Pretender, becoming his chief adviser.

² By this act a crowd consisting of more than twelve persons refusing to separate within a given time, after notice by a competent authority, might be dispersed, and the partakers in the disturbance held guilty of felony, while those who might take life in putting down the mob could not be held guilty of murder. A similar act had been passed in the time of Queen Mary.

main in France, but assisted him in getting ready to make a descent upon Scotland. While these preparations were going on, Louis died (September 1, 1715.) In Scotland the union was still unpopular, and Argyll (§ 463), who had espoused the Hanoverian side, was hated by the Highlanders. But for any permanent success it was needful for the Pretender to have hearty support from France, a well-organized plan, enthusiasm for the cause, and simultaneous risings in England and Scotland. Not one of these conditions was adequately met. The Earl of Mar raised the standard of the Pretender in the Highlands, September 6, 1715, and a month later (October 7) there was a rising in Northumberland under the Earl of Derwentwater and a Mr. Forster, the member of Parliament for the county. These latter were joined by a few others, and also by a number of Lowland sympathizers from Scotland. The combined forces reached Preston, where they surrendered to the king's army. The same day the Earl of Mar's army was checked at Sheriffmuir, near Dunblane, and he was compelled to retreat. James landed in Scotland in December; but the Highlanders had gone home; the English risings had been put down; and he found little support; so there was nothing left for him but to return to France. On reaching that country he dismissed Bolingbroke, the only one of his followers who had given him the good advice not to make this attempt.¹

525. Leaders Executed; Results of the Rising. — The Whigs treated the Scottish rebels with comparative leniency, but in England the Earls of Derwentwater and Kenmure were beheaded on Tower Hill, and thirty-eight other persons were put to death, many were banished to practical slavery in the West Indies, and many estates were forfeited.

The failure of the attempt showed conclusively that very few of the English nobles and gentry were willing to risk their lives and property in any attempt to restore the Stuarts.

¹ After this Bolingbroke deserted the Pretender and turned to the Hanoverians. He was able to return to England in 1723 by the repeal of the bill against him.

526. Septennial Act, 1716 ; Repeal of Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts, 1718. — On the plea that a general election was unwise in the disturbed state of the country, the Whig Parliament passed a bill extending the possible duration of a Parliament to seven years (1716),¹ and, though a number of attempts were made to return to triennial Parliaments, the act remained in force until 1911 (§ 691), when the limit was changed to five years.²

One result of the Pretender's attempt was that the Whigs, desirous of gaining the support of the Dissenters, repealed (1718) the Schism Act of 1714 and the Occasional Conformity Act of 1711 (§ 518). The Test and Corporation Acts (§§ 451, 437) were continued for many years.³

527. Triple Alliance. 1716. — Hanover was threatened both from Sweden and Russia. The latter, under Peter the Great, was now entering into the field of European politics.

Several of George's ministers resigned or were dismissed because they objected to defending George's Hanoverian dominions. Nevertheless George managed to form in 1716 a Triple Alliance between Holland, France, and England ; for, strange as it may seem, the interests of these three nations agreed, or seemed to agree, for the time. Louis XIV was succeeded by his great grandson, Louis XV, a boy whose guardian and regent was Philip, Duke of Orleans, the next heir to the French crown. Philip was jealous of Philip V of Spain, who, moreover, might claim the French crown in case of the death of Louis XV, who was a sickly lad. Peace was made in 1720 and for twelve years Europe was quiet.

528. South Sea Scheme. 1711-1722. — The peace policy of the Whigs had brought great commercial prosperity to England, and there was much capital to be invested. As always happens

¹ Though not passed until May 7, 1716, it is known on the Statute Books as the "Septennial Act of 1715."

² As a matter of fact, very few Parliaments have lasted over six years, and the average duration has been about four years.

³ To placate the Dissenters an indemnity act was passed relieving them from the penalties of the bills if they did not conform to the provisions. Such a bill was passed annually until 1828, when the Test Act was repealed.

under such circumstances, many schemes of commercial enterprise were set on foot. The largest and most venturesome of these was carried on by the South Sea Company. This was a trading company founded in 1711 with the exclusive right of trading in the South Seas (Pacific Ocean) in accordance with the

THE OLD SOUTH SEA HOUSE, LONDON

terms of the Treaty of Utrecht (§ 515). It had been very successful and had paid good dividends on its stock. As the wealth of Spanish America was believed to be boundless, the success of the company was thought to be assured. The South Sea Company now offered to buy up the national debt, on which a heavy rate of interest was paid, and so great was the confidence in the resources of the corporation that a bill passed Parliament (1720) allowing holders of the national debt to exchange their government securities for the company's stock. Thousands took advantage of this permission and the shares of the company rose from £130 to £1000. Not only this, but the success of

the South Sea Company encouraged the wildest speculation even for the most absurd purposes.¹

It was not long before the reaction came. So many fraudulent schemes were exposed that public confidence was destroyed in all schemes, including the great company, and in one month its shares fell from £1000 to £175, while most of the other schemes collapsed. Public indignation was great, especially against the ministry of the crown and the directors of the South Sea Company. The latter were disgraced and their property seized and sold and the proceeds awarded to the sufferers. The conduct of the ministers of the crown was investigated. One of them was expelled for corruption, one committed suicide, one died of apoplexy, and one who was acquitted resigned his office and soon afterwards died.²

529. Sir Robert Walpole. 1721. — The fall of the Whig ministry brought the opposing faction into power. Fortunately for Sir Robert Walpole, the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, he had been out of office when the speculation was at its height, and he had written against the scheme; so, though he had accepted office before the crash, no one could blame him for the disasters. He was believed to be the man needed to meet the emergency, and in 1721 he became not only first lord of the treasury (the chief man in the cabinet) but also chancellor of the exchequer. He was the best financier of his time and one of the best in English history. He held his post as prime minister for twenty-one years, the longest tenure of that office in English annals.³ He was born in 1676 of a good family; he was educated for the church at Eton and Cambridge, but on the death of his elder brother he

¹ Some of the objects for which men seriously ventured their money were: to make salt water fresh; to extract silver from lead; to import large donkeys from Spain; and even for "an undertaking which shall hereafter be revealed," the projector giving no idea of the character of the enterprise, but nevertheless finding many supporters.

² There is no doubt that the directors of the company suffered unduly. They had been guilty of bribery and had been very unwise in their administration, but they had done nothing illegal in their management.

³ Walpole was nominally out of office for a few days at the time of the death of George I (§ 531), but they can hardly be counted, as nothing was done in the interval.

succeeded to the family estates, and entered Parliament at the age of twenty-four and continued a member until raised to the peerage in 1742. He had a remarkably clear head for business, and the duties of his office were transacted like those of a banker. He had the knack of managing men, and was one of the most skillful of political leaders. Like many of the prominent men of his time, his private life was immoral, and his conversation was, even for that day, unusually gross. He cared little for literature and art, and his recreation was fox-hunting. Though accused of enriching himself at the public expense, his enemies were unable to find proof of their charges, and posterity has acquitted him of this accusation. Like others he made use of bribery and bought and sold votes and made use of the offices within his gift to further his ends, but not as would seem for his personal benefit.

530. Walpole's Policy ; Death of George I. 1727.—His favorite motto was "Let well alone." He has been charged with being an enemy to reform, jealous of rivals, and fond of peace at any price.¹ The charges are in the main unjust, for he saw clearly that peace at home and abroad was essential to real prosperity, and rather than disturb that, he was willing to sacrifice even those things that he would have been glad to see changed. This fact explains his attitude toward Dissenters and his slowness to grant them privileges which might awaken hostility in the Tory and High Church factions. The proof of the shrewdness of his policies is shown by the vast strides in wealth and prosperity made by England during his lease of power. While the prosperity was ultimately due to natural causes, Walpole by his policy afforded a favorable opportunity for these causes to work. He believed in colonial expansion and favored the trade of the colonies, granting them special trading privileges, and more than once refused to allow laws to be passed restricting colonial interests. He was

¹ On one occasion he said, "The most pernicious circumstances in which this country can be are those of war; as we must be losers while it lasts and cannot be great gainers when it ends."

lax in enforcing the Navigation Acts (§ 443) which would operate to the disadvantage of the colonies. His principle was "the greater the prosperity of the colonies, the greater would be their demand for English goods; and that was the true way in which to turn colonies into a source of wealth to a mother country."

Among the beneficial acts of Walpole was a reform of the tariff laws. He placed many articles of import and export on the free list and reduced duties, especially on the necessities of life. In one case his plan for a reform of taxation nearly cost him his position. This was the famous Excise (or Internal Revenue) Bill. Those who fancied themselves injured

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE, AFTERWARDS EARL OF ORFORD

by the plan set up such a strong opposition, and created so much excitement, that Walpole deemed it wise to withdraw the bill, though it could have been passed. He declined to pass a measure which might have to be carried out by arms, saying, "I will not be the minister to enforce taxes at the expense of blood."

George I, while on his way to Hanover, was struck down with apoplexy and died near Osnabrück, 1727.

References.—Green, *Short History*, chap. ix, §§ 7–10; Gardiner, *Student's History*, chaps. xli–xlv (§ 19); Terry, *History*, Part IV, chaps. i–iii, p. 877; Tout, *Advanced History*, Book VI, chaps. vi–vii, Book VII, chap. 1; Traill, *Social England*, vol. IV, chap. xvi; Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, §§ 235–248; Cheyney, *Readings*, chap. xvii, §§ i–iii; Colby, *Selections*, §§ 83–89; Kendall, *Source-Book*, §§ 102, 115; Lee, *Source-Book*, §§ 189–195.

CHAPTER XXIV

GROWTH OF PARLIAMENT AND PARTY GOVERNMENT (*Continued*)

531. George II (1683-1760). 1727.—George II was forty-four at the time of his accession. He was perhaps quite as German in his tastes as his father, but was able to speak English fluently. He was a brave soldier, he had a good knowledge of foreign politics, and understood British affairs fairly well. He was businesslike, inclined to be just, but like his family, frequently unreasonable and always obstinate. Immoral in his private life as his father had been, he was unlike him in that he had, and justly, the highest respect for his wife and for her judgment.¹ “He hated his eldest son with the greatest bitterness, much more bitterly than his father hated him.” He was avaricious and niggardly and disliked nothing so much as spending money or giving it away. In person he was small and dapper, and while not handsome, was far from commonplace in appearance.

As George I had hated his son it had been needful for Walpole also to be opposed to him, so when George II came to the throne he had no mind to retain Walpole in office. His first act was to offer the position of prime minister to Sir Spencer Compton, speaker of the Commons, but his incapacity for the office was so clearly shown that before George made his first speech to Parliament, through the influence of Queen Caroline, who was fully aware of Walpole’s ability, Walpole was restored to his post.

¹His wife was Caroline of Anspach; they were married in 1705. She was “alert, sprightly, and keen . . . the impersonation of good sense.” How her power over him was regarded is shown by a couplet of the time:

“You may strut, dapper George, but ’twill all be in vain;
We know ’tis Queen Caroline, not you, who reign.”

532. Increasing Power of Walpole. — The new Parliament met with a Whig majority in 1728. Selfish as Walpole undoubtedly was, he had the right idea of the character of a government for Great Britain. Before Walpole's time each member of a cabinet administered the affairs of his department very much as he pleased, and for his own interests. Walpole believed that as he had the responsibility he should direct the course of the government, especially as all looked to him for the financial means to carry on the business of state. Gradually he got rid of troublesome ministers, and practically ruled alone, his companions being men of second-rate ability.

GEORGE II

533. Opposition Party. — The opposition party received recruits from the Tories. Bolingbroke, having obtained permission, returned to England (1723) (§ 524), and immediately began to organize a new Tory Party supporting the Hanoverian dynasty, for he saw that the cause of the Stuarts was lost. He associated himself with the old Tories, the discontented Whigs, and later with Frederick, Prince of Wales, thus forming the opposition party to Walpole, who was attacked with the greatest vigor both by means of the press and also in Parliament. They called themselves "Patriots" and "patriot Whigs," claiming for themselves every patriotic virtue.

534. Walpole's Domestic and Foreign Policies. — Walpole's domestic policy was acceptable to the money and substantial interests, but his administration of foreign affairs was not popular,

though he had acted with extraordinary skill in furthering the cause of peace in Europe. Queen Caroline, who had steadily used her influence with the king in Walpole's favor, died in 1737.

Walpole neither cared for literature nor appreciated the value of literary support. Bolingbroke, Gay, Swift, Arbuthnot, and Pope, all writers of ability, wrote for the opposition and often directly and bitterly against Walpole. He also undervalued the assistance of young men, calling them "the boys," and affected to despise them.

535. Spain ; War of Jenkins's Ear, 1739 ; Walpole Resigns, 1742. — By the Treaty of Utrecht (§ 515) England had been restricted to "one ship a year" in trading with the Spanish colonies. But by means of various subterfuges this trade was increased, and there was also much smuggling. This incensed Spain, already angry with England for her retention of Gibraltar. Spain not only claimed, but exercised, the right of searching vessels in the West Indies for contraband goods. There were also stories of great cruelty practiced by Spaniards against Englishmen seized for smuggling or other violations of the maritime or custom laws. One case brought prominently before the country was that of a Captain Jenkins, who, claiming that his ear had been cut off by the Spaniards, exhibited the ear in proof of his assertions.¹ Walpole was forced to declare war against Spain, and the "War of Jenkins's ear" (1739) was the result. This conflict was an unsuccessful one and seriously injured Walpole's prestige.

When a new Parliament met, it was found that his majority was small. He was defeated in a contested election case, and then resigned, 1742. He was created Earl of Orford and entered the House of Lords. His health failed and he died in 1745. Thus closed a long and successful career. He had entered office when affairs in England were gloomy ; he left it with England prosperous as she had never been before.

¹ The story of Jenkins was long disbelieved in by many, but documentary evidence has recently turned up confirming his tale.

536. War of the Austrian Succession. 1740–1748.— Meantime the Emperor Charles VI had died (1740), and, according to the Pragmatic Sanction, his daughter Maria Theresa was the successor to his hereditary dominions.¹ The Elector of Bavaria, who had been chosen Emperor as Charles VII, claimed the Austrian dominions as a male heir, and was supported in his claim by France and Spain. Thus began the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748), carried on not only in Europe, but also in the colonies as well. In the American Colonies the war between England and France was known as King George's War (1744–1748).

537. War with France and Spain ; The Young Pretender, 1745.— The real stake at issue in this conflict was colonial and maritime supremacy. France, to divert the attention of England, planned (1744) an invasion of England in favor of Charles Edward, the son of the Pretender,² and hence called the Young Pretender. Had not a severe storm wrecked the fleet intended to carry the Young Pretender, an invasion would have followed.

Meanwhile Charles Edward gathered together a few followers, and with only two ships sailed for Scotland to attempt to win over the Highland clans to his cause. He landed with seven companions (July 25, 1745) at Moidart on the west coast. Received at first with coolness, enthusiasm was soon aroused, and a small force gathered around him. The English commander in Scotland was an incompetent man, and Charles gained a victory at Prestonpans (September 21, 1745), which gave him the control of Scotland. He proclaimed his father as James VIII of Scotland at Edinburgh, and remained two months in the capital.

¹ Charles VI had been elected emperor of Germany at the death of his brother Joseph in 1711, and had succeeded him as Archduke of Austria. He had no son and wished his daughter to succeed to his Austrian possessions. No woman had held this position, and to insure her succession he issued a document called a Pragmatic Sanction, and presented it to the chief powers of Europe to secure their support or sanction. England was one of those that signed.

² James, the "Old Pretender," was advanced in years, and it was planned that his son should act as his regent. Charles Edward was twenty-four years old, and very attractive in manners and person.

538. The Young Pretender in England, 1745 ; Culloden, 1746. — Disappointed in the failure of the lowland Scots to support him, he decided to march into England, an undertaking which even his own supporters regarded as foolhardy. In England he received little or no support, and on reaching Derby his condition became critical, for his soldiers, unaccustomed to campaigning, were getting weary, and large royalist forces were collecting to attack him. By the advice of his officers he returned reluctantly to Scotland.¹ He retired with a dwindling army towards Inverness, and at Culloden Moor met with a crushing defeat by the much larger royal army under the Duke of Cumberland (April 16, 1746). Every effort was made to capture Charles Edward, but though a reward of £30,000 was offered for him, he was not betrayed, and after a series of most romantic adventures he escaped to France.

539. Severe Measures in Scotland ; End of the Stuarts. — The punishment meted out to the Jacobites was severe ; three Scottish nobles were executed, and about eighty other persons were put to death with all the barbarous customs which, even in the middle of the eighteenth century, were regarded as allowable by the upper classes, and were witnessed by crowds of the lower classes with a vulgar but eager appetite for the horrible. In addition to this, very many were transported, and the clans were disarmed and forbidden to wear their national costume.² Garrisons were stationed at various places, and the hereditary jurisdiction of the chiefs was abolished. As one result of this policy there were many emigrations. Population became sparse in many parts, and the Highlands never regained their former condition.

From this time the fortunes of Charles Edward became worse and worse. As a young man he was handsome, affable, brave to daring, and was possessed of considerable intelligence ; but, like

¹ It is possible that, had Charles followed his own wishes and pushed on to London, which was unprepared to resist him, he might have succeeded in gaining for a short time the crown of England.

² This restriction was removed at a later period.

all his family, he was obstinate. It is said that he acquired the habit of drinking to excess during his Scottish campaigns ; however that may be, in later life he became a confirmed profligate and lost all his friends. He died at Rome in 1788, leaving no child to inherit his claims.¹ His only brother, Henry, entered the Catholic priesthood, was made a cardinal, and died 1807. With him the direct Stuart line ended.²

540. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. 1748. — Meanwhile the War of the Austrian Succession continued. The French were successful in the Austrian Netherlands ; but they found the Dutch no easier to conquer than in the days of Louis XIV. What success they had in Europe was more than balanced by the loss of Cape Breton in America, and other colonial possessions, and by their defeats at sea. The Spaniards had been plundered in the Pacific by Commodore Anson, a British sailor, who, circumnavigating the globe in his voyage, almost repeated the story of Drake, and like Drake, was himself rewarded with a title.

By 1748 the contestants were ready for peace and the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) was signed (October 7), which recognized Maria Theresa, and also the Hanoverian succession in England, provided that the Pretender should be expelled from France, and settled some other minor points of dispute.

541. Reformation of Calendar. 1752. — In 1751, Frederick, Prince of Wales, died, and his son, thirteen years old, afterwards

¹ The times of the Young Pretender are immortalized in Scott's *Waverley*, and other of the Waverley novels, and also in many songs, especially those by Lady Nairne.

² During the last years of Henry, George III allowed him a pension of £4000 a year. At his death in 1807 Henry left to the English monarch the crown jewels which James II had taken with him in his flight from England in 1688. George IV erected in St. Peter's, Rome, a fine monument by Canova to the memory of the exiled Stuarts. Queen Victoria, on a visit to Paris, seeing that the monument to James II at St. Germain's was dilapidated, had it renewed at her own expense. She had to the last a fondness for her Stuart ancestry. The "legitimate Stuart heir," by the strict laws of hereditary descent, is a member of the family of the Dukes of Modena (Italy), lineal descendants of Henrietta, daughter of Charles I, who married the Duke of Orleans and died in 1670.

George III, became the heir to the throne. In 1752 the calendar was reformed by the adoption of the Gregorian Calendar, known as the "New Style," which had already been adopted by most of the European nations. The year was made to begin with January 1st instead of March 25th, and in order to make the reckoning conform to the new style eleven days were dropped in the month of September, the third of that month being called the 14th. So many persons did not understand the need of the change that there was considerable excitement and the matter was made a political one. Some even cried out, "Give us back our eleven days."¹

542. William Pitt. — At the retirement of Walpole there was no man fitted to take his place, but there was a young man coming into public notice, who was shortly to become one of England's ablest statesmen; this was William Pitt, afterwards known as "the Great Commoner," though as a matter of fact he was the representative of the influential Whig families rather than of the people. William Pitt, born in 1708, was educated at Eton and Oxford; owing to ill health he did not complete his course at the university, but spent some time in foreign travel. Entering Parliament in 1735 as a member for Old Sarum,² he first attracted attention by his eloquence. Unfortunately there was no accurate system of reporting in those days, but judging by the accounts of those who heard him and by the effects produced, it is perhaps safe to say that he has never been surpassed in the halls of Parliament.³ He was tall and handsome in appearance, but haughty and affected in his manners, self-confident, and often overbearing.

¹ With the exception of Russia, all civilized nations now employ the Gregorian calendar, so called from Pope Gregory XIII (1572-1585), under whose patronage the system was devised.

² This was what was known as a "family borough," that is, there were so few voters that one family was able to control the election. Old Sarum was perhaps the most glaring example of the kind; at the time of the Reform Bill of 1832 it is said that there were no residents, and two members of Parliament were elected by a single property holder.

³ It was said of his eloquence "that it impressed every hearer with the conviction that there was something in him even finer than his words; that the man was infinitely greater than the orator."

On the other hand, he was upright, earnest, patriotic, and in an age when few public men hesitated to take bribes or to use public position for private advantage, Pitt was stainlessly honest and never bettered his private fortune or position at the public expense. Ambitious as he was, he never hesitated to oppose the popular opinion if he believed that it was in error.

543. Colonial Empire in India and America. — The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) (§ 540) left unsettled the question of the control of the great colonial empire which was opening before the nations of Europe. Spain was barely able to hold what she had gained, and the great competitors for what was

WILLIAM PITT, FIRST EARL OF CHATHAM

left were France and England. The fields of action were India and America. Ever since the fifteenth century India had been an object of desire to European nations, and the English East India Company (founded in 1600) had been very successful. It possessed trading posts at Fort William (Calcutta), Bombay, Fort St. George (Madras), and at other places. The French had not been idle, and they also had trading posts at various points, the most important of which was Pondicherry, not far from Madras.

544. French Policy in India ; Clive ; "Black Hole of Calcutta." 1766. — For many years the rivalry between the French and English in India had been commercial rivalry alone, but now cir-

circumstances were such that political rivalry was almost inevitable. India had been controlled by the great Mogul empire which had lately broken up ; and the number of small states which had been formed was the cause of much confusion.

The French general-commandant, Dupleix, an able and ambitious

man, believed that by setting the natives against one another he could gain for France a commanding position in India. He also saw the possibility of so training native troops that large numbers of recruits from France could be dispensed with. As early as the war of the Austrian Succession he

ROBERT, LORD CLIVE

had begun to carry out his policy and had captured Madras from the English, but had been compelled to restore it by the terms of peace. But he had met his match in a young Englishman, Robert Clive,¹ who was so successful that Dupleix was recalled by

¹ Robert Clive, the son of a bankrupt Shropshire squire, was an unruly lad, and when at the age of eighteen he was offered a clerkship in the East India Company's service in India, he accepted it. His early adventures form a romantic if not tragic story. It was not long before he entered the military service, and soon showed his ability. He rapidly rose in position, and defeated the French and natives in many engagements, some of them against great odds. Invalided to England in 1753, he paid his father's debts. Returning to India in 1755, he again entered upon a career of great military success. Returning to England, he was a member of Parliament (1760-1774). He was created Baron Clive in the Irish peerage. He was again in India (1765-1766) and showed himself equally successful in civil affairs. He returned to England for the last time in 1766. He was vigorously attacked by his political enemies and those whose enmity he had incurred in

India. Worried at these attacks and in poor health, he committed suicide when but forty-nine (1774). His conduct in more than one instance was open to question according to modern ideas, but he must be judged in accordance with the standards

the French government (1754). In 1756 the Nawáb¹ of Bengal, angered against the English, attacked Calcutta, which was unprepared, and captured it. The English were treated without mercy. One hundred and forty-six prisoners were confined in a room less than twenty feet square on one of the hottest nights (June 20, 1756) of a tropical climate. The guards were deaf to all entreaties, and the sufferings of the prisoners were terrible. In the morning only twenty-three survivors, weak and ghastly, were dragged out. "The Black Hole of Calcutta" remains in history as an awful example of suffering.² Clive hastened to avenge this act, retook Calcutta, and later, at the battle of Plassey (June 23, 1757), inflicted a crushing defeat upon a vastly larger force of natives, secured Bengal for England, and so laid the foundation of England's empire in the East.

545. The War in America. 1754-1755. — Hostilities had already broken out between France and England in America. The French controlled the valley of the St. Lawrence and had established a chain of forts and trading-posts in the Mississippi valley. One of the most important of their posts was Fort Duquesne, at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers. Alarmed at the advance of the French, the legislature of Virginia sent a small force to reconnoiter and to guard the frontier. The colonists under Major George Washington were unsuccessful and later were compelled to surrender to superior forces (July 4, 1754).³ The next year General Braddock was sent out from England as commander-in-chief of the American forces. He determined to secure Fort Duquesne, and against the advice of Franklin, Washington, and others, attacked the French and was defeated, he himself being killed (November 1, 1755).

of the age in which he lived and the circumstances which surrounded him. "He was great in council, great in war, great in his exploits, which were many, and great in his faults, which were few." ¹ Nawáb Surajah Dowlah (Siráj-ud-Daulá).

² See Macaulay's famous description in his *Essay on Clive*.

³ This skirmish was really the beginning of the Seven Years' War, one of the most momentous struggles in its results of any of the wars of modern times.

546. The Seven Years' War, 1756 – 1763; Political Conditions. — In 1756 war, known as "The Seven Years' War," was declared in Europe. Nominally waged to establish the balance of power in Europe, the real causes of the war were commercial and colonial (compare § 537). The conflict in Europe was begun by Frederic the Great of Prussia invading Saxony, and the French capturing Minorca from the English, both in 1756.

The English cabinet was weak, and owing to the dislike of George II, Pitt was kept in the background. For about forty years the English and Austrians had been on friendly terms, mainly because both nations had reason to fear Prussia. Now, however, Austria, believing that she could get more out of France than England, made overtures to that country; while George II, thinking that it was safer to have Frederic as a friend than an enemy, joined in alliance with him. The result was that Europe became divided into two great leagues, — Austria, Russia, France, and Saxony on the one side and Prussia and England on the other.

547. William Pitt and the War. — The early days of the war were gloomy for England. News from the Continent, India, and America was discouraging. The popular indignation in England was great, and a new ministry was formed by the alliance of the Duke of Newcastle and William Pitt, whom popular demand forced into the cabinet (1757). Pitt became secretary of state and practically prime minister, while Newcastle looked after the patronage.

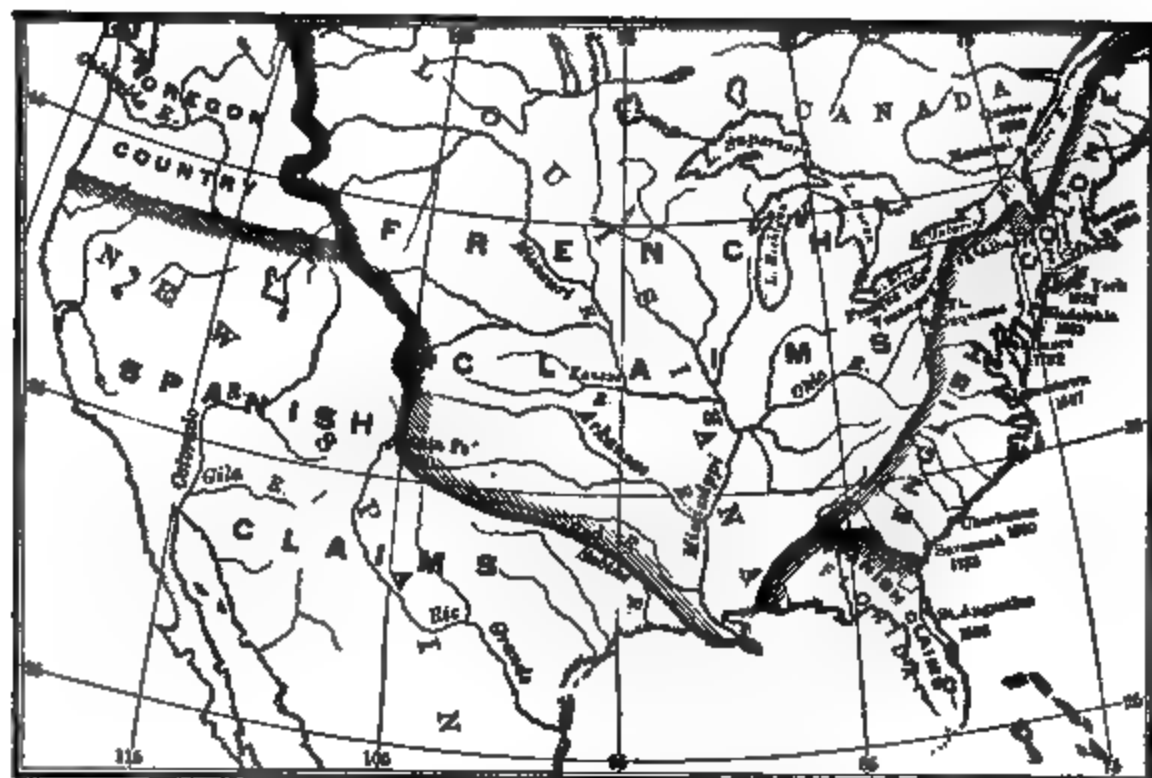
Pitt's self-confidence stood him in good stead. "I am sure that I can save the country," he is reported to have said, "and I am sure that no one else can." Never perhaps has there been a better example of the power of a strong and able man. He had a remarkable faculty for putting the right man in the right place, and defeats were soon turned into victories. He paid heavy sums of money to Frederic to aid him, "for," he said, "America must be conquered in Germany."

548. Results of Pitt's Policy; Quebec, 1759. — The aid and encouragement of Pitt inspired confidence everywhere. Hanover,

lost for a time to the French, was recovered at Minden (1759); Admiral Hawke defeated the French at Quiberon (Brittany) (1759); Louisburg (Cape Breton) was destroyed (1758); and the French abandoned Fort Duquesne, which was occupied by the English and renamed Fort Pitt (Pittsburgh) in honor of William Pitt (1758). In 1759 an expedition was sent under General Charles Wolfe to capture Quebec. Here the French under the Marquis de Montcalm made a brave defense on the Heights of Abraham, a battle in which both generals fell (September 13, 1759). But England won. With the fall of Montreal (1760) all Canada came under British control, and with the exception of New Orleans, France had lost everything on the American continent.

Though Pitt had spent enormous sums of money, the results were correspondingly great. He had put England in the foremost place in naval, commercial, and colonial matters, he had regained Hanover for the Georges, he had strengthened if not saved Prussia, and had prevented France from gaining the supremacy in Europe.

549. Death of George II, 1760; George III, 1738–1820. — Just at this time George II died (October 25, 1760) and his grandson George, the eldest son of Frederick, late Prince of Wales, succeeded. George III had been born and educated in England and delighted to call himself an Englishman. These facts helped very much to do away with any feeling against the House of Hanover. He was twenty-two years old when he came to the throne. He was of good size, and had a florid complexion, was tolerably good-looking, and was generally affable in his manners. "He was sincerely pious and his morality was strict." He had been poorly educated, was only moderately intelligent, and was narrow in his views and prejudiced. "His leading characteristic was described by himself as firmness, and by those who were opposed to him as obstinacy." He was a firm believer in the authority of a king, and in order to secure what he believed was the royal prerogative, he used all the influence he possessed, em-



**CENTRAL NORTH AMERICA, 1755
AT THE BEGINNING OF THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.**

**CENTRAL NORTH AMERICA, 1763
AFTER THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.
(ACCORDING TO PEACE OF PARIS)**

ploying even bribery to further his efforts. This struggle he pursued without interruption as long as he had mind and strength and, by sheer obstinacy and personal good character, to a great degree he gained his end. He disliked no one more than Pitt and resolved, at the first opportunity, to dismiss him.

550. Resignation of Pitt, 1761; Bute, Prime Minister, 1762.—Don Carlos of Naples became king of Spain as Charles III in 1759, and in 1761 he joined with the Bourbons of France in a family compact which bound France, Spain, and Italy to support each other against England. Pitt deemed it wise to declare war upon Spain, but George had forced into the cabinet the Earl of

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Bute, his old tutor, who opposed the plan. Newcastle and others, fearing the expense, would not support Pitt, and so he resigned (1761). Bute became prime minister in 1762. A more incompetent minister England never had. Till he made his speech as prime minister he had never spoken in the House of Commons and knew little or nothing of the routine of business.

551. War with Spain; Peace of Paris, 1763.—He was compelled, however, to begin a war against Spain which, owing to the preparations that Pitt had made, was successful. The English captured Manila in the Philippines, and Havana in Cuba. In 1763 (February 10) the Peace of Paris was signed which ended the Seven Years' War. Canada and Cape Breton were given to England, and the Mississippi fixed as the boundary between Louisiana (Spanish) and the British possessions; Havana was restored

to Spain, who gave Florida in return, and also received back Manila. France gave up Minorca, but received Pondicherry and other places in India for trading purposes alone, and two small islands¹ off Newfoundland to be used only for fishing purposes. To the American Colonies the terms of the peace were of incalculable importance, as they were now removed from fear of any hostile power, except the Indians, and could expand in safety.²

552. Grenville's Ministry, 1763; John Wilkes.—The unpopular Bute was replaced by George Grenville (1763), brother-in-law of Pitt. Grenville, though a fair man of business, was not capable of taking in large issues and had quarreled with Pitt mainly on account of the vast expenditures Pitt's policy had involved. Bute and his cabinet were guilty of at least two very serious blunders. The first was the prosecution of John Wilkes for libel. Wilkes, a sharp, unscrupulous man who cared for little but himself, had succeeded in getting elected a member of Parliament for one of the London districts. He published a libel on the king in his paper the *North Briton*, for which he was arrested on a "general warrant,"³ sent to the Tower, and his papers seized and examined. A member of Parliament can only be arrested for breach of the peace or treason; Wilkes was therefore discharged, and suing for damages recovered £1000. Next the House of Commons voted Wilkes' paper to be a seditious libel, ordered it to be burned by the common hangman, and expelled Wilkes from the House. All this made him a popular hero, and the representative of a righteous cause, for the action of the government and Parliament was regarded as an attack upon the freedom of the press, and the liberties of the people.⁴

¹ St. Pierre and Miquelon, which she still holds (1913).

² The treaty was made without regard to Frederic of Prussia, and he was greatly angered at the action of England in thus deserting him.

³ A "general warrant" is "a warrant directed against no particular individual but against suspected persons generally."

⁴ Three times was Wilkes elected and rejected by the House of Commons; the fourth time (1764) he was allowed to take his seat. It is strange that to a man so disreputable as Wilkes, men should be indebted in so great a degree for such important

553. American Stamp Act. 1765. — The second blunder which Grenville made was the passage of the celebrated Stamp Act for taxing the American Colonies (1765). The object of this act was to help raise funds for troops to defend the Colonies, and all the funds were to be spent in America. The tax was to be collected by means of stamps placed upon legal documents and papers. The colonists bitterly resented this action, for, while they conceded the right of Parliament to regulate trade, they denied the right to tax without representation. Grenville also proposed to enforce the nearly obsolete Navigation Laws. This action was perhaps even more hateful to the colonists than the Stamp Act, for it would seriously injure their trade. Before, however, the news of the action of the Americans reached England, Grenville had come under the displeasure of King George, and his ministry fell. The new ministry was headed by the Marquis of Rockingham. He was not disposed to stir up trouble with the Colonies, and so the Stamp Act was repealed, and "general warrants" were declared illegal; but the right to tax was affirmed at the same time in a Declaratory Act. Again the ministry was changed, this time Pitt, who had been created Earl of Chatham, being a member and actually prime minister, though not officially, so as the Duke of Grafton was the nominal head.

554. The Townshend Acts. 1767. — In less than a year Chatham was compelled to retire on account of ill health, and Charles Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, determined to tax America, and Parliament passed the Townshend Acts, providing for the taxing of glass, red and white lead, paper, tea, and some other articles.¹ This action again stirred up the Americans, and non-importation agreements were common. Troops were sent to Boston, and the "Boston Massacre" (1770) was one result of the measure. All taxes were now repealed except that upon

safe-guards as the illegality of general warrants, the right of the people to elect their own representatives, and the publication of parliamentary proceedings. The name of Wilkes is perpetuated in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania.

¹ Townshend died in 1767.

tea, but the Americans looked upon the question of taxation as a matter of principle, and, on this ground, one tax was as bad as fifty.

555. Lord North, Prime Minister, 1770; The King's Policy toward America. — As Lord North, who became prime minister in 1770, was in accord with George's views as to the monarchy, George became himself the real prime minister and introduced the departmental system which Walpole had discarded. Under this system each head of a department looked to the king for instructions — not to the cabinet.

The news of the reception of the tea vessels at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston forced the government to consider some definite plan of action in American affairs, for it was clear that either the scheme of taxation would have to be abandoned, or enforced by arms. The king and his cabinet resolved to force their regulations on the rebellious colonists. As the greatest outbreak had occurred at Boston, it was determined to teach that city and the colony of Massachusetts a lesson which would at the same time intimidate the other Colonies. So Parliament passed the various acts so familiar to Americans — the Boston Port Bill, by which that port was closed to all commerce; the Transportation Bill, allowing persons accused of certain crimes to be transported from Massachusetts for trial elsewhere; the bill practically revoking the charter of Massachusetts; and the Quartering Act, allowing soldiers to be quartered upon private families. Besides this, to conciliate Canada, the Quebec Act was passed, confirming certain privileges of the Canadians, and extending the borders of Canada into territory which the Atlantic Colonies believed of right belonged to them.

556. Crisis in American Affairs. — These acts brought on the crisis in American affairs. In vain Burke and Chatham, with all the power of which they were capable, had urged conciliation with America; it was not until news of the meeting of the Colonial Congress in America reached England that the ministry began to see the necessity of some conciliation. In 1775 Lord North

carried a bill through Parliament which provided that such Colonies as made a grant toward the expenses of the British empire should be free from taxation. It was, however, too late for such a concession, for the principle for which the Americans contended was untouched.

The treatment of the American question in 1774 and 1775 by the British government was extremely ill advised. The king and his ministry knew little or nothing of the true conditions in America, and were unwilling to learn from those who did know them. The fact was that colonial affairs were administered, not in the interests of the Colonies, but of the British government. This, whether clearly understood at the time or not, was the real cause of the revolt. The Stamp Act and "taxation without representation" were occasions rather than causes of resistance. England was unprepared for war, and the difficulties of carrying on campaigns three thousand miles from the source of supplies were apparently ignored.

557. War with the American Colonies. 1775.—Actual warfare began with the battle of Lexington (April 19, 1775), and on the Fourth of July, 1776, the thirteen colonies proclaimed their independence of Great Britain. It was a step not anticipated by many in America, who had taken up arms simply for the redress of grievances, and was opposed by many others who were called loyalists; but the action of the British ministry made independence the logical conclusion of events. Seldom has a war of such importance been so badly managed on each side. England sent out for the most part poor troops, many of them hired from the petty German states; her generals, with one or two exceptions, were incompetent;¹ and there was no national support at home, for many of the best men in England, and a large body of the people, were opposed to the war. In America, after the

¹ It is also probable that some of the British generals who were Tories were disinclined to gain victories for a Whig government. This would explain Howe's inactivity in Philadelphia (1777-1778), when he could have driven Washington from Valley Forge.

first year, at least, the militia could not be depended upon for steady service in the field; Congress was niggardly in its support of Washington, and continually failed to provide funds for the necessary military expenses, being occupied much of its time in petty quarrels, factions, and cabals. To the patriotism, skill, and marvelous serenity and patience of Washington, more than to any other one cause, the final success of the Americans was due, though had it not been for the support he received from men like Franklin, Robert Morris, General Greene, and others, even he might have failed, and this notwithstanding the inestimable aid the Americans received by the French alliance (1778).

558. Progress of the War; French Alliance with America. — During the first year of the war the Americans had rather the worst of it. But later, at Saratoga, the British general, Sir John Burgoyne, was forced to surrender to the Americans (October 17, 1777) — an event of vast importance. Great as was the effect in America, it was perhaps even greater in Europe, where England was not loved. France in particular had not forgotten her treatment in the Seven Years' War, and had already been secretly aiding America. Now she openly entered into a treaty with the new United States, not so much from sympathy with the young republic as from a desire to avenge her own humiliation. The young Marquis Lafayette gave his services. Troops were sent to America, and the French Admiral D'Estaing sailed to the West Indies with a fleet to attack British interests in that quarter.

559. Overtures to America, 1779; England's Difficult Position. — The British ministry now offered nearly everything which the Americans had demanded, except independence, but it was too late.¹ Meanwhile France had declared war against England (1778) and was followed by Spain (1779), and later by Holland (1780); in addition Ireland was getting very restless. But this was not all;

¹ The recognition of the independence of the Colonies was proposed in Parliament, and Chatham made his last effort in opposing the motion. While rising to reply he fell back in a fit of apoplexy from which he did not recover (1778). He would have granted everything except independence.

Russia, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden in 1770 formed the Armed Neutrality League for self-protection and partly with the object of putting a stop to the British practice of searching vessels of neutral nations. It was this combination of forces against her which prevented Great Britain from blockading the American ports, and from sending more reënforcements to her armies in America. Having so many colonial possessions which she was compelled to protect or lose, she could not spare men and vessels, and "we see a naval war waged from the extended character of the British Empire, in all quarters of the globe at once." Had she had only her American Colonies to contend with, it would have gone hardly with them. In the midst of this condition of affairs the intelligence of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown (October 19, 1781) reached London, and every one felt that the war with America was virtually over.

560. Ireland, 1782 ; Lord North Resigns. — The condition of affairs in India was far from assuring, while the success of the Americans stimulated in Ireland a feeling of independence long unknown. The Irish Parliament declared its legislative independence of the British Parliament (1782), and under the lead of Henry Grattan passed acts looking to the relief of some of the Catholic disabilities.¹ Lord North was compelled to acknowledge the commercial equality of England and Ireland and to allow the Irish free export of their most important commodities. It is not to be wondered at that Lord North, the prime minister, felt obliged to resign (February, 1782) against the king's wish.

It is now clear that most of what used to be charged to Lord North was really the work of George III. "North was rather the agent than the responsible adviser of the king, who himself practically directed the policy of the ministry, even on the minutest points." The blame which justly rests upon North is that he was willing to act as the tool of the king.

¹ All these measures were the work of Protestants, for the Catholics still had no voice in Irish affairs.

561. End of Personal Rule, 1782; Whig Ministry.—With the fall of North's ministry the strictly personal rule and departmental system of King George came to an end, and from henceforth government by a responsible ministry was assured. The new ministry, to the indignation of the king, had to be composed

of Whigs. Rockingham became prime minister and among his associates were Charles James Fox and the Earl of Shelburne; while Edmund Burke, though not in the cabinet, occupied a subordinate position in the government. The new ministry faced no easy task. Ireland must be pacified, economical reform instituted, and above all the war ended. Legislative independence was granted to Ireland,

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the old Poynings' Act (§ 217) was modified, and other conciliatory measures adopted. Some important bills in the direction of economical and political reform were passed, but the ministry and Parliament were half hearted, for their chief desire was to limit royal power rather than to reform abuses.

562. Shelburne Ministry; William Pitt, the Younger, 1782.—Before the question of foreign affairs had progressed far, Rock-

ingham died and Shelburne became prime minister. In his cabinet a new man came into office, whose name was to be indelibly fixed in English history — William Pitt, the second son of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham. Entering Parliament in 1781, before he was twenty-two, he at once made his mark, and now at twenty-three he was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he became leader in the House of Commons.

The first work of the new ministry was to bring about peace. All parties agreed on the acknowledgment of the independence of America; the only question was upon what terms. A preliminary treaty was made in 1782.

563. Peace with America; United States Acknowledged, 1783. — At last, on January 20, 1783, a treaty of peace was signed at Paris between Great Britain and the United States, acknowledging the independence of the latter and making the Mississippi the western limit, and the southern boundary of Canada and New Brunswick, the northern limit, of the new republic. The same day were signed at Versailles preliminary treaties with France and Spain.¹ Spain regained Minorca and Florida, and restored the Bahamas to Great Britain, which retained Gibraltar.

564. Coalition Ministry, 1783; Fox's India Bill. — Before the negotiations were concluded Shelburne's ministry had fallen, and George III was compelled to assent to what was called the "Coalition Ministry."² The Duke of Portland was the nominal head of the cabinet, but it was really directed by Fox and North.

George III hated this combination and determined to get rid of this cabinet. His opportunity came when a bill for the reorganization of the government of India, introduced by Fox and passed by the Commons, was brought before the Lords. Originally simply a trading association, the East India Company had become the ruler of large provinces and a vast population. That this

¹ Later, peace was made with Holland, neither party gaining much advantage by the war.

² "Coalition," the name applied to a union in a government or cabinet of men of different political parties or factions.

was an unwise condition goes without saying. Fox's bill proposed that the national government should assume all authority by means of a governing board. But the plan infringed on the prerogatives of the crown, as the governing board was at first to be appointed by Parliament. The management of the commercial business was to be intrusted to a second board appointed by the first. The bill was not popular, and George III authorized Lord Temple to say to the Lords that "whoever voted for the bill was not only not the king's friend, but would be considered by him an enemy." This was sufficient, and the Lords by a small majority rejected the bill.¹

The Commons and the ministry resented the king's action and the ministry refused to resign. Late at night the king sent for the seals of the office and dismissed the ministry, refusing even to see them.

565. First Pitt Ministry, 1783.—The king promptly sent for William Pitt and requested him to form a new ministry. Thus before he was twenty-five William Pitt was prime minister of England and chancellor of the exchequer (December 19, 1783). His appointment "was received in the House of Commons with derisive laughter." There was a strong opposition having a majority of fifty, and embracing with perhaps a single exception every good debater and speaker but himself.²

So few prominent men were on the side of Pitt in the Commons that he was the only member of the cabinet in that body. Defeated again and again and called upon to resign, he refused, saying, as long as he was supported by the king he would neither resign nor would a new election be ordered. Sure that he would in time gain the confidence of the country, he determined to retain his post. His judgment was not at fault. Admiration for pluck, his father's name, the dislike of the former coalition minis-

¹ This attempt of the king personally to influence a House of Parliament was clearly unconstitutional.

² No minister would now dare to accept office under such circumstances, but would either decline, or dissolve Parliament and order a new election.

try, the unskillfulness of the management of Fox and his opponents, all turned to his advantage, and in March, 1784, he felt his position strong enough to appeal to the country by a new election. His judgment was vindicated, and in the new House of Commons he had a large majority.

The ministry, begun amid the jeers of its enemies, lasted seventeen years (1783-1801), with the single exception of that of Sir Robert Walpole (§ 519) the longest in English history. Pitt united in himself more valuable qualities than either his father or Walpole. He was an orator second to few, a skillful debater, a brilliant financier, and an ardent patriot; his readiness, his apprehension, and his resources were extraordinary. He never sought his own personal financial advantage. "His life was pure; in an age of eager scandal it was beyond reproach." His manners were stiff and repellent, and he would unbend only to his intimates. Young men, however, found him sympathetic and inspiring, and he was fond of them. He had to contend against ill health from his earliest years, and, after having had one of the most brilliant political careers in history, he died, worn out, when not forty-seven, an age at which many have yet to make their name known.

References. — Green, *Short History*, chaps. ix, § 10-x, § 2; Gardiner, *Student's History*, chaps. xlv, § 19-xlix; Terry, *History*, Part IV, chaps. i (p. 877) to v; Tout, *Advanced History*, Book VII, chaps. ii-iii, § 31; Macaulay, *Essays*, *Lord Clive*; *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*, and *Earl of Chatham*; Traill, *Social England*, vol. V, chaps. xxvii-xxviii; Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, §§ 249-254; Cheyney, *Readings*, chap. xvii, §§ iv-v, chap. xviii, §§ i, iii, iv; Colby, *Selections*, §§ 90-101; Kendall, *Source-Book*, §§ 104-107; 117-122; Lee, *Source-Book*.

CHAPTER XXV

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

566. Great Inventions ; The Industrial Revolution.— The commanding place given England in European affairs by the policy of William III was extended by the victories of Marlborough. During the long administration of Walpole peaceful occupations had developed as never before, and the increase in material prosperity and in population was great.

Old methods in manufacturing had prevailed up to the reign of George III, for until the middle of the century there were, in the modern sense, no mills or factories. But about that time four great inventions soon changed the whole character of textile manufacture. These were Hargreaves' spinning-jenny, a machine by which a man could spin eight threads at once instead of one ; Arkwright's system of spinning by means of rollers, which operated more rapidly than the spinning-jenny ; Crompton's mule, which combined the advantages of both Arkwright's and Hargreaves' machines ; and later (about 1784), Cartwright's power loom, which was to weaving what the mule and the jenny were to spinning. These machines needed greater power than could be applied in a private house and more capital than an ordinary man could furnish, and so companies were formed and mills with horse or water power were built. James Watt patented his steam engine in 1769, and began the manufacture of steam engines in partnership with Matthew Boulton ; and in 1785 the first steam engine was used in a cotton mill. So began what is well termed the Industrial Revolution ; or " the adoption of machinery and artificial power, the use of a vastly greater amount of capital, and the collection of scattered laborers into great, strictly regulated establishments."

567. Iron and Coal; Movement of Population. — But the development of manufacture was accompanied by other economic changes. In 1760 John Roebuck discovered that iron could be smelted with mineral coal as well as by the aid of charcoal. The result was a vast increase in mining, in the manufacture of iron, and improvements in all branches of the trade.

A striking result of the change in commerce and manufacture was the change in the movement of population. Liverpool, little more than a village at the beginning of the century, became a great port, especially for the American trade; Lancashire and Yorkshire, hitherto almost exclusively agricultural, became the seat of great mills,¹ and mining and smelting operations were carried on where formerly sheep and cattle grazed quietly or the farmer harvested his grain and other crops.

568. Transportation; Roads; Canals. — But for the satisfactory development of material wealth and prosperity better means of transportation were needed. Up to the middle of the century the roads were generally little more than track ways, deep with mud in the winter, and dusty and full of ruts in the summer. Traveling was slow and dangerous. "The flying machine" or fast coach was three days making the journey between London and Sheffield, a distance of 160 miles. The necessity for better roads was so evident that before the end of the century great improvements were made, and turnpikes were introduced where tolls were required which were applied to keeping the roads in good order. This not only facilitated the transportation of goods, but also of travelers, and correspondingly improved the postal service. But even on good roads the carriage of heavy goods was difficult and expensive, and therefore attention was turned to the improvement of the rivers and the building of canals. To such an extent was this carried out that between 1758 and 1803 there were constructed in Great Britain about three thousand miles of canals. In the

¹ This was largely due to the existence of many streams which furnished water power.

colliery districts still another method of facilitating the transport of heavy commodities such as coal and iron was devised — that of laying rails, first of wood, then of iron, upon which wagons bearing heavy loads could run with ease.

569. Greater Liberty of Action. — Down well into the middle of the century the medieval idea that it was the province of the government to regulate all the economic life of the people had continued to find acceptance. But in the latter part of the century the view gained more and more adherents that “men had a right to be left free to do as they chose, so far as such freedom was practicable.” This view was greatly fostered by the publication (1776) of Adam Smith’s *Wealth of Nations*, still one of the greatest works on political economy.

570. Agriculture ; Land Inclosure Acts. — Great changes also took place in agriculture. Small farms became less profitable, and large farms, worked on less unscientific principles, grew in number. Up to the middle of the century much land remained common, that is, after crops were harvested the villagers had the right to turn their cattle on it. But early in the reign of George III a number of inclosure acts lessened greatly the amount of this common land, both pasture and arable. This legislation was hard on the poor, for it tended to cause land more and more to fall into the hands of the large holders. The number of laborers increased and at the same time the number of paupers. The system of Poor Laws dating from the time of Elizabeth, bad in her day, was worse under the changed circumstances, so that, while the wealthy and middle classes were steadily bettering their condition, that of the agricultural laboring class was growing worse. Their condition was intensified by the system of corn laws (first passed in 1773), which restricted the importation of grain into England.

571. Religious Thought and Practice. — But it was not only in commercial and material matters that great changes occurred. They were as marked in the field of religious thought and practice. There were many skeptics. The High Churchism of the reign of

Queen Anne and the zeal of the Dissenters had given place to a cool, philosophic view of religion that laid great stress on reason and external morality rather than on doctrine or on emotional expression. A large number of influential men disbelieved in Christianity and were called Deists. It is probable, though there were many individual exceptions, that the general spiritual condition of England had never sunk lower than in the first twenty-five or thirty years of the eighteenth century.

572. Wesleyan Movement. 1730. — But a change came. About 1730 a band of young Oxford students formed a small society for the purpose of mutual improvement, for Bible and religious study, and for practicing works of charity and benevolence. They were in derision called by their fellow-students "Methodists." The leading spirit in this band was John Wesley; with him were associated his brother, Charles Wesley, and later George Whitefield. John Wesley is one of the great men of history and his influence has been of surpassing power. "He was a man who had made religion the single aim and object of his life, who was prepared to encounter for it every form of danger, discomfort, and obloquy; who devoted exclusively to it an energy of will and a power of intellect that in worldly professions might have raised him to the highest positions of honor and wealth." Whitefield was unsurpassed as an eloquent preacher, and after 1739 the Methodist leaders "went about the country preaching *extempore*, with the most intense fervor of language and gesture, and usually with a complete disregard of the ordinary methods of the preachers of the day."

573. Results of the Wesleyan Movement. — The effect of this preaching can hardly be described; thousands were moved to a reformed and a religious life. It was natural that the clergy of the Established Church should be shocked and should refuse to allow such enthusiasts to occupy their pulpits. As a result the preachers took to speaking in the open air; next, as a matter of necessity, chapels were built to accommodate the adherents of

the new preachers. A still further consequence was the organization of the converts into a new body, which ultimately became known as the Methodists or Wesleyans. Wesley always refused to withdraw from the Church of England, but after his death, in 1791, the Wesleyans became a separate body both in name and in fact.

The importance of the Wesleyan movement lies not only in strictly religious history, but in the effect it had upon the population of Great Britain. Addressed largely to the lower classes, it had a lasting influence upon them. It tended to call attention to the importance of the individual; it placed a life of new possibilities before him, raised his self-respect, and, moreover, gave him a voice in a powerful organization. The influence of the movement on the Church of England and other religious bodies was by no means small, and perhaps no other movement of the century was more far-reaching in its effects.

574. Growth of Religious Toleration; Philanthropic Movements. — Other characteristics of the century were the decline in the spirit of persecution, and the increase in religious toleration.¹ Some of the disabilities of the Catholics were removed, but the removal of even these ultimately led to serious riots both in Scotland and England (Lord George Gordon Riots, 1780).

Another feature of the age was the rise of philanthropic movements, prominent among which was the effort of John Howard (1726–1790) to improve the condition of the prisons, which were but a trifle better than the scandalous ones of the seventeenth century. Another was the effort for the abolition of the slave trade, in which, in the later years of the century, Thomas Clarkson (1760–1846) and William Wilberforce (1759–1833) took such an unselfish and earnest part.

575. Dress and Social Customs. — The increase in wealth among the commercial and trading classes, the improvement in means of communication and transportation, and the doctrine

¹ Exception must be made in the case of Catholics, for the feeling against them was still very strong.

of equality spread abroad by the philosophers, especially by Rousseau of France, all tended toward a greater simplicity in dress, manners, and social customs. The flowing wig, the knee breeches, long waistcoats, gay colored clothing among men, and swords as ornaments, gradually went out of fashion. Among women, also, customs and manners became more simple.

576. Fashionable Life; Gambling; Duelling. — The most fashionable vice of the day was gambling. Gambling naturally led to the creation of large debts — “debts of honor” as they were called — entailing great loss and often bankruptcy and ruin upon the loser and his family. Besides this, disputes frequently arose which, according to the ideas of that day, could only be settled by the sword or pistol. And, indeed, duelling was a common method

of settling any question where a man's “honor” was supposed to be involved.

Drinking to excess continued to be common. One, two, or even three bottles of port wine at dinner was not unusual, and drunkenness in public was not especially commented upon.

The moral life of George III set a good example, and the effect of the religious revival was great; so that by the close of the century much that had been treated as venial became disreputable among the greater part of the community.

577. Evil Effects of the Industrial Revolution. — The Industrial Revolution, as was inevitable, brought for the time being much suffering to the poorer classes. The spinners and weavers,



and others who had worked at their homes, often from age or from other causes were unfitted to work in the mills, and hence were deprived of their means of living, for they were unable to compete with the large manufacturers. The smaller establish-

ments where handwork was employed were also soon done away with by the new power machinery or factory system, as it is called. But with the improvements in manufacturing came the tendency to treat the workers rather as machines

A STAGECOACH OF THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

than as human beings. Long hours of labor, dark and ill-ventilated workrooms, and unhealthful and dirty dwellings were their usual lot. Women and children labored as long as the men, — children of nine years often working fifteen or more hours a day. There were no factory or labor laws to regulate or restrict, and as the workers had no vote, and were forbidden by law to form trade unions, their case was indeed hard.

References. — Traill, *Social England*, chaps. xx-xxi; Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History*, chaps. vii-viii (in part); Gardiner, *Student's History*, chap. 1, §§ 22-31; Tout, *Advanced History*, Book VII, chap. vi; Cheyney, *Readings*, chap. xviii, § ii, Colby, *Selections*, §§ 91, 93, 100, 102, 106; Kendall, *Source-Book*, §§ 110-114, 116.

CHAPTER XXVI

EFFORTS FOR REFORM; FRENCH REVOLUTION; NAPOLEONIC WARS

578. Pitt and Reform; India Bill (1784); Warren Hastings.
— The task presented before the younger Pitt was one of extreme difficulty. Personally he was a man of peace, and earnest for political and social reform, but circumstances were such that he is chiefly remembered as a great war minister. He warmly supported the efforts of Wilberforce for the abolition of the slave trade, was sincerely desirous to better the condition of Ireland, and to reform the administration of India. The last matter occupied his attention first, and in 1784 he carried his India Bill. This provided for a Board of Control, appointed by the government, the president of the board to be a cabinet minister. Political matters came under its duties, while all commercial matters were to be managed by the Company, which also appointed the commander-in-chief and the governor-general, subject to the veto of the government; other political offices were to be filled by the Board of Control. This plan worked so well that it lasted until 1858. The first governor under this arrangement was Warren Hastings.¹ His administration was highly successful, but on his return (1785) he was impeached on a charge of extortion, oppression, and cruelty. His famous trial, begun in 1788 and taken part in by Fox, Burke, and Sheridan, was to a very great extent political; it lasted until 1795, when he was acquitted.² Though he had been severe and arbitrary, and he had used methods not allowed in civilized countries, he was not guilty of the grave charges made against him.

¹ Hastings had been governor general since 1773.

² It is said that the trial cost Hastings £79,000, and almost ruined him.

579. Pitt and Finances. — In financial methods Pitt was, in general, a follower of Adam Smith. He reduced the customs duties on many articles so much that smuggling became unprofitable and at the same time legitimate trade was encouraged; he made a treaty with France which greatly increased the commerce between the two countries and nearly brought about free trade; he reduced expenditures and introduced efficiency into the administration of public business; he did away as much as possible with the opportunities for bribery and abolished many sinecure offices; and he devised plans for paying off the national debt which were a credit to his character.

580. Foreign Affairs; The Regency Bill. 1788–1789. — Pitt gained the friendliness of Prussia, decreased the influence of France in Holland, and in 1788 formed a Triple Alliance with Prussia and Holland “to maintain their common interests, and for their mutual defense and guarantee against every hostile attack.”

An attack of insanity befell King George in 1788, and the question of a regency had to be settled; Pitt declared that in such a case Parliament should decide, and referred to the example of Henry VI (§ 202). Charles James Fox and his friends claimed that, by virtue of his position as heir, the Prince of Wales should be regent. Pitt finally brought in a bill providing for a regency by the Prince of Wales, but under strict conditions. Before the bill could get through Parliament the king recovered, but Pitt's position was greatly strengthened by the stand he had taken.

581. The French Revolution. 1789. — In 1789 the French Revolution, the most stirring event in the eighteenth century, broke out. The revolution was the natural result of the policy of Louis XIV, followed by the corrupt reign of Louis XV. At first the French Revolution was welcomed by many in England as a step forward in the cause of liberty; but in 1790 Burke, who viewed the matter with very different eyes, published his *Reflections on the French Revolution*, in which, with all his eloquence, he warned his countrymen against the radicalism and dangerous

doctrines of the French revolutionists. His book had an enormous sale and greatly influenced public opinion, and more so as the excesses of the French indicated the fulfillment of his worst forebodings.

Pitt, at first inclined to sympathize with the efforts in France after liberty, followed a policy of absolute neutrality. Later he came gradually to Burke's opinion, and his fear of what might take place, not only on the Continent but also in England, influenced greatly his administration of public affairs.

582. France a Republic, 1792 ; Execution of Louis XVI ; War with France. 1793.—France was proclaimed a Republic in 1792 (September 21), and late in the year roused all the sovereigns of Europe against her by passing two decrees. "The first of these decrees promised assistance to all nations that should revolt against their governments ; while the second compelled all territories occupied by the French to accept the new French institutions."¹ These decrees were speedily followed by the execution of Louis XVI (January 21, 1793), and the Continent and England were horrified. A few days later France declared war against England and Holland. From this time for nearly twenty-two years England was almost continually at war with France.

Pitt's policy was to give money to the European sovereigns to fight the battles rather than to contribute many men to their armies.² The administration of the navy was superior to that of the army, and some of the greatest naval victories of England took place during this period.

583. The "New Toryism."—In the stress of the French revolutionary times Pitt dropped all efforts at reform and devoted his attention to finance, to the war, and, perforce, to the condition of

¹ The new Republic had already seized Nice and Savoy, the Low Countries, and the country along the Rhine, so this was no idle threat.

² This is called to subsidize. To such a large extent was this done that from 1793 to 1805 more than £9,000,000 were paid by Great Britain to European states in support of the struggle against France and Napoleon, and, in addition, loans of about £6,200,000 were made.

Ireland. From this time also Pitt became the leader of a new political combination which has been called the "New Toryism." The principles of this body were defense of things as they are ; opposition to all changes ; and security for the rights of property, —all these being opposed to the principles enunciated by the French revolutionists. Many of the Whigs joined the party, which became for about thirty years the ruling one in Great Britain.

584. The Coalition against France, 1793 ; Bonaparte.— England, having already helped Austria and Prussia with money, joined in a coalition with Austria, Prussia, Spain, and Holland (1793). Notwithstanding this great array against them, the French were successful, not only in protecting themselves, but also in extending their boundaries. Holland was captured (1795) and made into the Batavian Republic ; Prussia, Spain, and some of the smaller states made a treaty with France, leaving England, Austria, and Sardinia to continue the struggle.

A new general now appeared in France, Napoleon Bonaparte, who in 1797 drove the Austrians out of Italy, and forced Austria to make a peace. This left England alone against France.

585. British Success at Sea ; Bonaparte's Plans to crush England.— At sea, however, England had been successful, for in 1795 the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon had been taken from the Dutch ; an attempt of the French to get a foothold in Great Britain had proved a failure ; in 1797 Admiral Jervis and Commodore Nelson had defeated a Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent ; and the Dutch fleet was defeated off Camperdown by Admiral Duncan.

Pitt was desirous of making peace, but the French, believing that England was exhausted, demanded terms which were impossible for the English to accept.

Bonaparte, who was practically the master of France, resolved to cripple England by destroying her trade with India. To do this he set out with an army and fleet for Egypt, the key to the East. He was successful in gaining Egypt, but the English fleet

under Nelson defeated the French at the battle of the Nile (August 1, 1798), and the advance of the French in Syria was checked at St. Jean d'Acre by Sir Sidney Smith (1799). Napoleon's plans had failed.

586. Second Coalition against France, 1799; French Successes.—

Meantime a new coalition of England, Austria, and Russia was formed, and France seemed in a critical condition. But Napoleon, leaving his army in Egypt, returned to France, overthrew the weak government of the Directory, which had been formed in Paris, caused himself to be appointed First Consul, with practically autocratic powers, and set himself to regain the power and prestige of France.

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

After the portrait by Paul Delaroche

The strong government of Napoleon was welcomed by the majority of the people. Through his wonderful energy and ability, Napoleon won back Italy by a series of brilliant victories, induced Russia to leave the coalition, and forced Austria to make a humiliating peace (1801).

Russia now formed an armed neutrality agreement between the northern powers, including herself, which declined to allow Great Britain to search neutral vessels for enemies' goods. This action England regarded as hostile, and a fleet under Admiral Parker and Nelson was dispatched to the Baltic. The Danish fleet was defeated off Copenhagen, and England gained control of the Baltic. England was supreme at sea as Napoleon was on land.

587. Restrictive Laws; Ireland.—Meantime domestic affairs were claiming the serious attention of the British government. Through fear of revolutionary movements, stringent legislation had

been passed in England, the most repressive of which was the suspension (1794) of the Habeas Corpus Act.¹ In this legislation Pitt was supported by the great majority of the people.

The Irish Parliament (§ 560) was wholly Protestant and the large Catholic population was unrepresented. Some of the Protestants, led by Henry Grattan, with whom Pitt sympathized, wished to have Catholics sit in the Parliament; others were bitterly opposed, because they believed that Protestant ascendancy would be lost. The Protestants were divided, and the English government by means of influence and bribery controlled the Parliament.

588. "United Irishmen;" "Orangemen." — Stirred up as Irishmen had been by the American Revolution, the French Revolution had a great effect upon them. A society to work for Catholic emancipation, parliamentary and other reforms was organized and called the "United Irishmen."² This movement soon resulted in a purpose to gain the complete independence of the island. On the other side, the extreme Protestants formed an organization first called "Orange Lodges," and then the "Orangemen."³ Between these two extremes was the great body of the people. In 1793 a Catholic Relief Bill was passed by which Catholics were given the right to vote for members of Parliament, but were not allowed to be elected to Parliament—a measure that could do but little good.

589. France and Ireland, 1796; Irish Rebellion, 1798. — That the United Irishmen should make overtures to France, and that France should see in Ireland a chance to injure England, was a legitimate result of the state of affairs. In 1796, after the news of the coalition between England, Austria, and Prussia, the French Directory prepared to invade Ireland with 25,000 men under

¹ Others were the Alien Bill, requiring all foreigners to state their business and to be registered; the Traitorous Correspondence Bill, extending and defining the law of treason; and the Seditious Meetings Bill.

² So called because at first it was the purpose to unite both Catholics and Protestants in the movement.

³ So called after William of Orange.

General Hoche. The expedition started and some vessels reached Bantry Bay, but owing to severe storms the attempt was a failure. Troubles arose in the north of Ireland between the Orangemen and Catholics, and the latter were severely treated by the govern-

SACKVILLE STREET, DUBLIN, IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

ment troops, torture even being used to discover where arms were concealed.

In 1798 there was actual rebellion, and for some time a reign of terror existed in the island. The Protestant victors inflicted upon the insurgents atrocities too terrible to describe.

590. The Union of England and Ireland. 1800. — Pitt now came to the conclusion that the only way to keep the peace was to unite Ireland and England under one government. But by the agreement of 1782 this could not be done unless the Irish Parliament was willing to vote its own dissolution. The means taken to accomplish this did not seem out of the way in the eighteenth century. There were in Ireland, as in England, boroughs returning members to Parliament which were controlled

by some rich man or noble.¹ Therefore, to gain a majority in the Parliament, the English government bought seats of the owners, bestowed titles of nobility where it was thought they would be useful, gave pensions, and, to some extent, used direct bribery. By this means the Irish Parliament in 1800 was brought to approve of a scheme of union which was accepted by the English Parliament and received the royal approval (August 2, 1800).

591. Terms of the Irish Union ; Resignation of Pitt, 1801.—The union went into effect on January 1, 1801. The Irish Parliament was abolished and the people of Ireland were to be represented in the British Parliament by 100 members in the House of Commons, and by thirty-two Irish representative peers² in the Lords. These were chosen for life by the body of the Irish nobles. The crown, moreover, was not to increase the number of Irish peers by the creation of new peerages. There was to be freedom of trade between Great Britain and Ireland, but the law courts and the executive departments of government were separate.

The Catholics took no active part in these arrangements and their interests were not directly looked after.³ It was, however, understood that something would be done for them. Pitt intended to give them representation in Parliament and other rights, and immediately after the Act of Union took steps in this direction. That nothing was done was due to the bigotry and obstinacy of George III, who held that to grant privileges to Catholics would violate his coronation oath. When Pitt found that persistence was useless, he resigned his post as prime minister (March, 1801). Had he been successful in carrying his measures, much, if not all, of the trouble of succeeding years would doubtless have been

¹ It is stated that out of 300 members of the Irish House 188 were nominated by 88 individuals in boroughs where nomination meant election.

² The number was made up by four Irish Episcopal bishops and twenty-eight lay peers.

³ There can be little doubt that had the Catholics united against the Union it could not have been carried. Some advocated, some opposed, more were neutral. They believed they had less to fear from an imperial Parliament than from an Irish Protestant one.

avoided, and the Irish question might have had a peaceful solution more than a century ago.

A new great seal and royal banner were adopted; the Irish cross was added to the Union Jack; the words King of France were dropped from the royal title, which became King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.¹

592. Peace of Amiens. 1802.—The battle of Copenhagen withdrew Denmark from the armed neutrality, the Czar Paul was assassinated (1801), and his successor, Alexander I, made peace with England, so as England

THE UNION JACK AFTER THE
UNION WITH IRELAND

was supreme at sea there was little to fight about. A peace was therefore concluded between France, England, Spain, and Holland by the Treaty of Amiens (March, 1802). England retained Ceylon, but otherwise gained little by the war so far as territory was concerned.

593. Schemes of Bonaparte; War Renewed, 1803.—Bonaparte after the Treaty of Amiens apparently attempted to regain for France the colonial empire she had lost in 1763 (§ 551). With this in view he sent an expedition to Haiti to make it a base for operations in the West; he planned an American colonial empire in Louisiana, demanding of Spain that she should transfer that territory to France, which was done secretly; he sent an expedition to India to see what could be accomplished there; and he even seems to have had designs on Australia. All these plans came to naught. The failure of the Haiti expedition was fatal to his Louisiana project, and rather than let that territory fall into the hands of England, as, from her control of the sea, it was practically sure to do, he sold it to the United States (1803).

By the Treaty of Amiens the island of Malta was to be restored to

¹ The population of Ireland in 1801 was 4,500,000 and that of Great Britain 10,500,000; in 1911 that of Ireland was 4,381,951 and of Great Britain 40,834,714.

the Knights of St. John, its former owners ; but England, fearful that Bonaparte might make it a base for future operations against Egypt, proposed to hold it for ten years, and then restore it to the Knights. Bonaparte made this a pretext to declare war against England, and several thousand British citizens who were visiting France were seized because of an attack by the English on some French shipping and were put in prison.¹ In little more than a year, therefore, after the Treaty of Amiens, war began again (May, 1803).

594. Justification of the War. — The war lasted until 1814. How far it was justified, even on general principles of military and political expediency, has been with many a matter of question. One now can scarcely doubt that the English course was unwise ; a steady policy of neutrality and peace would have been far better for England in every way, and would at least have been justifiable on her part. The war which followed brought upon her great losses and heavy burdens. The main object of the war was undoubtedly to maintain the balance of power in Europe, and, nominally, to protect the liberties of Europe against the encroachments of a usurper — Napoleon Bonaparte. That the people on the Continent did not feel that there was likely to be any special addition to their burdens should the French despot succeed, is evident from the comparative apathy with which they accepted his rule whenever they came under it.

In Great Britain the whole nation was united against Napoleon, and when an invasion seemed imminent, 300,000 volunteers promptly offered themselves to protect their country. Still, had it not been for the twenty miles of sea between Dover and Calais, it might have gone hard with Great Britain. While there is no reason to suppose that Napoleon could ever have really conquered England, he might have been able to inflict upon her terrible losses.

¹ The number is said to have been as high as 12,000, none of whom were allowed to return to England.

595. Bonaparte's Further Schemes. — Meantime Bonaparte was collecting a large army at Boulogne for the invasion of England and preparing a fleet to carry his army across the Channel. He stirred up an attempt at rebellion in Ireland under Robert Emmet, which only resulted in a riot at Dublin. Emmet was taken and hanged. An attempt to injure the English power in India by inciting the natives to rebellion and attack was fairly successful, especially among the Mahrattas. But the English were able, not only to overcome all resistance, but also to increase the territory under English rule and influence.

596. Pitt again Prime Minister. 1804. — The need of a strong man at the helm was clear. Addington resigned (1804), and Pitt became for the second time prime minister, though his health was insufficient to stand such a heavy strain. Vigor was soon imparted to the cabinet, and a new coalition was formed against Bonaparte, composed of Russia, Austria, and Sweden with England.

597. Napoleon Emperor, 1804; French Victories of Ulm and Austerlitz, 1805. — Napoleon, who had himself created Emperor (September 2, 1804), aware of the hostile attitude of Austria and Russia and of the coalition which Pitt had formed, determined to crush Austria before she had time to unite with Russia. Breaking up his great camp at Boulogne, he transferred his army with amazing rapidity to Germany, forced an Austrian army at Ulm to capitulate (October 19, 1805), and hastened to meet another army which was composed of Austrians and Russians. This he did at Austerlitz, a battle which was one of his greatest victories (December 2, 1805).

598. Trafalgar, 1805; French Success, 1805-1807. — Nelson, who had recently returned from an expedition to the West Indies, offered his services for an attack upon the French and Spanish fleets. They were accepted, and on the 21st of October, 1805, he met the enemy off Cape Trafalgar, not far from Gibraltar, and won the sea fight of Trafalgar, perhaps the most noted naval

victory in British annals. Nelson himself was mortally wounded in the action, but lived to know of his great victory.¹ This defeat destroyed the French hopes of naval supremacy, and removed from the English all fear of an invasion.

By his victories of Ulm and Austerlitz, Napoleon was able to

dictate terms to Austria in the Treaty of Pressburg. From this time the ambition of Napoleon knew no limits, and he determined to be the dictator and autocrat of Europe. He set up dependent kingdoms around France, putting on the thrones members of his own family, or uniting small states in confederations which would be subservient to his will, a policy which by breaking national tradition tended to unite all Europe against him. In various cam-

LORD NELSON

paings he forced Prussia to make peace (1806), and also Russia (1807). He was master of the Continent; England alone withstood him, and by her command of the seas continually menaced his power.

599. Death of Pitt; "Ministry of All the Talents," 1806. — England's great minister, William Pitt, worn out by ill health and anxiety, died (January 23, 1806), having been in office less than two years. He was succeeded by a combination ministry, which on account of its character was called the "Ministry of All the Talents," in which Charles James Fox was secretary of state. Fox, though a former admirer of Napoleon, and favoring peace, had to yield to the war spirit, but, before he could accomplish

¹ It was at the beginning of this conflict that Nelson hoisted his famous signal, "England expects every man to do his duty."

much, he died in September, 1806, the last thing he did being to pledge the government to pass an act abolishing the slave trade. This was done in the next year (1807).

600. Catholic Relief Bill Fails ; Ministry Resign, 1807. — By the Act of Union the English and Irish armies had been made one, and the privileges of the Irish Catholics to hold offices as high as that of colonel had been granted. It was the desire of the ministry to open all positions in the army and navy to Catholics and Dissenters, and a bill to this effect had been prepared ; but George III refused his sanction, and the ministry gave way, but recorded their approval of such a bill and their right to advise the king at any time in regard to it. The king then demanded that they should agree not to advise him at any time in the future, but they refused and then resigned. After the peace between Russia and Napoleon, a naval expedition was sent to Denmark, though it was a neutral state, and it was successful in capturing the Danish fleet and in securing the small island of Heligoland¹ at the mouth of the river Elbe (1807).

601. Berlin and Milan Decrees ; Orders in Council, 1806–1807. — Napoleon resolved to attack England through her commerce. As he controlled the greater part of Europe he could inflict great damage on her commercial supremacy by shutting out her goods. This policy already employed was extended by his Berlin Decree (May 19, 1806), in which he declared that the British Isles were in a state of blockade, and that any ship, no matter of what country, which attempted to enter them would be seized. This was called the Continental System. Great Britain replied to this threat by her Orders in Council (January 7, 1807), in which she declared the ports of France and her allies blockaded, and also required vessels of neutral nations to call at an English port and get leave to enter any blockaded port.

England, finding that Napoleon was putting his Decree in force,

¹ This little island was held by the British until 1890, when it was transferred to Germany for certain concessions in South Africa.

issued a second set of Orders in Council more stringent than the first. To this Napoleon replied by his Milan Decrees (November 23, December 17, 1807), threatening to seize any neutral ship which should obey the Orders in Council. Severe as was the injury inflicted on Great Britain by the Continental System, that incurred by France was far greater, for she and her allies were greatly in want of the goods which at this time only Great Britain could furnish in needed quantities. By this policy Napoleon alienated nearly the whole Continent, for it was not only obviously selfish, but it also vastly increased the cost of living, thus affecting people of every rank.

602. Portugal and Spain. 1807-1808.—In pursuance of Napoleon's policy of conquest, a French army sent to reduce Portugal to submission was successful, and the royal family fled to the Portuguese colony of Brazil (1807). The king of Spain, a worthless man, quarreled with his son. On an appeal to Napoleon, he drove both of them away and put his own brother Joseph on the throne. This was a blunder possibly worse than that of the Continental System.

England sent an army into Portugal under Sir Arthur Wellesley (later Duke of Wellington), recently returned from his successes in India. Wellesley defeated the French, who for a few months lost control of both Spain and Portugal.

603. Peninsular War, 1809-1814; Fall of Napoleon, 1814.—Once more Wellesley was sent to the Peninsula (1809) and for five years waged a slow but sure warfare against the French in Spain and Portugal. Napoleon himself came to Spain, but trouble in Austria took him away. In 1810 Russia broke with him, but, gathering a grand army, he set out for the conquest of that country. As in Spain, national opposition was aroused, and this, added to the severity of the winter, defeated him. He retired with but a wreck of his grand army. In 1813 all Germany rose against Napoleon, and after a severe three days' battle at Leipzig (October 16-18, 1813) he was defeated. The allies followed

his retreat to France, and he was forced to abdicate his throne (April 6, 1814). He was sent to the island of Elba in the Mediterranean. By the First Treaty of Paris (1814), Louis XVIII, brother of Louis XVI, was put on the French throne and the Bourbons were thus restored (May 3, 1814). In accordance with the treaty also, a

EUROPE IN 1821, AT THE HEIGHT OF NAPOLEON'S POWER

congress representing the allied powers was appointed to be held at Vienna to settle the affairs of Europe.

604. English Aggressions. — Meantime England cannot be held guiltless of acts of aggression. The only palliation for these acts is the extraordinary state of affairs. Her questionable attack upon Denmark has already been referred to (§ 600). Her treatment of the neutral powers was unjust and overbearing, and was carried out only by reason of her great naval strength. She forbade all direct trade with France or any part of the Continent she claimed, and exercised the right to search any neutral vessel for contraband goods and for deserters from the British navy.

605. War with United States. — The British claim of the right to search vessels, and to impress sailors, led to war with the United States. In 1812 that country declared war against Great Britain, and a conflict both by sea and land ensued, the greater part of which from a military point of view was not creditable to either side. At sea the few vessels of the United States at first inflicted naval losses and damages such as England had rarely known, but, owing to the smallness of the American navy, were not able to continue their victories, or even to protect their coast from blockade.¹ The ill fortune of the Americans on land was redeemed by the single victory of Andrew Jackson at New Orleans (January 8, 1815); and that was after peace had been declared in Europe, though news of it had not reached America. While the English had done comparatively little with their armies, their burning of the public buildings at Washington (1814) long rankled in the minds of the Americans.² Had there been a little more wisdom on each side, and less precipitation on the part of the Americans, war would have been avoided. In the treaty which followed (Treaty of Ghent, December 24, 1814) the chief occasion of the war — impressment of American sailors — was not mentioned. The reason for this was that owing to the close of the continental wars there would be no need for impressment. There has been peace between Great Britain and the United States ever since. There is no other dividing line between two nations so long as that between Canada and the United States, on which no hostile forts or fortifications are to be found, or have been found for a century.

606. Congress of Vienna, 1814; "The Hundred Days"; Banishment of Napoleon, 1815. — The Congress of Vienna (§ 603)

¹ The losses of the British by reason of the American privateers were also very great.

² The British claimed that the burning by the Americans of York (now Toronto), Canada, justified the burning of Washington. The cases, however, were not similar; the former was unauthorized, the latter (Washington) was ordered by the British government. (See Green, *Short History*, chap x, § 4.)

proceeded to rearrange and settle the affairs of Europe. It should be noted that in this matter the sovereigns alone were considered, while the cause of the people was ignored. That this contempt of popular rights caused the subsequent revolutions and excesses in Europe can hardly be questioned. The lessons of the French Revolution had yet to be learned by the rulers of continental Europe. While the Congress was in session, the delegates were startled to hear that Napoleon had left Elba, had reached France (March 1, 1815), gathered an army, and had reached Paris, from which Louis XVIII had fled, and had entered the Tuilleries (March 20, 1815). At once armies were collected to put down the rash emperor. Napoleon, following his old tactics of quick action, endeavored to crush his foes singly. He advanced towards the English, Dutch, and German forces under Sir Arthur Wellesley, now Duke of Wellington. The armies met at Waterloo, near Brussels. Victory was almost within the grasp of Napoleon, when Blücher, the Prussian general, with his troops arrived on the field, and the French were defeated (June 18, 1815).

Napoleon had staked his all and failed; he fell back on Paris, and again abdicated (June 22, 1815). His second reign had lasted just one hundred days. Despairing of escape, he surrendered himself to an English man-of-war. By the decision of the four great powers, Austria, England, Russia, and Prussia, he was sent to the tropical island of St. Helena in the Atlantic, a British possession off the coast of Africa, to be kept in a life captivity. There he died, May 5, 1821. In 1840 his body was brought to France and interred in the magnificent mausoleum under the dome of the Church of the Invalides in Paris.

By the Second Treaty of Paris (November, 1815) Louis XVIII was again set upon the French throne.

607. Effects of the War on England. — England now entered upon a period of external peace. For more than twenty years she had been almost continually engaged in an expensive war, a war

which had drained her resources and involved her in a heavy debt. During this war her domestic concerns had suffered severely. As a result large numbers of the population were far from being contented with their condition. A review of the history of the war confirms the opinion.

On the other hand, England had made herself the first naval power in the world ; she had acquired an influential place in the affairs of Europe ; and her colonial empire had been greatly enlarged. From this war dates her possession of Malta, the Ionian Isles, Heligoland, Trinidad, Mauritius, Tobago, Ceylon, and the Cape of Good Hope.¹

References. — Green, *Short History*, chap. x, §§ 3-4; Gardiner, *Student's History*, chaps. 1-liv; Terry, *History*, Part IV, chap. vi; Tout, *Advanced History*, Book VII, chaps. iii, § 32-v; Macaulay, *Essays, Warren Hastings*; Traill, *Social England*, vol. V, chaps. xix-xx; Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, §§ 256-259; Cheney, *Readings*, chap. xviii, §§ v-vi; Colby, *Selections*, §§ 103-105, 107-115; Kendall, *Source-Book*, §§ 123-127; Lee, *Source-Book*, §§ 202-208.

¹ The Ionian Isles were ceded to Greece in 1864, and Heligoland to Germany in 1890.

CHAPTER XXVII

ERA OF REFORM

608. Political and Economic Conditions in England. — England had seldom needed wise men at the helm of government more than in 1815. The policy of the Tories, who were in control, was to let things alone as far as possible. The prime minister, Lord Liverpool, was a man of considerable ability, as is shown by the fact that his administration of fifteen years (1812–1827) ranks next in length of service to those of Walpole and the younger Pitt.

George III had become permanently insane in 1810, and his son George had been appointed Prince Regent. Affiliating with the Whigs when simply Prince of Wales, he now allied himself with the Tories and became an advocate of the prerogatives of the crown. But by his vicious private life he had forfeited the respect of all parties.

The wealthier classes in England as a rule had little sympathy with the lower classes. Owing to pressure of taxation, the heavy duties on grain, and the disordered conditions of labor, partly the result of the Industrial Revolution, there was widespread and genuine distress, to relieve which little or no attempt was made by the government, or by Parliament, in which the working classes were unrepresented. An uprising like the French Revolution was greatly feared, and it was believed that only force could prevent it. It was to be expected that riots would occur. One of these, in 1816 near London, was put down by troops; the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended by Parliament and public discussion of the political situation in meetings or in the press was forbidden. A public meeting held in Manchester to protest against the action of the government was dispersed by a body of cavalry (1819), and the government was so alarmed that Parliament passed a series of

measures known as the Six Acts or "Gag Laws," greatly restricting the right of public meetings.

The government was equally ill advised in regard to economic questions. A striking evidence of this was the passage in 1815 of a law in the interest of the great landowners, which forbade the importation of grain until the price was 80 shillings a quarter (480 lbs.). This made it quite impossible for the poor to buy flour, for there was a great scarcity of grain in the country. About the same time the income tax, a burden which fell only on the well-to-do classes, was removed.

609. Death of George III; George IV. — The poor old king, deaf, blind, decrepit, and insane, died in 1820, and was succeeded by George IV, whose character has been already indicated. He had married Caroline of Brunswick in 1795, but a separation had soon taken place; their only child, the Princess Charlotte, had died in 1817. When George ascended the throne Caroline came back to England to claim her rights as queen, and attempting to be present at the coronation (1821), she was thrust out by the king's orders. The next month she died. The result of the affair was to lower the king still further in public opinion.

610. Cabinet Changes; Canning; Huskisson; Peel. — Even among the Tories there were many men who believed in moderate and gradual reform. Among them were George Canning, a disciple of Pitt, Sir Robert Peel, and Huskisson. Lord Liverpool, the prime minister, realizing the necessity of recognizing this new element, when opportunity offered, made Canning foreign secretary, Huskisson president of the board of trade, an office for which he was well qualified, and Sir Robert Peel home secretary.

611. Sir Robert Peel. — Sir Robert Peel, the son of a Lancashire manufacturer, was a man of great ability with a clear head for business. He was earnestly desirous to remedy social abuses. The medieval custom of severe penalties for trivial offenses still prevailed, and the penalty of death was prescribed for more than two hundred offenses — among them

were such slight things as injuring Westminster Bridge, appearing with a blackened face on the public highway, and all thefts, even petty larceny. Such severe penalties were so revolting to the public sense of justice that, rather than find men guilty, juries would acquit in the face of the clearest evidence. Through the efforts of Peel the death penalty was abolished for more than one hundred crimes,¹ and "before he left office in 1827 nearly three hundred acts relating to the criminal law had been wholly or partially repealed, and such of their provisions as were still retained had been consolidated in eight new statutes."

SIR ROBERT PEELE

After the portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence

While all the credit for this revolution in the criminal law of England cannot be given to Peel, yet without his support it could not have been accomplished. To Peel also is due the reform of the police force in London, making it the best in the world.

612. William Huskisson, George Canning.—To Huskisson, also, great praise is due. He was the best economist of his day in public life and his clearness of perception brought about important reforms. He modified the navigation laws, and carried through Parliament an act by which the government was authorized to make treaties with foreign nations by which freedom of trade would be given in

¹ He was not, however, the first Englishman to make such a reformation. William Penn, one hundred and fifty years earlier, in his code for Pennsylvania, had abolished the death penalty except for treason and murder.

return for similar privileges. This was known as the principle of reciprocity, so much followed in later years, and still of the greatest importance in international affairs. He also secured the reduction of many customs duties, and, under certain conditions, allowed the formation of trade-unions, which had before been absolutely prohibited. George Canning deserves much credit for his conduct of the Foreign Office.

613. Holy Alliance, 1815.—After the settlement of European affairs in 1815 the one aim of the monarchs was to suppress any popular movement towards liberty. An agreement, called the Holy Alliance, had been entered into by Austria, Prussia, and Russia (1815). The object of this was, nominally, to support and carry out the principles of the Christian religion in all national and international affairs. The sovereigns were to consider themselves the fathers of their subjects, a position to which they were delegated by Providence; this implied that they knew altogether what was best for their subjects.

Whatever may have been in the mind of the Emperor Alexander of Russia, who is said to have been the author of this scheme, the result was that it became on the continent of Europe an instrument for crushing any steps toward liberalism. Canning showed conclusively his disapproval of the principles of the Holy Alliance, and declared his position to be that of non-interference in the domestic concerns of other nations. At the same time he recognized the new Spanish-American republics in America and sent out British consuls. In this matter he worked with the United States, and it was certainly with his knowledge and approval that the famous Monroe Doctrine of the United States was announced.¹

¹ "An undue share of credit has been assigned to Mr. Canning for the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine. Canning's proposal went no farther than a protest against the transfer of any of the colonies to other powers." Canning was not fond of republican institutions, and it must be confessed that in this case it was not so much to aid the cause of freedom, as to increase British trade, and from jealousy of France, that Canning took the course he did.

614. Catholic Emancipation, 1829; Repeal of Test Acts, 1828. — The great question now before England was "Catholic emancipation," or the admission of the Catholics to seats in Parliament. Catholic emancipation had been brought before Parliament almost every year since 1775, and had been a rock of danger to almost every administration. As a preliminary measure, on the motion of Lord John Russell, the old Test and Corporation Acts (§§ 437, 451), though annulled every year by indemnity acts, were finally repealed.

Just at this time Daniel O'Connell, an Irishman and a Catholic, offered himself for a vacant seat in Ireland and was elected. O'Connell was an active agitator in favor of emancipation, a great orator, and a man of almost unbounded influence over his countrymen. If he were rejected by the Commons, there would be serious risk of a rebellion in Ireland. The situation was grave; George IV was as much opposed to granting emancipation as George III had been; the House of Lords was hostile, and a very large proportion of the people looked upon it with no favor. Through the influence of Peel a Catholic Emancipation Bill was passed by a large majority in the House of Commons and by one almost equally large in the Lords (April, 1829). O'Connell submitted to another election, in which he was returned without opposition and took his seat in Parliament. The act, however, was accompanied by another one, somewhat restricting the suffrage in Ireland. The oath which members of Parliament had been required to take was modified, the most important alteration being that it now read "on the true faith of Christian"; this of course prevented Jews from sitting in Parliament.¹

615. Death of George IV; William IV, 1830. — George IV died in June, 1830, regretted by no one except his favorites. He was succeeded by his next younger brother, William, Duke of Clarence. William IV was a commonplace man of whom not very much was known; he was good-natured, simple in his life,

¹ This privilege was not granted to the Jews until 1858.

and undignified. He had chosen the sea for his profession and so has been called the "Sailor King," but with little justice, for he was on shore forty years. He was sixty-five years old at his accession, and he and his wife, Adelaide, had no children. He was fond of going about unattended, and was generally so eccentric that some thought he had inherited his father's insanity. He was popular, and was supposed to be in favor of reform.

616. Revolutions in Europe. 1830.—William IV came to the throne at a critical period. The Holy Alliance (§ 613), so far from stemming the current of political liberty by its system of repression, only strengthened the course of the stream. The era of Napoleon had been followed by a period of reaction; but very soon there was a strong movement in favor of democracy, and all over Europe the year 1830 was a year of unrest or revolution. In France the Bourbon king, Charles X, was overthrown and the "Bourgeoise king," Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, a constitutional monarch, put in his place; the Netherlands, which had been established in 1815 by the Congress of Vienna (§ 606), were divided, the southern or Catholic portion revolting from the Protestant Dutch, and so leading to the founding of the Catholic kingdom of Belgium. Germany and Italy were alike in a turmoil, and the agitation extended to England.

617. Parliamentary Reform. 1830.—Parliamentary reform, like Catholic emancipation, was no new thing; it had been proposed from time to time ever since the days of Chatham. The strong opposition of the great landholders of the aristocratic class, the long Napoleonic wars, and the extravagant demands of the radical reformers, all worked together to delay reform. Now, however, affairs on the Continent and the ill-advised words and speeches of the strict Tories brought the matter to an issue.

618. Need of Reform.—It needs but a few examples to show the need of reform. The parliamentary districts had not been changed for hundreds of years, and, while in the beginning they were doubtless tolerably fair, they had become in the process of

time grossly unjust. Owing to natural causes population had shifted greatly: places which had been populous had become almost devoid of inhabitants; while other places, mere hamlets in the past, had become centers of large and growing population. Old Sarum, which the elder Pitt represented (§ 542), had now no inhabitants, and yet returned two members nominated and elected by the owner of the land; Bosseney sent two members chosen by nine electors; Gatton had seven voters; Michelle had five. On the other hand, such large cities as Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester, and Sheffield had no representation at all, neither had the populous suburbs of London. The House of Commons was made up of members from boroughs and counties, and five representatives from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. When the system was devised, the bulk of the population was in the southern counties, and these now had about as many representatives as the far more thickly populated central and northern counties put together. Nor was this all: the borough members in particular were often not representative of the people, but were nominees of the nobility, or of rich landed gentry, or of the government for the time being.¹

In the course of time something had been done; a few "rotten" boroughs had been disfranchised, and laws had been passed against bribery and corruption, but that was all. Still other evils existed; the polls were kept open for several days, in one case for six weeks, and the voting was *viva voce*, a system which encouraged bribery and corruption.

The condition of affairs was even worse in Scotland than it was in England, and Ireland was little if any better.

619. Struggle in Parliament. 1831-1832.—Reform Unions had been established all over the country, and the popular demand for the reformation of Parliament was so strong that the Whig min-

¹ These boroughs were divided into "pocket" boroughs, or those, as it were, carried in the pocket of the great landowner, whose tenants voted as he directed them, and "rotten" boroughs, or those where there were so few voters that they could not really be considered boroughs at all.

istry, which had assumed office, 1830, were compelled to offer a Reform Bill. The first reform bill was brought in by Lord John Russell¹ in March, 1831. It failed to pass the House, but, feeling sure of their position, the ministry dissolved Parliament and ordered a new election. Notwithstanding the condition of the electorate, a large majority of reformers was returned and a second reform bill was passed, but was rejected by the House of Lords. At once serious riots took place in many parts of the country, which so influenced the Lords that they passed a third reform bill to its second reading (May, 1832). The Lords now tried to evade the issue by postponing measures; but the ministry were resolved to put the matter through, and called upon the king to create enough peers to pass the bill, as had been done in 1711 in the reign of Anne (§ 517). The king refused and the ministry resigned. The king now called upon Wellington to form a Tory ministry, which he found impossible to do. Earl Grey was recalled, and the king gave his written promise to create, if needful, enough peers to pass the bill.² On this, rather than be swamped with new liberal peers, Wellington persuaded enough of his fellow-lords to absent themselves from the House,³ and the bill was passed in their absence by a majority of eighty-four (June 4, 1832) and received the royal assent, June 7, 1832.

620. Importance and Results of Reform Bill of 1832. — The history of this important measure explains how it was that England escaped the terrible revolutions which took place on the Continent, notwithstanding her people were profoundly influenced by them. The ruling classes on the Continent believed that force was the only way to end popular uprisings; but the use of armed

¹ He was at this time only an Irish peer, and so was able to sit in the Commons.

² The exact wording was, "The King grants permission to Earl Grey and his Chancellor, Lord Brougham, to create such numbers of Peers as will be sufficient to insure the passing of the Reform Bill, first calling up Peers' eldest sons. Signed William R. 1832." The words were written by Lord Brougham (see § 693, 1911).

³ King William himself sent a circular letter to about one hundred Tory peers, asking them to absent themselves from the House.

force resulted, as it almost always must do, in the use of more force. In England, on the contrary, the rulers resisted up to a certain point, but when they found that popular sentiment was determined, at last, though sometimes late, they gave way, either to complete reform or to a compromise which would be accepted.

GEORGE SQUARE, GLASGOW, SCOTLAND

Showing statues of John Knox, King William III, the Duke of Wellington,
Queen Victoria, and many others

Reform bills were also passed for Scotland and Ireland, embodying similar principles. The great result of the Reform Bill was to give the franchise for the House of Commons to the middle classes. It required a property qualification for voters and made the qualifications uniform throughout the kingdom, it established a system of registration, and it restricted the time of voting to two days. It increased the number of voters fifty per cent. There was also a complete redistribution of the seats of members. "Rotten" and "pocket" boroughs were done away with, and the seats given to those districts which had been without representation, while other boroughs had their representation reduced.

In this way the populous manufacturing and commercial districts of the country acquired a rightful voice in legislation, and from this time public opinion had a direct voice in the affairs of the nation as it had never had before. England was no longer ruled exclusively by the aristocratic and large landholding classes, great as their influence continued to be. The bill, however, to modern eyes was a very moderate measure, for though it enfranchised the middle classes, it did nothing directly for the agricultural or industrial classes.

The new Parliament chosen under the Reform Bill was overwhelmingly "Liberal," by which name the reformers began to be called.¹

Parliament met in 1833 and immediately took up the question of reform in other directions. In the same year (1833) was passed the Emancipation Act, which liberated all slaves in the British dominions, and granted the owners of them £20,000,000 compensation. The act was to come into full force in 1838, at which time about 800,000 slaves were set free.²

In 1834 a new Poor Law was passed, remedying in many ways the antiquated and injurious legislation in force. Still another act was passed (1834) to check the evil arising from the employment of children in factories and mills. This act, while falling very far short of full relief, was a step in the right direction and did much to check overwork.³

¹ The majority was composed of many elements, and the actual working majority is difficult to estimate. The Liberal members have been taken at 486, the Tory at 172; this would nominally give the Liberals a majority of 314, the largest any government has had in English history, until that of the Liberals in 1906, which was 358.

² Large as was the compensation and careful as were the provisions of the act, the owners probably did not receive as much as half their immediate and entailed loss.

³ In 1800 children of seven years old and upward were often compelled to work twelve or fourteen hours a day. Only by persistent effort had the limit been reduced in 1816 to twelve hours. The opposition had been mainly in the House of Lords. Later also, through the efforts of Ashley, afterwards known as Lord Shaftesbury, a commission was appointed to investigate the condition of women and children employed in the coal mines. A horrible state of affairs was revealed, which led to stringent restrictive legislation.

621. Strikes and Trade-unions ; Irish Affairs. 1833. — The country was greatly disturbed by strikes and the demonstrations of the trade-unions, but, as so often, Irish affairs claimed the closer attention of the government. The chief Irish grievance was the fact that every one had to give tithes for the support of the Church of England, which by law was the established church of Ireland, though less than one fourteenth of the population of Ireland at that time were Protestants. The payment of tithes was often refused, and collectors were not unfrequently seriously maltreated and sometimes even murdered. A coercion act was passed in Parliament and the trouble was sternly and severely put down.

622. More Reforms ; Reaction ; Change of Ministry. 1834–1835. — Another important act (1833) was that ending the monopoly of the East India Company and throwing open the commerce of China to all.¹ Still another act introduced desirable changes in certain law courts. All these, and other measures, were accomplished by the Reform Parliament ; but, as usual after radical changes of party and in legislation, there came a period of reaction. No reform can be set on foot and accomplished without injuring some one, and often a larger number than is expected. Again radical reformers are always irritated because reforms are not carried farther. So before a year elapsed the power of the great majority began to grow less, and even in the government itself serious differences of opinion manifested themselves.

In 1834 after several changes in the ministry Sir Robert Peel again came into office. Among the members of his administration was a young man of twenty-five who had entered the Reform Parliament as a Tory, William Ewart Gladstone, who thus early took a prominent place in that body of which he was to become one of the most distinguished members.²

¹ Trade with India had been made free in 1813.

² Gladstone was elected for Newark in 1832, and with the exception of a few months in 1846, remained a member till his death in 1895.

623. Municipal Corporations Act, 1835; Death of William. 1837. — An important measure of reform passed in 1835 was the Municipal Corporations Act (1835). The mayors and town councils of towns and cities in England had been chosen in a great variety of ways, but generally the members were self-elected and

GUILDHALL, THE COUNCIL HALL OF LONDON
Founded in 1411; restored after the fire of 1666

often sat for life. A commission appointed to investigate the matter had revealed a vast amount of corruption, showing that conditions were quite as bad as had been the case in the old parliamentary boroughs. A new bill required that all municipal corporations should be chosen in accordance with a uniform law which made them representative bodies.¹

King William IV died on June 20, 1837, seventy-two years old. He had made a fairly successful ruler and deserves more credit

¹ By the new act the governing body was a town council consisting of a mayor, aldermen, and councilors. The ratepayers (taxpayers) elected the councilors, who from their own number chose the aldermen and the mayor.

than he usually gets for his support of the reform movements. The seven years of his reign were more fruitful in reforms than all the sixty years during which George III occupied the throne of England.¹

References. — Gardiner, *Student's History*, chaps. lv-lvii, § 9; Terry, *History*, Part IV, chap. vii, pp. 976-999; Tout, *Advanced History*, Book VIII, chaps. i-ii; Traill, *Social England*, vol. VI, chap. xxi; Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, §§ 260-265; Cheyney, *Readings*, chap. xix, §§ i-iv; Colby, *Selections*, §§ 113-117; Kendall, *Source-Book*, §§ 128-130, 139; Lee, *Source-Book*, §§ 209-220.

¹ The chief of these reforms, which, however, in part belong to the reign of George IV, deserve to be summarized Corporation Act (1661) and Test Act (1673) repealed (1828); Catholic Relief Act (1829); Parliamentary Reform Act (1832); Municipal Reform Act for Scotland (1833), and for England (1835); Abolition of Slavery (1833); Regulation of Work of Women and Children in Factories (1833); New Poor Law (1834); Reformation of Criminal Code (1820); Reformation of Currency (1823); Grant for Public Education for Ireland (1831), and for England (1833); Stamp Duty on Newspapers greatly reduced (1836); several acts removing restrictions on labor.

CHAPTER XXVIII

ERA OF REFORM AND GROWTH OF COLONIAL EMPIRE

624. Victoria. 1837. — As King William and Queen Adelaide left no children, the crown descended to the young daughter of Edward, Duke of Kent, the fourth son of George III. Her father, who married late in life, had died in 1820. Victoria was his only child. Born on May 24, 1819, she was just eighteen. She had been carefully brought up by her mother in great privacy.¹ What is known as the Salic law, which excludes women from a throne, prevailed in Hanover, hence that monarchy was separated from the British crown, and the next surviving son of George III, Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, succeeded to the rule of Hanover. It was a most fortunate circumstance for England thus without friction to be set free from what might at any time cause dangerous entanglement with continental affairs.²

625. Transition Period; Marriage of Victoria. 1840. — The reign of Victoria, the longest in British annals, is also one of the most remarkable. It was a time of transition from the rule of aristocracy to that of democracy, a time of experiment in almost every field of human interest, a period of unexampled advance in material invention and material prosperity. During this reign England became truly a constitutional monarchy — that is, a monarchy in which the people rule, and in which the monarch exercises a restraining or regulating influence rather than a controlling one.

Up to the reign of Victoria the monarch claimed the right to

¹ Sir Walter Scott, who dined with the Duchess of Kent in May, 1828, afterwards wrote in his diary, "This little lady is educated with much care and watched so closely that no busy maid has a moment to whisper, 'You are heir of England.'"

² It was also fortunate for England that she had no Salic law, because the Duke of Cumberland, the heir next to Victoria, was highly unpopular, and almost without doubt would have made a bad king. Hanover became part of Prussia in 1866.

choose and to dismiss the prime minister, and to influence the choice of his cabinet. Early in her reign Victoria yielded this claim and thenceforward selected as prime minister the man who could command a majority in the House of Commons. The prime minister selects his cabinet, all the members of which are from the party controlling the Commons. If the ministry loses the majority in the Commons, then the whole cabinet resigns. The prime minister stands at the head of the ministry or cabinet, which within constitutional limits governs the kingdom. The influence of the sovereign, however, remains great. Victoria insisted that she should be informed of what was going on, and that after any measure had received the royal sanction it should not be altered or modified without her consent. All these precedents were not adopted at once, but grew up during her reign.

In 1840 the queen married her first cousin, Albert, Prince of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. To his wise, unselfish counsel, and generally tactful bearing the queen owed much of her success. He was created Prince Consort in 1857.¹ Until his death in 1861 he exercised a great though quiet influence in public matters, especially in foreign affairs. As a matter of fact, though it was unofficial, "Prince Albert's position gave him as good a right as the queen to be regarded as the ruler of the British realm."

From the very first the young queen showed remarkable self-possession, tact, prudence, good judgment, and a very strong sense of the seriousness and responsibility of her position.

626. General Conditions at the Accession of Victoria. 1837. — According to the custom prevailing at that period, Parliament had been dissolved at the accession of the new monarch, and a new one elected. The Whigs retained the majority, but the Tories,² or,

¹ He was strictly speaking, Duke of Saxony, Prince of Coburg and Gotha. The family name of the Georges was Guelph; that of Prince Albert was Wettin, which is now the surname of the English royal family.

² The term Conservative had been used since about 1824, but sparingly. The term Tory did not wholly go out of use, and many Liberals even yet like to call their Conservative opponents "Tories."

as they now began to call themselves, the "Conservatives," had increased their numbers.

The condition of political and social affairs at the accession of Victoria was by no means satisfactory. The Irish, under the lead of Daniel O'Connell, were demanding the repeal of the Act of Union (§§ 590, 591). As the votes of the Irish members of Parliament were valuable to the ministry, an effort was made at conciliation in the passage of a better Poor Law, and by an Irish Tithe Act which changed the tithe of the produce of the land, which was the tax for the support of the Established Church, into a permanent rent charge in money, payable by the landlords (1838).¹

There was serious trouble in India; and in Jamaica, resulting from the emancipation of the slaves; and there was actual rebellion in Canada.

627. Canada. 1839–1841.—Canada, in accordance with a plan devised by Pitt,² had been divided into two independent provinces, Upper and Lower Canada. Upper Canada was almost wholly peopled by British colonists, while Lower Canada was almost exclusively French. The system of rule which had been adopted opened the way for bad government. In Lower Canada the French disliked extremely the ways and actions of the British settlers who came among them. In each province there were grievances needing redress, chiefly that the legislative assemblies had no real power.

Lord Durham, one of the ablest men in the Liberal party, was sent out to settle matters. Lord Durham, however, was not a skilful administrator, and when the ministry rejected one of his ordinances he resigned. But though he was unsuccessful in administration, his report on the condition of Canada was so clear and convincing that many of his ideas were embodied in the new scheme of government adopted for Canada. By this the

¹ A somewhat similar bill for England had been passed in 1836. An Irish Tithe Act passed in 1835, and another in 1836, had been rejected by the House of Lords.

² Adopted in 1791.

two colonies were united under one government with a legislative assembly having some control over the executive (1839-1841); so that in local matters the colonies had practically self-government.¹

628. Chartism.—The country had not yet adjusted itself to the new conditions brought about by the Industrial Revolution (§ 566). The upper classes held firmly to the principle of protection, and in consequence of the laws restricting the importation of grain, bread was so costly that thousands were unable to buy it. Wages were low, and there was still among the working classes widespread opposition to the extended use of machinery and labor-saving devices. Seldom, if ever, had the English working classes been in a more deplorable condition.

QUEEN VICTORIA IN 1877

Many remedies were proposed for this state of affairs. The most attractive to the working classes was Chartism. This name was taken from a document known as the "People's Charter," which was drawn up to set forth the rights and embody the demands of these classes.

¹ This form of government lasted with but little alteration until superseded by the Dominion of Canada in 1867.

The six chief points of the Charter were (1) universal manhood suffrage ; (2) vote by ballot ; (3) annual Parliaments ; (4) abolition of property qualification for a seat in Parliament ; (5) payment of members of Parliament ; (6) equal electoral districts.

In the great Reform Bill of 1832 no attention had been paid to the interests of the working man, and the " People's Charter " aimed to remedy this evil. Public meetings were held, newspapers and pamphlets published, and later, petitions presented to Parliament. One of these in 1839 was said to have more than a million names signed to it, but Parliament refused even to consider it. When this was known there was rioting in a number of places. Everywhere the movement was met with strong repressive measures, neither the government nor Parliament either sympathizing with the people or apparently understanding the real issues involved. The movement was repressed, but not crushed, as was shown later. Most of the demands of the Chartists have been peacefully granted, though it has taken many years to accomplish it.

629. Anti-corn Law League. 1838. — Still another movement of important results was the Anti-corn-Law League. This also was aimed at bettering the condition of the working classes, but in a way which would enlist the sympathies of the middle classes as well. It was set on foot by political economists and practical business men of great ability. Begun at Manchester, its leaders were Richard Cobden, a manufacturer, of liberal views and wide and accurate information, John Bright, a Quaker, a manufacturer and an orator of the highest class, and Charles Villiers, a member of Parliament. These men claimed that the high price of corn¹ not only injured the working classes but was also detrimental to trade. It was, therefore, the interest of the community that there should be free trade, especially in corn, and that to " buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest " was in accord with true economic principles. By means of public meetings, circula-

¹ Corn is in England the general name for grain, particularly of wheat.

tion of pamphlets, and speeches in and out of Parliament, the supporters kept the matter before the public.

630. Penny Postage. 1839-1840. — In 1839, in response to a strong popular demand, the postal system was reformed, and cheap postage, in accord with a plan proposed in 1837 by Rowland Hill, was adopted. Heretofore letters had been carried at a rate varying according to the number of sheets in a letter, the distance to be carried, and the means of carriage. The rates charged were high, and the result was that comparatively few letters were sent. By the new system a uniform and low rate was charged for letters, the charge varying only with the weight, one half ounce being adopted as the unit; and the franking privileges of the members of Parliament were abolished. The plan was stoutly opposed in Parliament, but the bill was passed. At first there was a serious loss in revenue, but very soon the advantages of the system were recognized, and the number of letters sent became so large that the post office became a source of revenue instead of a loss as it had been. Postage stamps were introduced in 1840.¹

631. Foreign Affairs. 1839-1840. — Lord Palmerston, the foreign minister, managed to bring on a quarrel with France which nearly caused a war with that nation concerning Egypt, because Louis Philippe had encouraged its pasha to seize Syria from Turkey. Alarmed at the prospect of French influence in Egypt, Palmerston formed an alliance with Austria, Prussia, and Russia which brought this plan to an end, and handed Syria over to Turkey. Palmerston cherished the belief that Turkey would reform her government—a vain delusion, as subsequent events showed. The real object, however, of Palmerston, which he steadily pursued for many years to come, was to prevent the advance of Russia, and her control and probable acquisition of the whole or a large part of the Turkish Empire—a policy which led to the support of the half-civilized Ottoman Empire by the western nations in order to

¹ The rate under this new system was at first four pence per half ounce, which was, on and after January 10, 1840, to be reduced to one penny.

maintain the balance of power in Europe ; which brought on the Crimean War ; and which preserved the Ottoman rule in Europe. Shrewdly relying on the selfish attitude of the great powers, every Turkish sultan maintained a system of misgovernment which was a disgrace to modern times.

632. Chinese Policy ; Opium Trade. 1839-1842.— Another small war, not creditable to England, was that with China. China pursued the policy of exclusion from the outside world, and resisted every attempt to extend the trade with western nations. Mistaken as this policy seems, it was one she had a right to follow. A trade had sprung up with the port of Canton, though foreign vessels were not allowed to come to the city itself. Up to 1834 the trade had been confined to the East India Company, but when their monopoly ceased (§ 652), it was open to all comers. One result of this was a vast increase in the smuggling of opium, a drug much used by the Chinese in smoking for its narcotic effect. The evil effects of such practice were well known to the Chinese government, and the importing of opium was rigidly prohibited. The Chinese, finding it was almost impossible to shut out the noxious drug, closed all trade with England. The English superintendent resented this, and by arms forced a renewal of trade privileges. Matters, however, went on from bad to worse until actual war with China resulted.

633. Chinese War, 1839.— The Chinese were worsted, and compelled to make peace (1842). Five ports were opened to British trade ; and a large sum was paid for British opium destroyed by the Chinese during the troubles ; a heavy indemnity was paid to the British ; and the island of Hong Kong was ceded to them. The Chinese, however, refused to legalize the opium traffic in spite of the most persistent efforts of the British. But the Chinese, after their experience with the British arms, were afraid to enforce their laws, and so the trade increased ; and as it was a government monopoly in India, and the source of large revenue, the British authorities in India not only made no

efforts to stop the trade, but were accustomed to defend it on the ground of the revenue it produced. So this iniquitous traffic has continued until the present time. So clearly was the real cause of the war understood that it has always been called the "Opium War."¹

634. Peel's Ministry. 1841. — Sir Robert Peel became prime minister a second time in 1841 and proved himself to be one of England's greatest statesmen. He was an able politician and parliamentary leader; he was, like Pitt, the soul of the cabinet, and he had above all the rare characteristic of acting in accordance with his personal convictions whether they were in accord with his party or not.

In his cabinet were the Duke of Wellington, without an office, Lord Aberdeen, Foreign Minister, and, though not at first in the cabinet, yet one of the junior officers, William E. Gladstone. The failure of the Whig movement had been in financial and economic measures; to these, from the character of the times and the widespread distress, Peel was bound to give his careful attention.

635. Tariff Reforms of Peel. 1842. — Peel proposed that the duty on foreign corn (wheat) should vary as the price of home-grown wheat varied. If the price should decline the duty should increase, and should fall as the price rose. In order to offset a reduction in duties on imports, he proposed an income tax and the abolition of export duties.²

After considerable opposition from the Conservatives, because they thought he was granting too much, and from the radical Free Traders, because he was not granting enough, Peel's measures passed Parliament (1842). The cause of the Anti-corn League

¹ No English government had the courage to put an end to this trade until the Liberal administration took the matter up seriously (1908). By an agreement with China the amount of opium exported from India to China will be gradually diminished. In 1911 a new agreement provides that the export from India shall close in less than seven years, if no opium is produced in China.

² He reduced the duties on about 750 articles, leaving about 450 untouched.

had been greatly strengthened by the advent of Richard Cobden into Parliament (1841) and also of John Bright (1844) (§ 629), but circumstances, even more than perseverance and eloquence, worked for the cause.

636. Failure of Irish Potato Crop, 1845 ; Reduction of Corn Duties, 1846. — A blight fell on the potato crop in Ireland in 1845, resulting in a very short crop which, as potatoes formed the chief food of the people, brought on a famine and widespread disease.

The undoubted success of the new tariff laws had led Peel to modify his views on tariff questions, and when famine came upon the Irish he felt that foreign wheat must be brought in to help them. This could not be done without altering the laws, but if the laws were repealed, it was not likely that they could be re-enacted. Peel advocated their repeal, but as a large portion of his cabinet refused to support him, he resigned. The queen asked Lord John Russell to form a ministry, but he was unable to do so, and Peel came back. He now proposed to make a heavy reduction in the duties on corn and in three years to lower them to a nominal amount. This action divided the Conservatives, and Peel was forced to depend on the Whigs to carry his measure. He generously ascribed the credit of the Repeal of the Corn Laws, as the measure is called, to Cobden and his associates¹ (1846).

637. Irish Coercion Act ; Peel Resigns. 1846. — Owing to the great number of disorders in Ireland, Peel felt it needful to ask for a coercion act. The Whigs, the radical Conservatives and Protectionists voted against the bill and it so happened that on the same night on which the Lords passed the repeal of the Corn Laws, Peel was defeated in the House of Commons. He at once placed his resignation in the hands of the queen.²

¹ The duty was reduced to 4 shillings per quarter (480 pounds) till 1849, when it was to become one shilling. This was abolished by Gladstone in 1869, and corn was admitted free of any duty.

² Peel never again held office, but he continued to exercise a great influence. He died from the effects of a fall from his horse, July 2, 1850.

638. Settlement of Boundary Disputes in America, 1842; Bank Act, 1844.—Meantime the conciliatory policy of Aberdeen, the foreign minister, had arranged the long-standing difficulty with the United States in regard to the northeast boundary between the British possessions and the United States, and later effected an adjustment of the northwestern boundary also.¹

Among other measures of importance passed by the Peel administration was the Bank Act of 1844, which revised the charter of the Bank of England and forbade any bank formed after the passage of the act to issue paper currency. The Bank of England has been carried on under this charter to the present day.²

639. Lord John Russell's Ministry, 1846–1852; Irish Affairs.—Lord John Russell, who had done good service in the Reform movement (§ 619) became prime minister in 1846. The first question to be handled was that of Ireland. The potato crop, bad in 1845, was a failure in 1846, and terrible distress and famine took place. Modifications of the Poor Laws were made and relief extended—but not sufficient. Private benevolence stepped in and much was done to help the suffering. The popular remedy for the Irish was emigration, and thousands left for America, many to perish on shipboard from disease, the result of starvation and unsanitary conditions. Between death and emigration the population of Ireland declined nearly two millions. Such distress naturally bred discontent and finally rebellion, and the Liberal government felt forced to bring in a coercion bill almost identical with that of Peel. Had Russell's full plan been carried out, some evils might have been remedied; as it was, the legislation probably did more harm than good. Again England had missed a chance of settling affairs in Ireland on a fairly just

¹ The settlement of the northeastern boundary question in 1842 was a fair compromise of the conflicting claims. Lack of accurate knowledge prevented a final settlement of the Oregon question until 1872.

² More than once in times of financial crisis the charter has been suspended for a short period, but on the whole the workings of the act have been remarkably successful.

basis, and, as has been generally the case, the fault chiefly lay with the great landholders in the House of Lords.

640. Revolutions and Social Discontent. 1848–1849. — Like 1830 the year 1848 was a year of European revolutions. Louis Philippe was driven from the French throne, and in nearly every state on the Continent there were revolutions more or less serious. Everywhere there was the demand for constitutional government. The small states, overturned or absorbed by larger ones as a result of the Napoleonic wars, had been restored by the Congress of Vienna (1814–1815), and now the people were restive under petty exactions and arbitrary boundaries. No crowned head in Europe rested easily during 1848, and nearly every monarch had to make some concessions.

The effect on the people of the British Islands was not slight. In Ireland there was an attempt at rebellion, which was soon put down. In England there was a renewal of the Chartist movement (§ 628). A great meeting was called on Kennington Common, London, and a monster petition, intended to be presented to Parliament, was begun. The government took active measures and it is said that 170,000 special policemen were sworn in to prevent violence. The meeting, however, was a failure. Numerous as the Chartists were in England, the great majority of them were opposed to the use of force, and so the danger passed.

In 1851 Louis Napoleon, who had been elected (1848) President of the French Republic, by a *coup d'état*, as it was called, overthrew the republic, and in 1852 proclaimed himself Emperor. This was afterwards confirmed by a large popular vote.¹

641. Exhibition of 1851; Earl of Derby Prime Minister, 1852; Disraeli. — In 1851 the first great international exhibition was held in London. It owed its origin, and also, to a very great extent, its success, to Prince Albert. It certainly tended to bring about better feelings between the different nations of the earth;

¹ Louis Napoleon was the son of Napoleon's younger brother, Louis, and Hortense, daughter of the Empress Josephine.

and, more than this, it showed to the whole world what was being done for the advance of civilization, and it stimulated many nations to greater efforts to better their condition.

Lord John Russell's ministry resigned in 1852, and the Earl of Derby, a protectionist, was called upon to form a government. Among those who now came into office for the first time was Benjamin Disraeli, later one of the best-known names in English history of the nineteenth century. Of Jewish descent, a novelist of some reputation, he had only after failure succeeded in making for himself a place in the Commons. He had brilliant talents, boundless ambition, and audacity ; he was a

BENJAMIN DISRAELI
Earl of Beaconsfield

skilled debater and keen antagonist ; he knew little of finance or political economy, and had been a strong protectionist from policy. He recognized, however, that free trade had come to stay, and in bringing forward his budget, for he was made chancellor of the exchequer, to the surprise of friend and foe, he took his stand as a free trader. An election took place and in the new House a group of men who held the views of Peel, and hence called "Peelites," held the balance of power.

642. Coalition Ministry, 1852 ; War with Russia, 1854. — As the ministry was in a minority it soon fell, and was followed by a "coalition" ministry of "Peelites" and Whigs. Lord Aberdeen

became prime minister, Gladstone, chancellor of the exchequer, John Russell, foreign minister, and Palmerston, home secretary.

The new ministry soon had an important question to handle. In 1850 a very trifling circumstance occurred in Palestine which began a conflict leading to grave results lasting down to the present. This was a dispute between the Roman Catholic and Greek priests regarding the guardianship of the Church of the Nativity and of some other places in Bethlehem. The Czar Nicholas, the head of the Greek Church, took the side of the Greek priests and demanded to be considered as the protector of all the Greek Christians in the Turkish dominions. On the other side the Emperor Napoleon III, solely with a view of strengthening his own position, espoused the cause of the Latin priests. The Turks, fearing Russia above all other powers, supported the Latin or Roman Catholic priests. Had the matter stopped here it would have been of little importance, but Nicholas proceeded to strong measures and in 1853 occupied Moldavia and Wallachia (nearly the present kingdom of Roumania). There seems little doubt that Nicholas believed that England would not interfere, at least by arms, and so kept on. Napoleon III, wishing to secure his power and distract attention at home, saw his opportunity. Palmerston was an admirer of Napoleon III, and, sympathizing with him, especially as he distrusted Russia, managed to gain the support of the British cabinet. As a result England and France declared war against Russia.

643. British Approval of the War; The "Crimean War." 1854-1856. — Largely from ignorance of the real conditions, popular feeling in England was in favor of the war. Many now think that the war was a grave mistake. As has been so often the case in England, commercial reasons played an important part, for it was believed that if Russia gained Constantinople, the trade with India would be seriously menaced if not destroyed. Aberdeen, the prime minister, among others was strongly opposed to war, but was forced to yield.

Before the British and French troops reached Turkey the Czar had withdrawn from the Turkish territory and the chief ground for war was removed. But it was deemed needful to humble Russia, and so an expedition, already planned to attack Russia in the Crimea, was sent out. War began in earnest in September, 1854, between England, France, Turkey, and later Sardinia, on the one side, and Russia on the other. The battles of Alma, Balaklava,¹ and Inkerman were fought but were indecisive. One feature of the war was the siege of Sevastopol, a strongly fortified town of the Crimea and the Russian military station in the Black Sea. The siege, one of the most celebrated of the nineteenth century, lasted nearly a year.

644. Florence Nightingale (1819-1910).— During the severe Russian winter the British troops suffered terribly from cold and disease, and from gross mismanagement. When this became known in England, there was great indignation, and a demand was made for inquiry and redress. Among the means for helping the soldiers was the provision for skilled nurses for the sick in the hospitals. At head of the band of nurses went out Florence Nightingale, whose noble efforts to relieve the distressed made her name a synonym for efficient care of the sick and wounded. Her successful efforts were the beginning of the movement which resulted in the founding of the modern Red Cross Society, and to her example is also due the establishment of many schools for the thorough training of nurses. She received many tokens of appreciation. A public testimonial of £50,000 which she received she gave to found a training school for nurses. In 1907 King Edward conferred on her the Order of Merit, the first time it had ever been bestowed on a woman; in 1908 she received the freedom of the City of London. After being an invalid for many years, she died in her ninety-first year (1910). She would have been interred in Westminster Abbey,

¹ At Balaklava took place the brave but useless charge of the six hundred celebrated in Tennyson's well-known poem.

had she not expressly provided for a simple funeral and interment in a country churchyard.¹

645. Sevastopol; Peace of 1856.—In September, 1855, the French captured a fort which commanded Sevastopol; the Russians, rather than surrender, sank all their ships of war, blew up the defenses and stores, and evacuated the place, after destroying as far as possible everything of value.

Meantime the Czar Nicholas had died (1855), and his son and successor, Alexander II, by no means as warlike as he, within a year was willing to consider proposals of peace. Indeed all parties were ready for peace, which was made in 1856. By the terms of the Treaty of Paris the Black Sea was closed to all ships of war but open to all merchant vessels; all conquests with slight exception were restored, but Moldavia and Wallachia were to be self-governed under the suzerainty of Turkey; and the sultan agreed to give more liberty to his Christian subjects. It was also agreed to recognize Turkey as a European power in good standing, and the powers pledged themselves to maintain her integrity. England gained from the war little or nothing except experience; Napoleon greatly strengthened his position in European affairs; Russia lost prestige; Sardinia was recognized as a great power; while Turkey gained a position which she had for years sought in vain to acquire. Moreover, no provision was made to compel the sultan to carry out his promises, a blameworthy omission on the part of Great Britain. The real object of the Crimean War was to preserve the "Balance of Power" in Europe. This was attained for the time, but at very great cost.

646. Indian Mutiny. 1857–1858.—Again the British had to wage a war and one of far greater immediate moment to England than that in the Crimea, for it struck at her own power and possessions. This was the great Mutiny of 1857 in India. Under the administration of Lord Dalhousie (1848–1856) the Punjab had been annexed (1848–1849), as also Lower Burma (1852), Oude

¹ See Longfellow's poem, "Santa Filomena," written in 1857.

(1856), and other states. Besides this, Dalhousie claimed that states whose rulers died without direct heirs lapsed to the British, and in this way still more territory was brought under British rule.

It had been the British policy to employ native troops, and they had proved good and trustworthy soldiers, but Dalhousie's policy

A NATIVE INDIAN ARMY ON THE MARCH

was often irritating to the natives and had alienated many, and only slight provocation was needed to stir up a revolt. Many British troops had been taken away from India and sent to the Crimea, leaving the British-Indian army unusually weak. The occasion for revolt was the introduction of a new rifle for the army; the cartridges for this weapon, it was reported, were greased with cow's or pig's fat.¹ To the Mohammedan, lard was unclean, and to the Hindoo the cow was a sacred animal, and hence its use was sacrilege. It was believed that the British were purposely attacking their religion, and a mutiny broke out among the Sepoys, or native troops, beginning at Delhi and Lucknow,

¹ Honestly denied at the time by government officials, it was afterwards discovered to be a fact.

and then spreading over central and northern India. There were terrible massacres at Cawnpore and elsewhere, and the heroic defense of Lucknow against the mutineers has been celebrated in prose and verse. At last, in 1858, the mutiny was put down, but not until there had been great loss of life and much cruelty on both sides. If the natives of the several provinces had been united, British rule could hardly have been maintained. One result of the mutiny was to take from the East India Company its territories, possessions, and executive powers, and vest them in the crown.¹

647. Colonial Expansion ; Australia ; Canada. — Meanwhile, more than was appreciated at the time, England's colonial empire had been growing and increasing in importance. It is strange that neither Gladstone nor Disraeli, keen as they were, foresaw what the colonies were to mean to Great Britain.² The voyages of Captain Cook in the latter part of the eighteenth century disclosed the possibilities in the South Pacific, and other voyages and explorations elsewhere revealed a vast amount of territory unclaimed by Europeans. England's traditional policy of acquiring all that she could lay hold of whether at the time it seemed useful or not, and of always holding on to everything, has stood her in good stead.

At first Australia and Tasmania were regarded only as places to which to banish criminals. But in time settlements were made far from the convict colonies. The real foundation of the growth of Australia was the introduction of sheep farming on a large scale ; and when gold was discovered in 1851, thousands rushed to the goldfields as had been the case in California. Self-rule was granted to the colonies in Australia, the only strong links

¹ The control was vested in a secretary of state who was to be assisted by a council of fifteen. The secretary was to be a member of the cabinet, and in India a Viceroy ruled, also assisted by a council. With some modifications this is still the form of government.

² Lord John Russell was almost the only one of the prominent statesmen up to the middle of the nineteenth century who recognized what they might become.

being the governor appointed by the crown, and the British Privy Council acting as a sort of supreme court of appeal.

The larger British colonies have been allowed not only legislative but also economic independence, so that while free trade has been law in Great Britain and Ireland, protection has been allowed in the colonies if so they wished. As the colonies have grown in importance there has been a tendency toward federation. Thus in Canada the plan already described (§ 627) was in 1867 still further extended, and the various North American provinces, with the exception of Newfoundland, were united into the Dominion of Canada.¹ The connection with Great Britain is largely sentimental, but nevertheless is stronger than when the colonies were ruled directly by the British crown. The building of the Canadian Pacific railroad and the opening for settlement of the fertile lands of Manitoba, British Columbia, and other districts in the Northwest has greatly benefited and strengthened the Dominion.

The march of events in Australia and in New Zealand has been similar to that in Canada; one colony after another was established, until in 1901 all the colonies were united into the Commonwealth of Australia, modeled after the Dominion of Canada, though differing in details. In New Zealand also the various settlements were in 1875 united into one.

648. British West Indies. — In the West Indies, however, a very different state of affairs has prevailed; instead of advance and prosperity there have been loss and backward rather than forward movements. During the Napoleonic wars the French and other colonies were at the mercy of England, and she took, and, by the treaty of peace, retained such as she wished. Such were Tobago, Trinidad, and Guiana (in South America). The abolition of negro slavery, the indolence of the tropical negro, and also of the whites makes labor a difficult problem. Besides this

¹ The Dominion of Canada has a federal parliament sitting at Ottawa with a cabinet responsible to it; the governor-general is appointed by the crown; it has its own laws and its own tariff.

the great increase in the manufacture of beet-root sugar in Europe lessened the demand for tropical sugar, and when free trade was adopted by England, it opened the home markets to slave-grown products and still further injured the British West India planter. In a climate where nature provides enough to live on with scarcely any work it is exceedingly difficult to get the free negroes to labor steadily. To supply the lack of labor, coolies from India were imported, a system which has involved serious questions of its own, and in the carrying out of which a condition closely approaching that of slavery itself resulted. With so large a proportion of negroes ignorant and indolent, it is not surprising that the white inhabitants of the islands prefer to be governed by the crown, and, therefore, in the West Indies we see old-fashioned crown colonies with almost absolute rule from England.¹

649. Cape Colony, 1814; Natal, 1835; Orange Free State, 1854; Transvaal, 1858.—Another of the important colonies of Great Britain is that of the Cape of Good Hope, or Cape Colony, often referred to as South Africa. The history of this differs in many respects from that of any other of the British colonies. It was acquired from the Dutch during the Napoleonic wars, held for eight years, and finally confirmed to the British by the Treaty of Paris (1814) (§ 603). Settled by the Dutch, it had a large population retaining decidedly Dutch characteristics. But after the confirmation of the colony to the English there was a large influx of British settlers, who introduced Anglo-Saxon methods and enterprise, not greatly to the liking of the old Dutch settlers, or Boers, and their descendants. The abolition of slavery in all the British dominions was also distasteful to the Boers, and many of them migrated northward to find new homes for themselves in the wilderness. Thus was founded Natal (1835), the Orange Free State (1854), and the Transvaal or South African Republic (1858).

¹ The proportion of whites to colored in all of the islands is very small. In the Leeward Islands the numbers are: whites, 5070; colored, 122,653 (1891); Jamaica, whites, 15,605; colored and other races, 815,778 (1911).

These South African states were weak and had much trouble with the native tribes. These difficulties affected the neighboring British settlers also, and England interfered from time to time. In 1843 she annexed Natal.

650. Death of Prince Albert; American Civil War. 1861-1865.—In 1861 Queen Victoria and the country also met with a severe loss in the death of the Prince Consort, Prince Albert.

WINDSOR CASTLE

An event of the deepest interest to Great Britain and her American dependencies was the Civil War in the United States (1861-1865). Eleven of the Southern slaveholding states soon after the election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency by a non-slavery party, believing that it meant the downfall of slavery and hence was ruinous to their interests, passed acts of secession from the Union. The British government proclaimed that Great Britain would remain neutral, but the British cabinet and most of the upper classes believed that a permanent Southern Confederacy would certainly be established, and did not conceal their sympathy with the South.¹ The working classes and nearly all the radical classes were equally strong in their support of the North.

¹ Even such a man as Gladstone believed in the final success of the South; Disraeli, his great Conservative competitor, held different views, and John Bright, Cobden, the Duke of Argyll, and some others were strongly on the side of the North and predicted its success.

651. The Trent Affair. 1861. — The commercial interests of Great Britain in the American conflict were large. From America came, with exceptions too trifling to name, the supplies for her great cotton mills; and her carrying trade with America was extensive. The blockade of the Southern ports by the United States meant an absolute stoppage of all this. An unexpected incident nearly brought the two nations to actual war. The Confederate government dispatched two commissioners, Mason and Slidell, to seek aid for the South in Europe. While on their way thither Captain Charles Wilkes, an American naval officer, stopped the British steamer *Trent*, upon which they were passengers, and took them off. Great Britain demanded their return on the ground that the act of Wilkes was contrary to international law. The people of the North, irritated by the open sympathy of so many in England with the South, applauded Wilkes, while in England the feeling against America was strong. For a time war seemed inevitable. Happily wiser counsels prevailed. A peremptory and somewhat arrogant dispatch to America prepared by Lord John Russell, and sent to the queen for her approval, was by the efforts of Prince Albert and herself so modified that the United States government could easily get out of the difficulty by acknowledging that the act of Wilkes had not been authorized by the government. President Lincoln recognized that Wilkes had acted contrary to the whole practice of the United States, and in fact was doing what she had fought against in the War of 1812. He was, therefore, more than ready to order the return of the two men and to make the statement that the action was wholly unauthorized by the government. So peace was secured.

652. British Blockade Runners and Confederate Cruisers; Cotton Famine. — The North had, however, serious complaints against the British government in that it was slack in preventing the equipment and departure of vessels intended to prey upon American commerce and to run the blockade of the Southern

ports which the North maintained.¹ Another result which touched the English more closely was the cotton famine in Lancashire. Owing to the impossibility of obtaining cotton, the large factories in Lancashire and elsewhere had to be closed, throwing thousands out of employment and bringing upon them destitution and suffering. The efforts of the charitable to relieve this suffering and the method of the distribution of the funds form one of the most pleasing incidents in social history.²

653. Death of Palmerston; Gladstone the Liberal Leader. 1865.— Lord Palmerston died in 1865, over eighty years old, having occupied a prominent position in English public life longer than any predecessor of equal rank, and only sur-

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE

passed in later years by Gladstone. From this time Gladstone definitely ranked himself as a Liberal. The program of each of the parties was much changed from what it had been in the past. The aim of the Liberals was to extend the franchise and make England more democratic; while that of the Conservatives was that in any extension of the suffrage the right should be so guarded that the real power should still rest with the upper and wealthier

¹ The most celebrated of the Confederate cruisers thus built was the *Alabama*, whose depredations, with those of other similar vessels, gave rise to the "*Alabama* claims."

² It is remarkable that, notwithstanding the sufferings of the operatives, they never faltered in their sympathy for the cause of the Northern States, which they believed to be the cause of freedom.

classes. They believed in a large empire, a strong army and navy, and a strong foreign policy. The word used more than any other to express their general policy was "imperialism."

654. Reform Bills. 1866, 1867. — Lord John Russell, now Earl Russell, became prime minister. As in 1832, the reform of Parliament became the issue before the country. A bill for this purpose was introduced by the Liberal cabinet (1866), but by the defection of some of their party, who feared so radical a measure, the government was defeated, and the Conservatives, under the lead of the Earl of Derby, came into power. Disraeli, the leader in the Commons, introduced a new Reform Bill, which passed after being amended so much on lines recommended by Gladstone that it was really more a Liberal than a Conservative measure.¹ Not only was the suffrage widely extended by the lowering of the requirements for an elector, but there was a redistribution of the seats so that the representation was somewhat fairer; but though by this act the working men of the cities were enfranchised, the miners and agricultural laborers were still without the ballot.

655. Disraeli Prime Minister, 1868; Fenians; Irish Grievances. — In 1868 the Earl of Derby resigned, owing to ill health, and Disraeli attained the height of his ambition in becoming Prime Minister (1868). In the meantime Irish affairs claimed the attention of the country. About 1863 some Irish and Irish-Americans started a secret society, known as the Fenians, for the aid of their countrymen. The real object was to set up an independent Irish republic. To bring about this result, attempts were made to rescue Fenian prisoners, risings took place in Ireland, and there were other acts of violence, all of which were unsuccessful. The Liberals espoused the cause of Ireland, and Gladstone in a public speech stated the grievances of Ireland to be three — the established Episcopal church; the system of land tenure; and the system of education. As the Conservatives had not a real majority in the

¹ The Liberals did not oppose the bill but offered amendments, many of which were accepted by the House.

Commons, Gladstone was able to carry a resolution declaring that the Irish Episcopal church should be disestablished. Whereupon Parliament was dissolved and a general election under the new Reform Bill took place and the Liberals gained a large majority.

656. Gladstone Prime Minister, 1869; Disestablishment of Irish Church, 1869.—When Disraeli found his party in the minority, he took the unprecedented step of resigning before the new Parliament met.¹ The queen sent for Gladstone, who now became prime minister, and on the meeting of Parliament he at once introduced a bill for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Episcopal church, which, after a long debate and contest with the House of Lords, was passed (1869). "The result has more than justified the supporters of the bill. The disestablished church has been more prosperous, and also more clerical, than it ever was before." On the other hand, Ireland was not as much affected as might have been expected, for her greatest grievances did not lie in church matters, but in the land laws.

657. Irish Land Act, 1870; English Education Act, 1870.—A strong effort was made to remedy some of the evils of the land system of Ireland by the Irish Land Act of 1870. But while effecting some improvement, the act was not radical enough, for it left many loopholes for evasion.²

Another important measure of reform was that relating to education. At this time elementary education in England was much inferior to that in Prussia, the United States, or Switzerland. The extension of the franchise in 1867 made the matter of education a vital one.³ That the Elementary Education Act of 1870

¹ The precedent set by Disraeli has been followed since, and seems a common sense arrangement.

² The main purpose of the act was to prevent landlords from turning out tenants as long as they paid their rent, and to compel landlords to pay for improvements that a tenant had placed upon the property, if he were evicted from the land. Such a course had long been the right of the Ulster tenants and was known as the Ulster Tenant Right.

³ "In 1869 out of about 4,300,000 children within the school age, 2,000,000 ought to have been at school and were not."

was brought forward and pressed to a conclusion was chiefly due to William Edward Forster, a member of Gladstone's cabinet. By this act districts were allowed to choose a school board, levy rates (taxes) for education, and compel children to be sent to school. This act marks the beginning of a really national system of education, for heretofore education had been practically dependent on private efforts or on societies formed by private effort.

658. Repeal of University Tests, 1871; Other Reforms.—Another step in educational reform was the opening of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge to all without religious tests, thus allowing Nonconformists, Catholics, Jews, and others to avail themselves of the highest educational advantages (1871).

With their large majority the Liberals were able to pass other reform measures. The army regulations were improved, but the Lords declined to agree to a proposed abolition of the purchase of commissions in the army, whereupon Gladstone abolished the system by royal warrant.¹

Other reforms were the Ballot Act (1872), by which it was provided that future elections for members of Parliament should be by secret ballot. Hitherto the old custom of *viva voce* elections had prevailed, but the great enlargement of the franchise made that method undesirable, not only on account of the time it took, but still more because of the greater opportunity it gave for bribing and undue influence.

659. Liberal Foreign Policy; Alabama Claims, 1872; Arbitration.—The foreign policy of the government was based on neutrality and non-interference, and so gave offense to the imperialists. In 1870 war broke out between Prussia and France in which France was disastrously defeated, resulting in the down-

¹ The system of the purchase of commissions in the army had been established by a royal warrant of Charles II, but was discontinued by William III; it was again established by warrant. It was held that what had been established by warrant could be removed by warrant. The Lords were opposed to the measure because purchase was an easy way for them to secure employment for their younger sons, for whom trade was considered undignified.

fall of the Empire and the setting up of the Third Republic, and also in the establishment of the German Empire, of which King William of Prussia became emperor. Italian unity was established by the destruction of the temporal power of the Pope, and Rome became the capital of the Kingdom of Italy. Russia, while these events were taking place, announced that she would no longer be bound by the Treaty of 1856 regarding the Black Sea (§ 645), but would keep war vessels in those waters if she wished. England did not consider the matter important enough to fight about, and so one of the measures for which the expensive Crimean War was waged came to naught.

Another and more important feature of the foreign policy of the Liberal government was the submission of the *Alabama* claims (§ 652) of the United States to arbitration. The tribunal which was appointed awarded to the United States damages of more than three million pounds sterling. Other matters at issue between the two governments also referred to arbitration were the Newfoundland fishery claims and the question regarding the extreme northwestern boundary between Canada and the United States, all of which were settled. This first instance in history of two great nations settling difficult and important questions peaceably and harmoniously reflects great credit on both, especially upon Great Britain and her government.¹ It set an example to other nations, and has done much to help the cause of international peace.

660. Other Reforms ; Liberal Defeat. 1874.—Another useful measure was the Licensing Act, shortening the hours during which drink could be sold.²

An Education Act for Scotland was also passed (1872), follow-

¹The award for the *Alabama* claims was felt by the English to be excessive, but was paid promptly. On the other hand the award to Great Britain for the fishery claims was regarded by the Americans as excessive, but it too was paid promptly, and thus the two were a set-off against each other.

²This was the first effort of a British government to regulate the sale of intoxicating liquors in towns.

ing as a matter of course from the passage of the English Act of 1870. A bill providing higher education for Ireland was defeated, and Gladstone resigned, but as Disraeli refused to form a cabinet, Gladstone resumed office. In January, 1874, Parliament was dissolved. In the elections which followed, the Conservatives gained a good majority, and Gladstone, following Disraeli's precedent, resigned, and Disraeli became Prime Minister again.

661. Purchase of Suez Canal Shares. 1875.—Not since 1832 had the Conservatives had so large a majority upon which they could rely as now. The main interest of the Liberals had been in domestic matters; that of Disraeli and his colleagues were in foreign affairs. Attention, however, was first turned to India, where Disraeli believed he could advance the cause of imperialism. By the opening of the Suez canal in 1869 the voyage to India was shortened nearly one half and the canal became of vast importance to Great Britain, and its control almost essential. This canal was under the joint control of France, whose engineer De Lesseps had constructed it, and the Khedive of Egypt, through whose possessions it went. Disraeli suddenly bought for England the shares in the canal owned by the khedive, amounting to nearly one half, for £5,000,000, thus practically controlling it. Much credit is due to Disraeli for seizing the opportunity to secure a possession so valuable to the British government.¹

662. India; Victoria Empress of India.—In order to stir up an imperial feeling in India the Prince of Wales was sent out in 1875. He was received with demonstrations of loyalty. In 1876 Lord Lytton, a man in thorough sympathy with Disraeli's imperialistic views, was appointed viceroy. Since the mutiny many railroads had been constructed in India, which not only rendered communication easier and more rapid for commercial

¹ The khedive was practically bankrupt and had almost concluded a bargain for the sale of his shares in France when Disraeli heard of it and stepped in and secured them. Though a heavy expense at first, in the end the investment became an exceedingly profitable one.

undertakings, but were invaluable for the quick transport of troops. The Suez canal by shortening the time for transportation had greatly increased the British trade with India and brought the countries closer together. To extend still further his imperial policy, Disraeli in 1876 passed the Royal Titles Bill, which gave the

THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT BUILT IN 1852

queen the additional title of Empress of India, and on May 1, 1876, she was formally proclaimed by that title in London, and on January 1, 1877, with pomp and ceremony, in Delhi, India¹ (§ 684).

663. Foreign Affairs; Turkey, 1878; Egypt; Conservative Defeat, 1880.—Foreign affairs now took on a serious aspect. A war between Russia and Turkey broke out, and before long Russia was marching on Constantinople. Again the cry of injury to India and British interests was raised. Disraeli sent a fleet to the East and hurried Indian troops to Malta, and war seemed imminent. But Russia, having no wish to be involved in another war with England, made terms with Turkey in the Treaty of San Stefano (1878).

¹ Though it was stated that this new title would only be used in Indian documents, before a year the queen used it in English documents as well, and in 1893 it was put upon the British coinage.

Meantime Disraeli had become the Earl of Beaconsfield; and Lord Salisbury, the foreign minister, notified the Russian government that the Treaty of San Stefano would not be accepted by Great Britain. A message from Austria, whose dominions bordered on those of Turkey, took the same ground, and a European council was called to meet at Berlin to settle the Eastern Question. This congress met in 1878, and the Treaty of Berlin was framed and signed. The Berlin Congress somewhat resembled the Congress of Vienna (§ 603) in the way it settled the affairs of the various countries without the slightest reference to the wishes of those most nearly concerned. Meantime, England received from Turkey the island of Cyprus on condition of her protecting Asia Minor. Though Turkey was shorn of a good deal of her territory, on the whole she came out of the struggle very well and retained her place as one of the European great powers.

In 1879 Beaconsfield, in connection with France, set up a dual control in Egypt, both countries being largely interested in the financial concerns of that country, which was bankrupt.

The Conservatives, who had been in power five years or more, had given their attention almost wholly to foreign affairs, laying themselves open to the charge of neglecting home interests, a position of which the Liberals, particularly Mr. Gladstone, took advantage. Parliament was dissolved (1880), and in a subsequent election the Liberals had a large majority. Disraeli,¹ as before, resigned, and Gladstone again became prime minister.

664. Home Affairs; South Africa; Ireland; "Boycotting."—The policy of Gladstone was "peace abroad, and retrenchment and reform at home." Trouble with Afghanistan and with the Boers in Africa (§ 649), an inheritance from the last administration, occupied the serious attention of the new ministers. In the former case a severe blow was inflicted on Afghanistan.

The Transvaal Republic (§ 649), recognized by Great Britain

¹ Lord Beaconsfield died in 1881 at the age of 77. He was mourned by the queen as a personal friend.

in 1852, had not been prosperous, and in 1877 anarchy very nearly prevailed within, while the warlike Zulus, under an able chief, Cetewayo, threatened destruction from without. Claiming that the disorder in the Transvaal endangered the peace of all South Africa, the British annexed the republic, in spite of a deputation from the Boers praying for their independence. The British now attacked the Zulus, and conquering them with no little difficulty, annexed Zululand. Freed from their native enemies, the Boers planned to regain their freedom from the hated British rule. A rebellion broke out (1880), in the course of which a small body of British was defeated at Majuba Hill (1881).

Gladstone, now in office, having been satisfied that the annexation of 1877 had been made on the false information that it was desired by the majority of the people, was already preparing to grant the Transvaal practical independence. This was done (March, 1881). The action of the British government was actuated by a sense of justice, but, coming as it did soon after the Boers' victory of Majuba Hill, it led the Boers to believe that the concession was gained by the victory at Majuba instead of bestowed in spite of it. The impression was thus conveyed that armed resistance would at any time be successful.

Ireland occupied the chief thoughts of the government. In 1881 a new Land Act was passed, extending the provisions of that of 1870 (§ 657), but it had little effect, for the Irish were seeking Home Rule, nothing short of which would be acceptable. Under the leadership of Charles Stewart Parnell,¹ who led eighty of the Irish members in Parliament, every effort was made to bring this about by the use of all possible parliamentary obstructive tactics. Outside of Parliament every kind of means was employed to further the cause. An Irish National Land League was founded (1879), whose object at first was to protect tenants

¹ Parnell (1846-1891) was an Irishman, son of an American mother, and a non-Catholic. He was the ablest supporter of the Irish cause of his day, and a man of extraordinary personal influence.

against unjust rent, but afterwards to secure peasant proprietorship of the land.¹ Among the methods used to further the objects of the League was boycotting, a word which was now used for the first time.² Unfortunately peaceful means were not always used; cattle of obnoxious landlords were mutilated, barns were burnt, and worse still, landlords were shot at and some were killed. Agents were threatened by anonymous letters, graves were dug before their houses, and any one who dared to take a farm from which a former tenant had been evicted, did so at the risk of his life.

665. Irish Coercion Act, 1881; Phoenix Park Murders, 1882. — There seemed little to do but pass another Coercion Act (1881), but this only made matters in Ireland worse. At last a milder policy was tried. A bill favoring the smaller Irish tenants was passed. Irish affairs seemed nearer settlement in May, 1882, than perhaps ever before, when the brutal murder in Phoenix Park, Dublin, of Lord Frederick Cavendish, the newly appointed secretary for Ireland, and T. H. Burke, the permanent under-secretary, ruined the fair prospect. This dastardly crime, disowned by the Irish leaders, was the work of those called "Irreconcilables," who wished to destroy any possibility of reconciliation with England. A Prevention of Crimes Bill was quickly passed through Parliament, and in order to put an end to factious obstruction in the Commons new rules giving the speaker power to close debates were adopted.

666. Reform Acts; Foreign Affairs; Egypt, 1882. — The government was able to carry out several measures of reform in Great Britain: the game preserve regulations were slightly relaxed by allowing farmers to kill hares and rabbits which injured their

¹ Parnell's own definition of the Irish Land Question was, "Abolish landlordism, and make the man who occupies and cultivates the soil the owner of the soil."

² Captain Boycott was an Englishman, an agent for an English landlord, who declined to receive the rent which the tenants considered "fair"; and when he proceeded to eject the tenants, his servants left him, local tradesmen would not deal with him, and he was unable to harvest the crops of his principal.

crops; an Employers' Liability Act protected workmen against negligence by their employers; the Bankruptcy laws were improved; and Nonconformists were allowed to use churchyards of the established church for burials. Before the ministry went out of office it passed a Franchise Bill (1884) and a Redistribution Bill (1885), enlarging the electoral franchise and giving practically household suffrage.¹

The government was severely criticised for its foreign policy. Afghanistan had been abandoned, and the settlement in South Africa already referred to was unpopular, but the climax was reached in Egypt. The dual control of France and England (§ 663) was greatly disliked by many of the Egyptians, and a rebellion headed by Arabi Bey was set on foot. France would not interfere, and England was left to meet the troubles single-handed. English residents were killed in Alexandria and this brought about a bombardment by the British fleet. Troops were sent from England under General Wolseley, and he defeated Arabi Bey at Tel-el-Kebir (1882).

667. Trouble in the Sudan, 1883-1885; Death of General Gordon, 1885.—The tribes to the south of Egypt, in the district known as the Sudan, revolted and threw off the rule of the khedive, under the leadership of a fanatical chief, Mohammed Ahmed, known as the Mahdi or Mussulman Messiah.

The British government resolved to abandon the Sudan, and early in 1884 General Charles Gordon was sent out to arrange for the withdrawing of the garrisons, a plan which he approved. He had been governor of the Sudan under the Egyptian government and was supposed to know the country better than any other Englishman. On his arrival at Khartum in the Sudan

¹ The Franchise Bill increased the number of voters from about 3,000,000 to about 5,000,000, and put workingmen in the counties on the same footing as those in towns. By the Redistribution Bill a much fairer representation was given to towns and manufacturing districts; to London, for instance, were assigned 61 members instead of 22. Though the population of Ireland had decreased, its representation was unchanged.

he disregarded instructions and provided for the retention of the Sudan. This action placed the English cabinet in an exceedingly difficult position, and it hesitated and delayed. The Mahdi's troops besieged Khartum, the city was betrayed and Gordon was killed only two days before the British troops arrived. Few events have aroused such feeling in England. The queen did not restrain her anger and never forgave Gladstone; and the government was severely blamed for its dilatoriness.¹

668. Gladstone Prime Minister the Third Time (1885); Irish Home Rule Bill.—The Liberals were defeated on a financial measure (1885) and resigned. The Conservatives, with the Marquis of Salisbury at their head, held the reins till a new election, under the new Reform Bill, by which the Liberals were returned to power with a majority of eighty-six over the Conservatives, and Gladstone became Prime Minister for the third time.

The results, however, were not satisfactory to either party, for the balance of power was held by eighty-six Irish Home Rulers under the leadership of Parnell. Mr. Gladstone had come to the conclusion that there were but two courses to be followed: Home Rule for Ireland, or Coercion. He was unalterably opposed to the latter, and so declared for Home Rule.² Early in the session of the new Parliament he introduced his first Home Rule Bill.³ This measure divided the Liberal party, and nearly one hundred Liberal members, calling themselves Liberal-Union-

¹ Charles George Gordon has been called the Galahad of the nineteenth century. He was "disinterested, highminded, saintly, noble, and pure," but like many such characters, he was a law unto himself; he must act absolutely in accord with what seemed right to him at the time, regardless of others or of consequences. It is impossible for such a man to act under orders, and a careful examination of the facts can hardly fail to show that he brought his fate upon himself. But this fact does not acquit the government of serious blame.

² Subsequent events have justified Gladstone's opinion.

³ The provisions of the bill are too complicated to give, but in general it was proposed to give Ireland an independent Parliament, a local executive, and shut her out from representation in the imperial Parliament, which body, however, was to have a specified control over the Irish legislation and measures.

ists, joined the Conservatives in voting against the measure and bringing about its defeat.

669. Conservatives in Power ; Victoria's Jubilee. 1887. — At the new election the Conservatives and Liberal-Unionists combined had a majority of more than one hundred over the Liberals and Irish Nationalists. As Mr. Gladstone was committed to Home Rule, the cabinet at once resigned, and the Marquis of Salisbury became Prime Minister for the second time.

The new government, seeing the need of conciliation, passed several measures of relief for Ireland, and that island became unusually quiet. This, however, was not wholly due to legislation, but to divisions in the Irish party owing to grave personal charges against Mr. Parnell.

Measures were passed extending to the government of the counties the principle of the laws regarding local municipal corporations and placing the choice of most county officers in the local rate (tax) payers instead of the crown or aristocracy.

A most interesting event in which all parties united was the celebration in 1887 of the fiftieth anniversary of the accession of Victoria.

670. Gladstone Fourth Time Prime Minister, 1892 ; Second Home Rule Bill. 1893. — In the general election of 1892 the Conservatives were defeated, but the Liberals again were dependent on the Irish vote. Gladstone for the fourth time became prime minister and soon introduced his second Home Rule Bill, which after considerable amendment and a long debate marked by such scenes of disorder as had not been before witnessed in the House, was finally carried by a majority of thirty-four. The Lords were bitterly opposed to any Home Rule Bill, and defeated it by a vote of 419 to 41.

671. Resignation of Gladstone, 1894 ; His Death. 1898. — In March, 1894, Gladstone, now eighty-four years old, and with defective hearing and eyesight, resigned as prime minister. With all his limitations he was one of England's greatest statesmen ; he had

been in public life for sixty years and for nearly half that period a great leader. His unblemished public and private life, his deeply religious character, his sympathy with the oppressed, his complete devotion to the welfare of his country, and his great abilities have given him a high place in British history. Mr. Gladstone died in

WESTMINSTER ABBEY

1898, was given a public funeral, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, where a fine statue commemorates him.¹

672. Lord Rosebery Prime Minister, 1894; Salisbury Prime Minister, 1895; Unionists.—After the retirement of Gladstone the queen exercised her prerogative in sending for Lord Rosebery, who became Prime Minister. The fact of his being in the Lords was a serious objection to a party whose field of action is emphatically in the Commons. In 1895 the government was defeated on

¹ Though he had always stood up for the royal family, so deeply did the queen dislike his political views, that when he came officially to resign his office and bid farewell, she expressed no regret at the close of his long service and treated him with coldness, neither did she, as was usual, consult him as to his successor. It was an exhibition of pettiness which ill became her. On the occasion of his death the queen sent a message of sympathy to his wife, adroitly avoiding any commendation of his public services.

a minor measure, the ministry resigned, and Lord Salisbury became prime minister for the third time. Parliament was dissolved, and at the new elections the Unionist government received a majority of more than one hundred and fifty. The Unionists were led in the Commons by Arthur J. Balfour, a nephew of the prime minister, Lord Salisbury.

673. Armenian Massacres, 1896; Venezuela Boundary Dispute. 1895-1896.—The chief attention of the cabinet was given to foreign affairs. The Eastern Question was revived by the atrocities wrought by the Turks against their Armenian subjects. These aroused the deepest feeling in England. As no other power would join her, England declined to interfere, as she did also in the somewhat similar case of Crete.

Still another difficult problem confronted the Government in 1895, when President Cleveland of the United States sent a warlike message to the American Congress in regard to a dispute regarding the boundaries between Venezuela and British Guiana, in which he made a blunt application of the Monroe Doctrine, claiming that the United States had a right to settle the dispute. Fortunately, after long negotiations, the matter was referred to arbitration, by which the British claims were practically affirmed.¹

674. Territorial Expansion; Partition of Africa.—Another far more threatening problem was the South African one. About 1880 all the European nations began to pay closer attention to colonization. This was caused to a great extent by the increased facilities for communication and for the transportation of commodities. Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and Italy were each seeking to extend its own "sphere of influence," as it was called. The fields less occupied than any other were Africa and the huge but weak empire of China, and upon these the great nations cast longing eyes.

¹ The matter was referred to the arbitration of two British and two United States judges, presided over by the Russian jurist, Professor de Martens. A unanimous award was rendered in October, 1899.

The scramble for Africa soon began, and every nation seized what it could. It was a repetition of the colonial history of the seventeenth century. A comparison between a map of Africa in 1880 and Africa in 1900 is most instructive. By the latter date France not only had Algeria, her old colony, but claimed a good part of western Africa north of the equator ; Germany held large tracts in east and southwest Africa ; Portugal, possessions east and west ; Italy, a strip south of Abyssinia ; while Great Britain, in addition to her older colonies, had greatly increased her sphere of control. Even by 1898, except Morocco, the Kingdom of Abyssinia, and Liberia, there was scarcely a foot of the continent, even if it were nominally called free, that was not either absolutely in the possession of some European power or under its influence.

Besides the African territories, France had possessions in the East, Germany had gained a foothold in the South Pacific, and Russia by the construction of the Trans-Siberian railway was stretching eastward with designs on China, and was also scheming to gain part of Persia, and to anticipate England in the lands beyond her Indian frontier.

675. South Africa ; Cecil Rhodes. 1888–1890. — It is evident that under such conditions foreign affairs would hold no slight place in British counsels. Countries were not quite so ready to go to war as previously, though there is little doubt that it was rather on account of the great expense of military measures and the uncertainty whether the people in the different countries would stand the great increase in taxation which would be needful. Between 1885 and 1889, during which time most of the partition of Africa had taken place, no war had been waged on that account, something which could hardly have happened fifty years earlier.

But soon Great Britain had to face a most serious trouble in South Africa. The events which led up to the settlement of 1881 (§§ 649, 664) have been mentioned. Soon after this, gold was discovered in the Transvaal, and at once large numbers of men set out for the gold fields, introducing a new element into the country of the

Boers, and one particularly irritating to the slow, conservative Dutch nature. Though profiting by the gold fields and the attendant increase of material wealth, the Boers carefully excluded the newcomers from any share in the government.

The discovery of rich diamond fields, and the formation of a

A BOER TREK

British South African Company under the leadership of Cecil Rhodes, an Englishman who had acquired an enormous fortune through the diamond mines, was another grievance, for the lands under its control not only prevented the Boers from extending their own boundaries, but increased the number of irritating immigrants. In 1890 Cecil Rhodes used his power and influence to increase British power in South Africa. The large territory north of the Transvaal, known later as Rhodesia, was opened to settlement.

676. British "Uitlanders"; Jameson's Raid. 1895-1896.—The immigrants, called by the Boers *Uitlanders* (Foreigners), became greatly dissatisfied with their position, claiming that, though compelled to pay heavy taxes to the Boers, they had no voice in the

government, as the period of naturalization was unjustly extended. The President of the Transvaal, Paul Kruger, an able man, but conservative and hard to move, was reëlected in 1895, and the old policy continued. The *Uitlanders* were provoked at this and resolved to better their situation. Rhodes and his party sympathized with them, and it was agreed to attempt to overthrow the Boer government by force. One of the chief men in this plan was Dr. Jameson, the administrator of Rhodesia (Mashonaland). On his own responsibility he crossed the border into the Transvaal with 600 men, avowedly to protect women and children against ill-usage by the Boers. He and his men were easily overpowered, taken prisoners, and finally handed over to the British authorities for punishment.

The result of Jameson's raid was to make the *Uitlanders'* position more intolerable, while the Boers believed that the British government knew of the raid and approved of it. Thus a strong race feeling was stirred up throughout South Africa, where the large population of Dutch descent sympathized with the Boers. Rhodes resigned his position as prime minister of Cape Colony, and the Dutch party for the time being was in the ascendancy in Cape Colony.¹ Meantime much feeling was aroused in England.

677. Difficulties in South Africa. 1896-1899. — The Boers, in preparation for a struggle with Great Britain, began to import arms and ammunition, and entered into negotiations with the Orange Free State to secure it as an ally. The British continued to extend their influence, railroads were built, and the scheme of Cecil Rhodes to connect Egypt and the Cape of Good Hope by a "Cape to Cairo" railroad no longer seemed an absurdity. Meantime various efforts were made by the English to make some satisfactory arrangement with the Boers, but without avail.

¹ Jameson and his officers were handed over to the British and sent to England for trial. They were sentenced to imprisonment. The leaders of the *Uitlanders* who aided Jameson were sentenced to death by the Boers, but these sentences were commuted to heavy fines. Rhodes was severely censured by a Parliamentary committee, but nothing was done against him.

The condition was one of extreme difficulty. The *Uitlanders* now outnumbered the Boers, and furnished a large part of the revenue of the state, and yet were not only kept from the franchise, but were also subjected to many restrictions irritating to men of the Anglo-Saxon race. On the other hand, the Boers, who had settled the country, and had lived there many years, were surrounded by men in large groups who were uncongenial in every way and who threatened by their very numbers to change the whole character of the state. The Boers knew little of the outer world and recognized neither how great had been the advance in every way nor the practical impossibility of fixity in social and political affairs.

678. British Ultimatum; Boers choose War. 1899. — In September, 1899, Joseph Chamberlain, the British Colonial Secretary, sent an ultimatum to the Boers, to which President Kruger of the Transvaal sent a reply demanding that the British troops should be withdrawn from the boundary of the republic and that all reënforcements should be sent back. On the refusal of the British even to discuss such a proposition, the Boers began active warlike measures and were joined by the Orange Free State, which, though it had no direct quarrel with England, united with the Transvaal in defense, as they believed, of Dutch freedom in South Africa.

Like the American Revolution, the war was begun with little knowledge on either side of the real conditions and of the character of the opposing combatant. The English believed that, like so many of their colonial wars, it would soon be ended, and with comparative ease; while the Boers did not recognize the fact that where national character and national reputation were at stake the British were as stubborn as themselves. The Boers also expected that foreign nations jealous of England would undoubtedly interfere.

679. The South African War. 1899–1902. — The war began in October, 1899, with the invasion of Natal by the Boers. The

British cabinet was unprepared, and the early months of the conflict were disastrous for the British arms. An army was shut up in Ladysmith, forces were besieged in Kimberly and Mafeking, and other bodies of British troops were defeated. The news of these disasters roused an intense feeling in Great Britain, and many who disapproved of the action of the government gave their support on account of national pride. Great numbers of troops were sent out, the inefficient generals were superseded, and Lord Roberts, who had shown great skill in an Afghan war, and Sir Herbert, later Lord Kitchener, who had been successful in the Sudan (§ 680), took charge. Owing much to the character of the country and partly to fever among the troops, the cause of the British prevailed slowly, but after a heroic resistance the Boers were subdued, but not without great loss of life on both sides.

There were probably not more than 60,000 fighting men in the two republics, and yet it took Great Britain more than two years and an army of 250,000 men to conquer. The Boers showed an amount of courage, skill, and endurance that roused the admiration of the world. Many in both Europe and America openly sympathized with them, and efforts were made to get the United States to mediate, but Great Britain refused, saying that the government did "not propose to accept the intervention of any power in the South African War." Peace was not established until June 1, 1902, when the two Boer republics were formally incorporated with the British Empire.¹

680. English Occupation of Egypt; The Sudan. 1898.— Meantime affairs in Egypt were progressing favorably under British administration. Through the practically despotic rule of

¹ In England there was a respectable minority who attacked the course of the government and when war came did not hesitate to denounce it. These men were called "Pro-Boers" and received from the press and from the majority much harsh and abusive criticism, and on more than one occasion "Pro-Boers" were hardly treated by rioters. It has been estimated that Great Britain lost 20,000 lives and 100,000 men disabled by wounds and disease. The money cost of the war was more than £200,000,000 of which £160,000,000 became part of the national debt.

Sir Evelyn Baring, later created Lord Cromer, order had been brought out of chaos, and prosperity out of bankruptcy. So far as material affairs were concerned Egypt had not ever, certainly in modern times, been so prosperous and quiet. Both English political parties had promised that the British occupation of Egypt should be temporary, but the control of the Suez canal was so valuable, that the risk of handing Egypt over even to the khedive was too great to be assumed by any administration.

Under Sir Herbert Kitchener the Egyptian army had been improved so much as to be an efficient body. From the time of Gordon's death (§ 667) there had been a cry in England for the reoccupation of the Sudan, and the affairs in that country, ruled as it was by fanatics, gave good excuse for the attempt. Under General Kitchener an army of British and Egyptian troops conquered the land and the Sudan was put under the joint control of Great Britain and Egypt in 1899.

681. China ; "Boxer" Insurrection. 1900.—In still another field, foreign affairs claimed close attention ; this time in China. A war between China and Japan (1894–1895) resulted in the complete success of Japan, an event which caused the rest of the world to recognize that a new and strong power had arisen in the East which would have to be reckoned with in the future. The revelation of the strength of Japan was accompanied by the disclosure of China's inherent weakness, which increased the temptation for the western powers to deal with her as they had dealt with Africa. At once Russia, Germany, and France sought to gain in China "spheres of influence" from which in the future they might extend their power and possessions. England, and the United States, who now began to take an active part in the Far East supported the "open door" as it was called, that is, that all nations alike should have freedom of intercourse. But Russia entered Manchuria and both Germany and England acquired ports and territory within the Chinese dominions.

The attempts to dismember the empire led to what is known as

the "Boxer Rising" (1900). There seems little doubt that the Boxers were secretly encouraged by the Chinese government. For a time it was a formidable movement. The foreign legations were shut up in Peking and attacked by the Boxers, and for several weeks were in great danger and distress. At last they were relieved by an international army composed of British, American, French, Russian, and Japanese troops under a German officer. The Chinese government finally agreed to punish the Boxers and pay a large indemnity to the foreigners. The integrity of China was secured by treaty, but meanwhile Manchuria had been seized by Russia, an action which was to lead to serious results for her.

682. General Election, 1900; Victoria's "Diamond Jubilee," 1897; her Death, 1901.— In September, 1900, when it was evident that the Boers were losing ground, the cabinet shrewdly dissolved Parliament and ordered a general election, making the issue the continuance of the Boer War to a finish. As was expected, the Unionists were returned with a majority larger than would have been possible six months later.

In 1897 the Diamond Jubilee, or sixtieth anniversary of the accession of Queen Victoria, was celebrated with great enthusiasm by all parties. But the strain of many years and the great anxiety about the war, in which she took the deepest interest, affected her health seriously, and on January 22, 1901, after a short illness, she died. Her domestic virtues, her simplicity of life, her high regard for her public duties, and above all, in recent years, the feeling that she was the embodiment of the empire, gave her a place in the hearts of her subjects which no other English monarch, with the possible exception of Elizabeth, ever held. Her death closed the longest reign in British annals.¹

683. A Review of the Reign of Victoria. 1837–1901.— During no reign in history had there been so great an advance in

¹ She was eighty-one years and nearly eight months old; her reign numbered sixty-three years, seven months, and two days.

material prosperity or in invention. Her reign saw the practical application of steam to railroad transportation, the invention of the telegraph and its vast employment in commercial and social matters, the submarine cable, the telephone, an enormous number of inventions for facilitating every kind of manufacture, and innumerable improvements and discoveries in every field that relates to human material interests.

In the social world, her reign saw a wonderful advance in preventive as well as remedial legislation, a recognition of the rights of the worker such as had not been known before ; more regard paid to the rights and welfare of women and children ; more efforts made to better the condition of the physically and morally unfortunate or helpless. There had grown up a higher standard of civilization, there was less coarseness and brutality, and a fuller appreciation of the claims of others. Classes were less exclusive, education more widely diffused, and the opportunities for acquiring an education greatly extended.

In politics there was the change from an aristocratic government to a democratic one, and an enlargement of the franchise from being the privilege of a few to practically household suffrage ; there was the continued development of the cabinet system of government, until the cabinet had become the *de facto* ruler of the country ; and not only this, but a literature flourished which in extent and excellence is comparable only to that of the reign of Elizabeth.

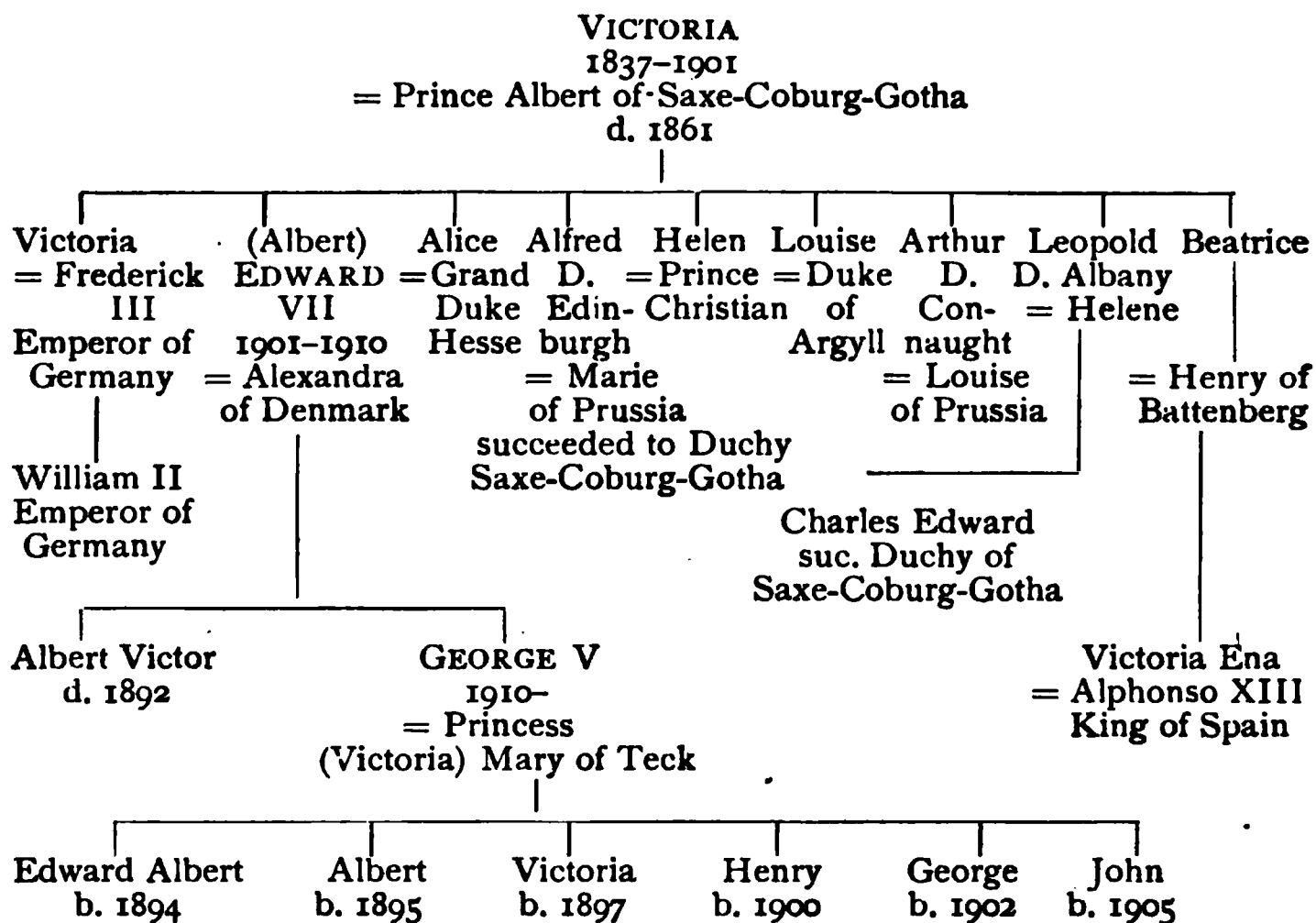
There was, however, a darker side to the picture. Alongside of the growth and development just described, there was much to deplore. The condition of the unskilled worker had not greatly improved ; wages were often low and the housing insufficient and unsanitary. The decline of agriculture threw many out of employment, who often drifted to the cities and towns to add to the problems confronting municipal authorities and philanthropists. Intemperance among the lower classes was of too common occurrence, resulting in the increase of poverty, ill health, and crime.

Frequent disputes between capital and labor had brought hard feeling, suffering, and loss.

But if there was acute distress, there was more of sensitiveness to suffering and degradation. "Settlement work," or personal labor in connection with residence among the needy, was entered into, and organized efforts to better conditions were widespread. Among other organizations should be mentioned the Salvation Army, with its thousands of adherents.¹

References. — Gardiner, *Student's History*, chap. lvii, § 10—chap. lx (1885); Terry, *History*, Part IV, chap. vii, p. 999—chap. ix (1901); Tout, *Advanced History*, Book VIII, chaps. iii–viii (1901); Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, §§ 266–276; Traill, *Social England*, vol. VI, chaps. xxii–xxiv; Cheyney, *Readings*, chap. xix, §§ v–xx; Kendall, *Source-Book*, §§ 131–151; Lee, *Source-Book*, §§ 221–235.

Descendants of Victoria



¹ This religious and philanthropic organization was begun (1878) by William Booth, a Methodist minister, and his wife, Catharine Booth. It is, as its name implies, organized on military lines. Its chief object is to reach those who are not reached by other religious bodies, to bring reform and betterment in their spiritual and physical conditions, and their surroundings. General Booth died in 1912.

CHAPTER XXIX

LATEST YEARS

684. Edward VII, 1901. — On the death of Victoria, the Prince of Wales was proclaimed as Edward VII, and in the same year an act of Parliament made his legal title “Edward VII by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of all the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India”; the imperialism of Disraeli and of Victoria became a legal fact.

Edward VII was about sixty years old, and his opportunities for watching the course of public opinion had been ample, though Queen Victoria, with something akin to pettiness, had allowed him to take little or no part in public affairs other than social. At the time of his accession he declared that he would rule “as a constitutional sovereign in the strictest sense of the word.” Though many felt considerable apprehension at the time of his coming to the throne, his unfailing tact and evident desire to rule as a strictly constitutional monarch soon dissipated such feeling, and a severe illness which postponed his coronation aroused much sympathy and even affection.¹

685. Resignation of Salisbury ; Balfour, Prime Minister, 1902 ; Treaty with Japan. — Lord Salisbury continued to be prime minister until 1902, when owing to failing health he resigned and was succeeded by his nephew, Arthur J. Balfour, who had been for some years the Unionist leader in the House of Commons. In foreign affairs all difficulties with France were settled, including the Egyptian question, England continuing her occupation of Egypt. An agreement was also made with Japan. In 1904 a

¹ It was not until August 9, 1902, that he was crowned, and on January 1, 1903, he was formally proclaimed Emperor of India at Delhi.

war broke out between Japan and Russia, caused nominally by Russia encroaching upon Korea, which was under the control of Japan. To the astonishment of Russia and of most nations Japan was victorious, and Russia was forced to relinquish Manchuria and to allow Japan to retain the strong position of Port Arthur. After the war Great Britain made a treaty with Japan (1905), each government agreeing to support the other in maintaining the existing conditions in the East.

686. Education Bill, 1902 ; Irish Land Act, 1903 ; Aliens Act, 1905.—Home measures were not the least important. A new Education Act was passed (1902), which remodeled the whole system of national education. The Forster Bill of 1870 (§ 657) had provided for little beyond primary grades; the new act related to higher grades as well. By the provisions of the Bill the control of the schools was given to county councils, and it extended the benefit of the rates (taxes) to the Church of England schools, and gave to the church the appointment of the teachers and the control of the religious instruction. The Education Bill was bitterly opposed by the Nonconformists, who resented the application of public funds to sectarian education.¹ In the next year (1903) was passed another Irish Land Act, which made it possible for tenants to purchase their farms. Based on Gladstone's Act of 1870 (§ 657) and succeeding Acts, it at once justified his efforts and promoted the cause of order in Ireland by striking at the very root of the trouble—the land question. Another important measure was the Aliens Act (1905), which regulated the admission of foreigners to the country, and was designed to keep out undesirable "immigrants."

687. Weakness of the Unionists ; Resignation of Balfour, 1905.—The Unionists had now had a long lease of power,

¹ So deeply did many Nonconformists feel regarding this measure that they refused to pay the amount of taxes levied for this purpose, preferring to have their furniture or goods distrained, or to suffer imprisonment, rather than submit to what they believed to be an infringement on their rights. Such an amount of passive resistance had not been seen in England since the seventeenth century.

the country was beginning to desire a change, the Nonconformists were irritated over the Education Bill, and the Unionists were themselves becoming divided upon economic questions.

In 1903 Mr. Chamberlain, who had been colonial secretary, resigned from the ministry because he favored what began to be called "fair trade,"

that is, a modified form of protection.

The cabinet tried to hold a middle course, while prominent men remained true to their old principle of free trade. This division weakened the Unionist party greatly. Moreover, the government had allowed the introduction of "indentured" laborers from China to work

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in the mines of the Transvaal, a course which the Liberals claimed was little short of slavery.¹ Above all, was the bitter opposition of the Nonconformists to the Education Bill of 1902.

At length Mr. Balfour resigned, in December, 1905, and the Liberal leader, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, became Prime Minister.

688. General Election of 1906; Great Liberal Victory, 1906.—A general election was held in January and February, 1906, and the opposition gained a majority of 358, unequalled even by the great

¹ The laborers were bound by an indenture or agreement to remain in the country three years, at the expiration of which they were to return to China.

majority in 1832¹ (§ 620). One of the most significant features of this Parliament was the group of about fifty members who represented the laboring class. This group is known as the Labor Party.²

689. Reform Measures; Asquith, Prime Minister. 1908.—Early in 1908 Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was compelled, on account of ill health, to resign as prime minister (April 6).³ The king summoned Mr. Henry Herbert Asquith, the chancellor of the exchequer. Among the members of Mr. Asquith's cabinet were David Lloyd George, Winston Churchill, Reginald McKenna, and Lord Crewe.

Some of the greater measures undertaken by the Liberal Cabinet were: an Old Age Pension Bill, an Education Bill to remedy the grievances complained of by the Nonconformists (§ 686), and a Licensing Bill to reform the laws relating to the sale of intoxicating liquors. Of these the first was passed by both houses and became a law (1908). The Education Bill was withdrawn, it being found impossible to satisfy all parties; and the Licensing Bill was thrown out by the House of Lords. This action of the Lords, who, it was charged, defeated the bill on account of their large financial interests in the matter, aroused great feeling in the House of Commons, and demands were made for some curtailment of the powers of the hereditary House.

690. The Finance Bill and the Lords. 1909.—The question between the Commons and the Lords was brought to an issue by the Finance Bill or Budget⁴ of 1909, introduced by David Lloyd George, chancellor of the exchequer. In order to raise the large amounts needed for old age pensions, and for the construction of powerful battleships believed to be needful for the national

¹ The Unionists numbered 156; the Liberals, 378; the Irish Nationalists, 83; and the Labor Party, 53. On most questions the Liberals could command nearly the whole of the great opposition majority, and had a majority of 86 over all others.

² Their expenses were paid by contributions from the workingmen and labor organizations.

³ Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman died on April 22, 1908.

⁴ The estimates of the expenses of the government for the succeeding year, including the methods by which the necessary amount is proposed to be raised, are called "The Budget."

defense, in addition to the ordinary expenses of administration, Mr. Lloyd George proposed a large increase in the taxation of land, especially in and near cities and towns, and on mineral lands. This proposition involved a new valuation of lands for the basis of taxation,¹ a new Domesday Book, as it were (§ 47).

This measure aroused a storm of protest in the House of Lords, as that House contained the largest and wealthiest landholders in the kingdom. Contrary to precedent, the Lords rejected² the bill (November 22, 1909) by a vote of 350 to 75: the reason being given that this bill would lead to the confiscation of landed property; was in itself unjust; established new principles of taxation; and therefore it should be "submitted to the judgment of the country."

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The House of Commons, on motion of Mr. Asquith, passed a resolution of protest by a majority of 215. A few days later Parliament was dissolved.

691. Contest between Lords and Commons.—At the general election (January, February, 1910) the Liberals were returned with a majority, but greatly reduced, and one dependent upon the Nationalist and Labor votes. Under the existing law, the franchise is to a large extent based on land, therefore a man owning

¹ The last valuation of land had been made in 1692.

² By long-established precedent the Lords do not have the right to reject money bills. The Marquis of Salisbury said in 1894 that the reason why the House of Lords could not reject or amend a money bill is, "That it has not the power of changing the executive government, and to reject a finance bill and leave the executive government in its place means to create a deadlock from which there is no escape."

land in different election districts may have several votes ; this is called " plural voting." As the large landholders are mostly Conservatives, the law works in their favor ; indeed, the Liberals claim, and probably with justice, that were it not for " plural voting," their majority in the Commons would be considerably larger.

The budget was again passed by the Commons, and subsequently passed by the Lords (1910) with great reluctance, for they were convinced that the government would either order a new election or ask the king to create a sufficient number of Liberal peers to pass the measure.

The Liberals now proceeded to frame a bill to limit the powers of the Lords, and in a few days the Parliament Bill, or " Veto Act," was presented to the House. Of this very important act the essential features are : (1) The House of Lords shall not have the power to amend or reject Money Bills ;¹ (2) any Public Bill (other than a Money Bill or a bill extending the duration of Parliament longer than five years) " when passed by the House of Commons in three successive sessions (whether of the same Parliament or not) over a period of not less than two years shall become a law notwithstanding the rejection by the House of Lords ;" (3) " Five years shall be substituted for seven years as the time fixed for the maximum of Parliament under the Septennial Act of 1715 " (§ 526). The Liberals justly claimed that as a large majority of the Lords was always Conservative, important bills passed by a Liberal House of Commons were either turned down or radically amended, the practical result being that the hereditary House controlled legislation. In other words that Parliament was virtually a single house when the Conservatives were in power, and a bicameral one only when the Liberals had a majority in the Commons.

692. Death of Edward VII ; Conference ; Second General Election. 1910. — The debate on the Parliament Bill had hardly

¹ The speaker of the House of Commons is to decide what is a Money Bill in accordance with a definition of a Money Bill as given in the Parliament Bill itself.

begun when King Edward died after a very brief illness (§ 697). By common consent discussion was suspended until after the new king was fairly settled on his throne.

During the summer and autumn of 1910 an informal conference of the leading members of both the great parties held many sessions in hopes of reaching some agreement upon the matter of restricting the power of the House of Lords, but without avail.

The Lords, fearing serious curtailment of their powers, considered several schemes of reform, the most notable being that of Lord Lansdowne, the Conservative leader. But all this came to naught through the dissolution of Parliament (November 28).

693. Liberal Success; Parliament Bill; Payment of Members. 1911. — At the general election, which took place in a few weeks, the Liberals were again returned to power with almost exactly the same majority. They had thus been successful in three consecutive general elections, an unprecedented occurrence in British history.

As soon as practicable the Parliament Bill was again introduced, and after much discussion passed¹ (May 15, 1911). In the House of Lords the bill was debated and, with amendments attached, returned to the Commons. Meanwhile Mr. Asquith let it be known that King George had agreed to exercise his prerogative and create enough new peers to pass the bill substantially in the form it had left the Commons. Thus the situation of 1832 was repeated, and the Lords had to face the alternative of the creation of five hundred new peers or pass the bill. When the amendments of the Lords came up for discussion in the Commons, such a scene of confusion followed that the speaker was compelled to adjourn the House. The bill was returned to the Lords who were now compelled to meet the issue. So strong was the feeling that it was for some time doubtful whether the Lords would yield. Finally the Government leader, Lord Morley, stated that enough peers would be created to carry the measure. Upon this the bill was passed by a vote of 131 to 114, or a majority of seventeen,

¹ The vote was 362 to 241, or nearly the full government majority.

August 10, 1911. Thus was passed one of the most far-reaching constitutional measures in English political history.¹

The same day (August 10) the House of Commons agreed to a provision for the payment of members of Parliament, the amount fixed upon being £400 per annum.

694. National Insurance Bill; Woman Suffrage; "Suffragettes." — The next important measure brought before Parliament was a National Insurance Bill against unemployment and ill-health. This was accepted in principle by all parties — but there was a great difference of opinion as to details. The bill, an exceedingly complicated one, bristling with details, raised great opposition, but Mr. Lloyd George was successful in carrying the Bill, and it was also passed by the Lords² (December 14, 1911).

The cause of woman suffrage had been growing in importance for some time and various bills proposing to grant the suffrage to women had been introduced into Parliament. The most important of these was a bill introduced in May, 1911. It was made a non-party measure, and was debated and voted upon regardless of party lines.³

A division of the women suffragists held radical opinions and were known, colloquially, as "Suffragettes." These women insisted that the matter should be made a government measure, and to secure this resorted to all kinds of forcible measures: attempting to thrust themselves into the Parliament chamber, assaulting

¹ Most of the Opposition peers abstained from voting; thirty-seven Unionists voted with the government, believing that only by passing the bill could they avoid "the intrusion of 500 'mushroom' peers." The vote justified their action. Lord Morley read his carefully prepared statement, "If the Bill should be defeated to-night, his majesty would assent to the creation of peers sufficient in numbers to guard against any combination of the different parties in the Opposition by which the Government Bill might again be exposed to defeat."

² The provisions relate to the working classes, and the purpose is to insure them against ill health and unemployment. The expense is to be borne partly by regular contributions by the workers themselves, partly by employers, and partly by the nation.

³ The bill was read a second time by a vote of 255 to 88, but was then dropped. The great object of the suffragists is to gain the right to vote for Members of Parliament; they already have a limited local suffrage.

members of the cabinet, particularly the Prime Minister, breaking windows in the official residences, and other acts of violence. Not content with these demonstrations, organized bands of women, in 1912 and 1913, broke the windows of shops and residences regardless of who owned them, poured acid into letter-boxes, and set fire

INTERIOR OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

to buildings. Numbers were arrested, convicted of conspiracy, and sentenced to imprisonment.¹

695. Strikes. 1910-1912.—The years 1910-1912 were marked by extensive labor troubles and strikes, causing great apprehension, some loss of life, and severe money losses. The questions at issue were principally matters relating to agreements. The great railway strike of 1911 was one of the most serious strikes on record, involving as it did the food supplies of the towns and great cities and, indeed, of the nation. The strike began with the dock laborers in London on a question of wages, and spread to

¹ The defense made by these militant suffragists was, that only in this way could the matter be forced upon the government. By far the greater number of women in favor of the suffrage for women disavowed these lawless proceedings.

the railway employees. The government, in order to insure supplies of food, used force, and managed by the aid of non-union men to keep some railway service in operation.¹ That the men had grievances was not denied, but the methods employed by them were severely criticized.

Another strike, scarcely less grave than that of the railway men, was that of the coal miners (1912). Beginning with a comparatively trifling occurrence, it spread until nearly every coal-mining company in the kingdom was affected, and the mining of coal ceased. Ocean steamers were held up, railway and steam traffic suspended, factories stopped, and household supplies cut off. Efforts at conciliation were fruitless, and finally Parliament in great haste passed a "Minimum Wage Bill" (1912), by the terms of which boards or committees were provided which should determine a "minimum wage" or the lowest limit to which wages should fall. Soon after this, work in the mines was resumed. Later another strike of dock laborers took place.

696. Union of South Africa. 1910. — By the South African Act of 1909 practical self-government was granted to the colonies of Cape of Good Hope, Natal, the Transvaal, the Orange River Colony, under the title of the Union of South Africa. Under this act the governor is appointed by the crown and the legislature is elective, and there is a system of cabinet responsibility as in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. The new Union was begun in 1910 (May 31). Lord Gladstone² was appointed governor, and Louis Botha, perhaps the most prominent Boer general in the South African war, was chosen prime minister. Such confidence reposed in late enemies has rarely been seen, and so far events have justified it.

¹ This strike was chiefly what is known as a "sympathetic strike," as well as one to compel the "recognition" of the unions by the companies involved.

² Lord Gladstone (Herbert John Gladstone) is a son of the late William E. Gladstone. One of the great problems in South Africa is the race question. By the laws of the Act of Union only persons of European descent can sit in the legislative assemblies.

897. George V; Queen Mary; Accession Declaration. 1910-1912. — At the death of Edward VII (May 6, 1910), his second son George¹ succeeded and was proclaimed King George V (May 9). He was born on June 3, 1865. He was educated as a naval officer, spending a number of years at sea. In his extensive travels the prince made a good impression. In 1893 he married Princess Mary of Teck ("Princess May") a granddaughter of Queen Victoria's uncle, the Duke of Cambridge, sixth son of George III.²

After much discussion both in and out of Parliament, the Accession Declaration Act was passed (August 3, 1910) which very considerably modifies the declaration as stated

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in the Bill of Rights (§ 485). By the terms of this Act, a new monarch is simply required to declare that he is a Protestant and that he will maintain Protestantism, without insisting upon a definition.

King George and Queen Mary were crowned in Westminster Abbey, June 22, 1911, with great display. On December 12, 1911, their majesties were also crowned at Delhi, India. The cele-

¹ His elder brother, Alfred, Duke of Clarence, died unmarried in 1892.

² As Queen Mary she is the first British-born royal consort since Katherine Parr, wife of Henry VIII.

bration at Delhi, called the Durbar, was observed with great magnificence.

698. Recent Events. 1911-1912. — The years 1911 and 1912 were years of great unrest almost everywhere. In 1911 a revolt in Morocco led the sultan of that country to appeal for aid to France. A military force was sent in response, and as a result the interests of Spain, Germany, and England were believed to be involved, and war seemed to be imminent. Largely through the firmness of the British government war was averted. By agreement (1911) a virtual French protectorate of Morocco was agreed to, Germany receiving certain privileges in Morocco, and large territory in French Congo from France in return for her acquiescence in the plan.

Almost immediately after the Moroccan difficulty, Italy began a war against Turkey nominally over matters connected with troubles in Tripoli, but really for the extension of Italian control in North Africa.

In China an open rebellion against the Manchu Dynasty broke out, and in 1912 a Chinese Republic was set up. Through all this, including troubles in Persia, the English government was able to keep out of war.

Negotiations with the United States led to the signing of a Treaty of Peace and Arbitration providing for the submission to arbitration of almost all differences that might arise. This treaty failed of confirmation in the United States Senate by a small vote.¹

An Irish Home Rule Bill was under discussion in the House of Commons during the sessions of 1912, and was passed on January 16, 1913, by a majority of 110. The Bill was sent at once to the Lords, who rejected it by a majority of 257. Under the Veto Act (§ 691) if the House of Commons repasses the Bill in each of

¹ The reason given was that the terms of the treaty infringed upon the constitutional rights of the Senate, but it was generally thought that political feeling was responsible for the failure of this effort after peaceful means of settling differences.

three successive sessions within not less than two years, the Bill will become a law notwithstanding the objection of the Lords.

Another important Act which gave rise to a long debate in the Commons was that providing for the disestablishment of the Church in Wales.¹ The Bill finally passed the House, February 5, 1913, by a majority of 107. It was rejected by the Lords by a majority of 201.

699. Conclusion. — By the census of 1911 Great Britain rules, or rather controls, a population of about 420,000,000. No other government in history has controlled so many or so diverse peoples.² The logical result has been the granting of more and more power to the over-seas possessions until almost all British colonies, with the exception of India and some of the islands, are self-ruled or nearly so, the tie binding them to Great Britain being very much of a sentimental one. Within the United Kingdom itself there is a steady tendency toward a more complete democracy, or as many would say, a socialistic government. Certainly the Old Age Pension Bill, the National Insurance Bill, the Minimum Wage Bill, to mention no others, are all measures which less than fifty years ago would have been looked upon with serious apprehension by most thoughtful men. That a share in the exercise of civil and political power will be extended to all sorts and conditions of men seems to be the legitimate outcome ; to prepare the community for this by education and wise legislation is perhaps the most important social and political mission of the present day.

¹ Members of the Church of England form a very small proportion of the population of Wales.

² China has, according to Chinese estimates, a population of 433,553,000, but careful authorities believe this to be much beyond the actual numbers, which some place as less than 300,000,000.

LONDON BRIDGE IN 1900

APPENDIX I

BRIEF HISTORY OF CONTINENTAL EUROPE TO 1648

CHAPTER I

1. The Roman Empire in the Fourth Century.—The Roman Empire¹ reached its greatest extent in the fourth century. Its expanse of territory was populated by a great variety of races. All these peoples had essentially the same law, were taxed by the same power, and recognized the same head. That this great empire should have held together as long as it did is due to several causes, among them, (1) the admirable system of organization which extended to every part of the realm; (2) the excellent roads which made communication easy and rapid; (3) the system of Roman law; (4) the deification of the Roman emperor, making him the personal embodiment of the state; (5) the uniform coinage; (6) the well-drilled and, in the earlier days, efficient army, which enforced respect and obedience.²

2. The Barbarians.—Outside the bounds of the Empire, north and east, there lived many peoples whom the Romans called by the name of Barbarians.³ Little is known of the history or the condition of these, for they had no literature or records. They had no cities, and their chief occupations were warlike and pas-

¹ It comprised all Europe south of the Rhine and the Danube, Asia Minor and Asia eastward to a line drawn nearly south from the Caspian Sea to the desert of Arabia, Syria, Egypt, and the southern coast of the Mediterranean, extending considerable distance inland.

² The very extent of the empire led to its division (A.D. 293) into the Eastern and Western Empires, divided by the Adriatic Sea. Theoretically it was still the Roman Empire, and was, now and then, united under a strong emperor. The division became permanent at the death of Theodosius, A.D. 395.

³ The chief Teutonic nations were: the Goths, divided into Ostrogoths (East Goths), and Visigoths (West Goths); Franks; Saxons; Vandals; Burgundians; Alemanni; Langobards; Normans. Of the Tartars or Mongols, the Huns were the great representatives, and later the Ottoman Turks.

toral. Every man was a warrior, always armed and ready to fight. They were divided into tribes, often fighting with each other.¹

As the population increased more land was needed.² A tribe or a whole nation would emigrate; those living near the bounds of the Empire would cross the line and demand, or attempt to seize, territory. Many of the barbarians living along the boundary would become well acquainted with Roman ways, visit Roman cities, enter the service of the Roman state, and later carry back to their old homes information of Roman civilization.

Besides these attractions, a great force was impelling these barbarians from behind. North and east of the Teutonic tribes were hordes of Slavs, and Mongols or Tartars, who were pushing forward and striving to obtain lands and plunder.

3. Invasions of the Barbarians. — In 375 A.D. the Visigoths, a Teutonic tribe, fleeing before the savage Huns, a Tartar tribe, asked permission to cross the Danube and reside within the bounds of the empire. These Goths were already Christians and it did not seem an unreasonable request, or a dangerous experiment. After considerable negotiation they were admitted. But, chiefly through the acts of untrustworthy Roman officials, they were angered. War broke out, and at Adrianople (378) Valens, the emperor of the Eastern Empire, was defeated and slain. The importance of this battle lies in the fact that it showed that the imperial armies were not invincible. The barbarians had got well within the empire, and never went out.

Under the able Theodosius (379–395) the empire was united under one head and regained somewhat of its ancient prestige, but the tendencies toward decay were scarcely checked; they were too deeply seated to be removed.

4. Causes of the Decay of the Roman Empire. — Some of the causes of this decay and weakness were: (1) The great increase of slavery and a class resembling serfs (*Coloni*),³ and the conse-

¹ The *Germania* of Tacitus is our chief authority for the history and customs of the Teutonic tribes.

² A people that lives by hunting and grazing needs many times more land than one which lives by agriculture.

³ *Coloni*, or serfs, somewhat resembled the Russian serf. They paid rent but could not be separated from the land. In theory freemen, practically they could

quent decline of free labor and the extinction of the middle class — the mainstay of a state ; (2) Heavy taxation, and the farming out of the collection of taxes to the highest bidder ; (3) The steady decrease in population, owing partly to the destruction of the free laboring class, partly to the low birth-rate ; (4) The recruiting of the armies from the barbarians made necessary by the low birth-rate and decrease in the free population, with a consequent loss in patriotism and civic excellence ; (5) The very peace and good order in the empire which led men to forget that there must be something more than mere organization and officials to make and preserve a government ; (6) Armies inadequate to protect the long boundaries, and no system of militia, so that, when once the barbarians broke through the lines, there was nothing to resist them, but they could go where they pleased ; (7) In addition to all the above, ease of living had led to luxury, lack of energy, and loss of originality in almost all fields of human enterprise. Art, literature, philosophy, science—all showed a decadence ; even in government there was a falling away, and it was with codification and commentaries rather than with originality and progress, that law and political science were occupied. Such was the condition of affairs at the opening of the fifth century (401). From this time there was a succession of invasions and marchings to and fro by Teutonic tribes. Sometimes they were nominally allies, or “ guests ” as they would call themselves, and did not interfere with the laws and customs except so far as these interfered with their wishes. Thus there would be two sets of laws side by side — one for the Roman and one for the invader.

5. Alaric the Goth ; Fall of Rome. 410.— It soon came to pass that not only large portions of the Roman armies, but the generals also were barbarians. Thus the Vandal, Stilicho, a Roman general, was the great opponent of the Visigoth, Alaric. This Visigothic leader, who had been marching through Greece, Illyricum, and northern Italy, on the assassination of Stilicho through the jealousy of the Roman emperor, turned toward Rome

not leave the estates, for they could not take away property with them. In time it came about that the status of *colonus* descended from father to son, and once a *colonus* always a *colonus*.

and appeared before the city in the autumn of 408. Rome was spared on the payment of a heavy ransom. He came also in 409, and again in 410. This last time he took the city and gave it over to pillage. It was six hundred years since Rome had even seen an enemy from her walls, and eight hundred since an enemy had been within them.¹

6. Barbarian Control ; Fall of the Western Empire (476) ; Rise of New Kingdoms (375-500).—The world was startled ; Rome lost much of her prestige ; the Barbarians felt that the empire belonged to them, and they set up and put down emperors who often were mere puppets in their hands. So great, even yet, was the force of the Roman name that the nominal Western Empire lasted about sixty years longer. At last, in 476, the Emperor Romulus Augustulus was forced by Odoacer, a Teuton chief, to abdicate, and the Western Roman Empire came to an end, though the authority of the emperor at Constantinople was at least nominally recognized.

Even before the fall of Rome (410), the empire had begun to give place to new kingdoms or states which claimed to be kingdoms. There were many depopulated districts. The Barbarians were eager for land and secured it sometimes by force, sometimes by treaty in return for assistance as allies of the Roman armies. Beginning about 375 the movement lasted for about two hundred years. The character of these invaders varied. Many were more than ready to adopt Roman customs and Christianity ; others seemed bent on havoc, like the Vandals, who have given the name of vandalism to unreasoning and wanton destruction.

By the close of the fifth century the whole of the old Western Roman Empire, except the Italian peninsula, was in the hands of Teutonic tribes,² of which the chief were the Goths and Franks.

7. Invasion of the Huns ; Attila, the Hun (445-451).—During the fifth century a great danger threatened Europe, from the

¹ Hannibal in B.C. 211 ; and the Gauls in B.C. 390.

² About 500 the Visigoths occupied parts of Gaul and Spain ; the Suevi, northwest Spain and a good part of modern Portugal ; the Franks, northwest Gaul and the country north of it ; the Burgundians, the lands along the Rhone ; the Allemanni, Switzerland ; the Ostrogoths, eastern Hungary and Bosnia ; Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, England ; and the Vandals, the northern coast of Africa.

invasion of the Huns, an Asiatic people of the Mongolian race. Why they left their Asiatic home is not known. Possibly they in turn were pressed upon by natives east of them. They were a savage people who spared no foe. About the time of the battle of Adrianople (378) they had settled nearly where modern Hungary is. The Eastern Emperor had bought security from attack, but, as is almost always the case, larger tribute was soon demanded.

Under Attila, who became king in 445, the Huns controlled nearly the whole of Europe north of the Danube and east of the Rhine as far as the shores of the Baltic. It was not strange that Attila turned his attention to the rich countries south of those rivers. First he raided the Eastern Empire to the very walls of Constantinople. The city was saved by a disgraceful treaty yielding considerable territory and agreeing to a large annual tribute.

8. Battle of Châlons, 451. — Then Attila turned to the west. He invaded Gaul with a large army, but was defeated near Châlons (451) by a combined force of Visigoths, Burgundians, Franks, and others under Ætius. This has been reckoned as one of the great battles of the world. It was a conflict between the Aryan and Tartar tribes, between civilization and barbarism, Christianity and heathenism. The next year Attila advanced again and destroyed the city of Aquileia at the head of the Adriatic. Fugitives from this city and the neighboring plains founded Venice on the islands of the shallow sea. Attila established himself at Milan, but later retired beyond the Danube and died (453).

9. The Vandals; Gaiseric. 406–534. — The Vandals, originally living near the Baltic, after various wanderings, crossed the Rhine (406) near Mainz (Mayence) and found their way to Spain (409). Some years later (429) they crossed into Africa¹ under the leadership of Gaiseric (or Genseric). Northern Africa, known as the “granary of Rome,” offered an easy prey to these rapacious invaders, and by the capture of the flourishing city of Carthage (439) Gaiseric gained complete control. Africa was lost to the Western Empire, and Roman civilization, to a great extent, destroyed. Rome and Italy suffered much from the loss of supplies. North Africa had been a stronghold of orthodox

¹ Some authorities say they were invited by the Roman governor Boniface.

Christianity, the home of Augustine¹ and other Church Fathers. The Vandals, though Christian in name, were Arians and hostile to the orthodox faith, so all the bishops and clergy of North Africa that were able fled to Europe and greatly influenced European thought and practice. The Vandals became seafaring men and seized the islands of the western Mediterranean. After the death of Attila, Gaiseric thought it opportune to attack Rome. This he did in 455. Not a blow was struck in defense, and for a fortnight the city was sacked, and hundreds of citizens were carried into slavery. Gaiseric died in 477. In time the Vandals became more civilized and adopted the orthodox faith. Their dominion lasted about eighty years, when their power was overthrown by Belisarius (534), a great general of the Eastern Empire.

10. Europe during the Sixth Century. — The sixth century was on the Continent, as it was in England, a time of flux. Peoples were moving to and fro, petty kingdoms were set up and pulled down, all Europe was striving to accommodate itself to the changing conditions. It was needful, if there was to be peace and progress, that the newcomers and the old inhabitants should be fused into one people, and that in some way Roman and Teutonic laws and customs should be adjusted. The Teutonic law, which was unwritten, was based on the rights of the individual; the Roman law was founded on duty to the state or community. Roman law, moreover, had been carefully codified and was a mass of rules applicable to a highly civilized community. The process of adjustment was long, and centuries were needed to complete it; but in the end Roman law was the conqueror on the continent, while in Great Britain Teutonic law prevailed.²

11. Odoacer (476–493); Theodoric. — In no country were conditions worse than in Italy. After Odoacer had compelled Romulus Augustulus to abdicate (§ 6) in 476, he sent the insignia of office to the Eastern Emperor, asking that he might rule at Rome as his representative. Odoacer ruled nearly all Italy and

¹ St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, died (431) during the siege of that city by Gaiseric.

² This did not take place until late in the Middle Ages. Roman law was, however, considerably modified, as was Teutonic law in England.

ruled it well. But he ruled by force and depended upon mercenary troops; he had no real support from the people of Italy.

The Ostrogoths, who held the lands south of the Danube, alternately threatened and aided the Eastern Empire. Under their able king, Theodoric, they were a strong power. Theodoric, from a residence in Constantinople, was familiar with conditions in the empire and well fitted to lead an invasion. The Ostrogoths were warlike, but as Constantinople was almost impregnable to such warriors, it was natural that their attention should be attracted to Italy. It was easy to pick a quarrel. Then Theodoric led his armies westward against Odoacer, who held out bravely for four years. He was forced to surrender at Ravenna (495), and a few days later was treacherously slain.

12. Theodoric. 493–526. — Theodoric set up a new kingdom with Ravenna for its capital. He was an admirer of Roman customs. The buildings erected by him at Ravenna still stand to testify to his love of architecture and civilized life, while the works of Boethius, Cassiodorus, and Symmachus show his love of learning and encouragement of literature.

Theodoric had a clear conception of what a great ruler ought to be. He was politic and generally far-sighted. His wife was the sister of Clovis, king of the Franks, one of his daughters was wife of the king of the Burgundians, another of the king of the Visigoths. A sister was wife of the king of the Vandals. It is said that, except in Britain, there was no place within the whole of the Western Empire where his influence was not felt. He was, however, on occasion, suspicious, cruel, and vindictive. He is said to have slain Odoacer with his own hand, cast Pope John into prison where he died, and, near the close of his reign, had Boethius, the philosopher, and Symmachus put to death.

He was nominally subject to the Eastern Emperor, but was really independent, and his well-organized kingdom included Italy, Sicily, and the lands north and east of the upper Adriatic. He made little or no change in the administration of Italy, and though he and his people were Arians, he was tolerant, and is reported to have said, "No man's conscience should be forced contrary to his judgment." He died in 526.

13. Justinian ; Belisarius. — Justinian, one of the few great Eastern Emperors (527–565), tried to bring back Italy and Africa to the empire. His success in Africa through Belisarius (534) has already been mentioned. But though the same able general was sent to Italy (535) it was not for a number of years that the imperial armies, then under Narses, were successful (553). So complete was the defeat that the Goths were compelled to leave Italy and, losing even their name, disappeared from history.

14. The Franks ; Clovis. 481–511. — Of all the barbarian tribes the one on whom our attention is centered for several centuries is that of the Franks. Late in the fifth century (481) under Clovis,¹ they became a great power. They never cut themselves aloof from their former surroundings, as did the other tribes, but moved forward gradually, always able to bring up reserves. In this way they held the territory they gained and kept increasing their possessions. They turned their arms against their fellow Teutonic tribes and overcame first one and then another. Clovis and his people were heathen, but he married an orthodox Christian princess, and in time adopted Christianity. Thus he became a champion of the orthodox faith in Gaul against the Goths and other Teutonic natives who were Arians. The successes of Clovis were of great importance. They meant that the Franks were to rule Gaul, later to be called, after them, France, and that the Catholic faith, not Arianism, was to be the religion of the land. More than this, it meant that the Bishop of Rome, now known as the Pope, had gained a strong ally, and that there would be an alliance between the Frankish kingdom and the Popes which would greatly influence all European history. The dominions of Clovis comprised nearly all modern France, Belgium, and lands north and south of the Rhine.

15. Merovingians ; Mayors of the Palace. 511–687. — At the death of Clovis, according to Teutonic custom, his kingdom was divided among his four sons. For the next hundred years the Frankish kingdoms were the scene of confusion, havoc, and cruel murders, but there was, nevertheless, growth and development.

¹ He is known also as Chlodwig, which later became Ludwig, and in French Louis.

The height of the sway of the Merovingians,¹ as the descendants of Clovis were called, was under Dagobert (628–638). Even before him the nobles had begun to acquire great power. The chieftains became great proprietors, and their followers lost more and more of their privileges and became soldiers or peasants. Great lords warred against other lords, the weaker losing and the more powerful gaining. It was important for the king that these nobles should be friendly, for their support was essential to him. Therefore privileges and authority were bestowed upon them. Those nearest the king's person were most favored—among them none more so than the *major-domus*, or “mayor of the palace,” who was the chief official of the king's household. This office became hereditary, and in time the “mayor of the palace” had more power than the king, and for about sixty years the Merovingian kings reigned, but did not rule.

16. Pippin (687–714); Charles Martel (714–741); Battle of Tours. 732.—Among the great families one had “by alliances, by wealth, by prowess, by military skill, and by policy gradually attained a power with which no other family, chief, or combination of chiefs could any longer contend.” This was the family of Pippin of Heristal (d. 714). His son, Charles Martel (the Hammer), “mayor of the palace,” not only put down domestic anarchy, but at the battle of Tours, near Poitiers in central France (732), drove back the hitherto irresistible Moorish foe (§ 21). At the request of the Pope he interfered in Italian affairs, and from this time the Franks and their successors were looked upon as the protectors of the Papacy, and, with little exception, acted as such down to the latter part of the nineteenth century. Charles Martel, king except in name, died 741.

17. Pippin the Short (752–768).—Pippin the Short, the son and able successor of Charles Martel, resolved to be king in name as well as in fact. He appealed to the Pope, Zacharias, asking him whether it was a good thing for the one to be king who did not have the power. The Pope replied, “It seems better that he who has the power in the state should be and be called king rather

¹ The name is possibly derived from Meroveus or Merwig (448–458), grandfather of Clovis.

than he who is falsely called king." Whereupon Pippin dethroned the Merovingian Childeric III and called himself king. This was the beginning of the Carolingian dynasty.¹ It should be noted, however, that the Pope did not make Pippin king, but only sanctioned the adoption of the title.

18. Langobards; Pippin's Gift to the Pope. 756.— Among the rudest of the Teutonic tribes was that of the Langobards, later softened into Lombards. These took possession (568) of the plains north of the river Po, ever since called Lombardy, and later extended their boundary southward, and in 751 captured Ravenna and threatened Rome. As the Lombards were Arians the outlook for the Catholic Pope was serious in every way. He vainly appealed for aid to the Eastern Emperor, and then turned to Pippin, the Frank. This he did personally, visiting Gaul for the purpose. He was successful in his mission, and Pippin entered Italy with an army and relieved Rome. But as soon as Pippin returned to Gaul, Aistulf, the Lombard king, again besieged Rome. Again Pope Stephen appealed to Pippin, who entered Italy a second time. Pippin made thorough work. Aistulf was forced to give up all the territory he had wrested from the empire, and then, instead of keeping it himself, Pippin turned the territory over to the Pope (756), who governed the country as the Empire had done.² Possibly this was the beginning of the temporal power of the church, which, though greatly restricted in later times, lasted until 1870, when Napoleon III withdrew the French troops from Rome, and Victor Emmanuel II, King of Italy, took possession.³

19. Mohammedanism. 622.— Since the eighth century one of the great religious and political forces in the world has been that of Mohammedanism, or, as it is sometimes called, Islam.⁴ Mohammed (or Mahommed, or Mahomet), the founder, was born in Arabia about 571. Until he was forty he lived an obscure life,

¹ So called from Pippin's son, Charles the Great, or Charlemagne.

² The Papacy already held much land in Italy, acquired mainly by gifts or bequest, but it was as owner, not as political ruler.

³ The document known as "Donation of Constantine" (324) conferred upon the Pope the city of Rome, land and power. It was used as a basis for extensive claims.

⁴ The word is also written Mahommedanism and Muhammedanism.

but then (610 or 611), according to the legend, he had a vision which turned him into a prophet and the founder of a new religion. Beginning to teach his doctrines, he aroused great opposition, and fled for safety from Mecca, his place of residence, to Medina (622).¹ The inhabitants of Medina were enemies of those of Mecca and took up the cause of Mohammed. In the guerilla warfare which followed the Meccans were defeated. Gradually the influence and power of Mohammed increased until all Arabia accepted the new faith.

20. Character of Mohammedanism ; Its Conquests. 571-718. — Mohammed claimed no miraculous power, and regarded himself only as an inspired prophet and reformer. Judaism and Christianity, he said, are perverted forms of the true religion which he proclaimed, whose watchword is, "There is but one God, and Mohammed is his prophet."²

The religion founded by him is called Islam, that is, resignation, and its followers Mussulmans.³ To spread the religion by force was regarded as commendable. "War against the infidels," said the prophet, "is a sacred war ; God is with the combatants, and those who fall in battle will pass straight to Paradise." This doctrine was faithfully believed by Mohammed's followers and successors. The armies were fanatical in their faith and devotion. They offered their enemies the choice between the Koran — that is, acceptance of the religion ; tribute ; or the sword. The third of these meant death ; the second, heavy tribute and harsh treatment ; the first, admission to equality with the faithful. For years these fanatical armies carried everything before them. By 718 the new religion extended from the Indus to the Atlantic, and its votaries held Syria, Palestine, the old Persian Empire, Armenia, Turkestan, part of India, Egypt, northern Africa, and Spain. The greater part of the conquered peoples embraced Islam, and re-

¹ The year, 622, of this flight, known as the Hegira, is the beginning of the Mohammedan era. The Christian year 1912 nearly corresponds to the Mohammedan year 1330. The difference in reckoning is owing to the fact that the Mohammedan year is based on lunar time, while the Christian is based on sidereal time.

² Often given as, "There is no God but Allah and Mohammed is his prophet."

³ Many of the real or supposed sayings of Mohammed were written down, and the collection is known as the Koran.

tained it even when the political power fell into other hands. With perhaps the single exception of Spain the followers of Mohammed lost little territory, and the religion claims to-day about 200,000,000 followers.¹ That Islam is well adapted to the Oriental mind is shown by its rapid growth, and by its hold upon the world.

21. The Moors in Spain. 711-732. — The Saracens, or Moors, entered Spain in 711, completely subdued the Visigothic king known as "Roderick, the last of the Goths," and in seven years (718) had gained all Spain and were making raids into Gaul. It was not, however, until 731 that, under a skillful general, Abderahman, the Moors were able to enter Gaul with a large army. As has been seen (§ 16) this army was routed at Poitiers (or Tours) in 732, and the Moorish leader slain. Whether the danger to Europe was quite so great as is often claimed is doubtful. It is hardly likely that the Moors would have advanced beyond Gaul, and it is probable that the Teutons would have united against the common foe as in the case of Attila the Hun (451). Besides this, Islam was not attractive to Teutonic minds.

22. Culture and Achievements of the Saracens. — For a hundred years or more the Mohammedans were unlettered and unprogressive, but in the ninth century, under the dynasty of the Abassides, a great change took place. The literature of the Greeks, Egyptians, and Eastern nations was sought for and studied, and the Saracens became the most learned people of their day. This was particularly true of the sciences. Mathematics, astronomy, and chemistry were pursued with great success. Indeed "algebra" and "chemistry" are Arabic words, and the Saracens are really the founders of the latter science. Through them we get our Arabic numerals which have been of such inestimable value. They were great botanists, the best physicians and surgeons of the time, the best farmers, the best architects, the best artisans, the best sailors, the clearest thinkers. The height of their intellectual progress was reached in Spain during the tenth century. Cordova was the center of learning. Its university is said to have had thousands of students, and among them were many Christians.

¹ The number of Christians is estimated at 494,000,000.

The Moors in Spain excelled in architecture, as the cathedral at Cordova, once a mosque, and the wonderfully beautiful ruins of the Alhambra in Grenada bear testimony. From these Saracens also come many of the Eastern influences, which are often wholly ascribed to the Crusades.

23. The Frankish Empire; Charles the Great. 768–814. — Pippin (§ 17) died in 768, and was succeeded by his two sons, Charles and Carloman; the latter died in 771, and Charles became sole ruler. Charles, born about 742, is one of the greatest men in history, and despite his faults well deserves the name of Great.¹ He was over six feet in height, of dignified presence, rather stout in person, but well proportioned, his eyes were large and lively, his expression bright and cheerful. He was temperate in his food and drink, especially in the latter, and it is said he hated drunkenness. Except on great occasions he dressed simply, always following the Frankish fashion, and differing little from the common dress of the people. He was skilled in reading aloud and in singing to the harp. He was fond of literature, of the liberal arts and the science of the day, and of architecture. Though we know that he could sign his name, it is not likely that he ever learned to write with any ease. He was familiar with Latin, and understood, if he did not speak, Greek. He was a great churchgoer. As a general and as a statesman he ranks as one of the foremost in history. His personal morality and that of his court was low. At the same time he must be judged by the standards of the day. Like other Teutonic monarchs, he was occasionally cruel and even inhuman.²

24. Conquests of Charles. — Some of the more important features of Charles's reign may be grouped under four heads: (1) His conquests. These comprised the Lombard kingdom in Italy, Saxony, Aquitaine, Bavaria, Bohemia, the Slavic lands along the Elbe and Drave, and portions of northern Spain. Thus he united the whole of central and a large part of western Europe under one rule — an empire unequalled since Roman days.

¹ By his Teutonic subjects he was called Karl; by his Latin ones, Carolus; and by the French he is known as Charlemagne, a name which is still often used.

² At Verden (782) he ordered 4500 prisoners of war to be beheaded.

25. Relations of Charles with the Church. — (2) Charles regarded the church as an inherent part of his empire. He saw to it that the Frankish church was carefully organized, and considered himself as the head of it. He presided at church councils, and kept constant oversight of the bishops. He believed it to be part of his religious duty to conquer the heathen and convert them to Christianity.¹

26. Organization of Charles's Empire. — (3) Charles divided his empire into districts or counties, over each of which he placed an administrative officer known as a count. The counts represented the emperor and presided at all assemblies of the people. Along the borders of his empire he established "marches" or "marks," over which he placed counts of the marks, or Margraves. These officers had intrusted to them great powers; they commanded armies and could act almost independently. Their special duties were to repel invasions.²

In order to keep himself informed of what was going on, as well as to exercise supervision over the counts, and to correct abuses, he created officers known as *missi dominici* (the lord's messengers). They usually went in pairs, a bishop and a count, and they were expected to bring back full reports of the state of the empire. Charles traveled frequently and acquainted himself personally with the condition of affairs. He issued directions or instructions, called *capitularies*, which related to his estates, to matters of public interest, and to the church. There does not seem to have been any regular system of taxation, and the personal resources of Charles came from large estates which were carefully managed.

27. Education, Literature, and the Arts under Charles. — (4) Charles was a lover of literature; he sought out learned men and invited them to his court. Among these were Alcuin from York, and Paul the Deacon (Paulus Diaconus). He found that even bishops wrote incorrectly, and determined to have schools established at every monastery, not only for the monks, but for the

¹ Among the heathen tribes that he conquered were those of Saxony.

² William the Conqueror under similar conditions pursued a similar policy (History, § 46).

youth of the vicinity. He did not, however, encourage the study of Teutonic languages, and it is largely due to him that for about five hundred years Latin was the literary language of Europe. This result was a natural one, because the teachers of religion were of the Latin church, whose services were in that language. They were the learned men, and they themselves having been educated in that tongue, Latin literature was their standard of excellence.¹

Charles was fond of architecture and had many buildings erected. The most famous of these is the cathedral at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), which he is said to have planned himself and in which he was buried.

28. Coronation of Charles. 800. — The event which stands out above all others in the history of this great man was his coronation as Emperor at Rome on Christmas Day, 800,² by Pope Leo III.

It has been said that "the coronation of Charles is not only the central event of the Middle Ages, it is also one of the very few events of which, taking them singly, it may be said if they had not happened, the history of the world would have been different."³ There is every reason to believe that if the Roman Empire had not been restored just then, it would not have been restored at all. There can be little doubt that Charles had some such end in view, but, according to best authorities, he had not expected it to come about just when and as it did.

The occasion of Charles's visit to Rome was the ill treatment of the newly chosen Pope by Roman factions. Like his predecessor, Stephen, who appealed to Pippin with so much success, Leo personally appealed to Charles (799). The king was too busy to go to Rome then, but went in the following year, and acquitted Leo of charges against him. Two days later, Christmas Day, as Charles was attending service in St. Peter's,⁴ while kneeling, the Pope placed upon his head a golden crown, anointed him with oil,

¹ There can be little doubt that to this movement, set on foot by Charles, we owe the preservation of many of the classics of antiquity, the manuscript copies of which might otherwise have perished.

² It was the custom then to begin the year on Christmas Day, hence the date of the coronation is sometimes given as 801.

³ Bryce, "Holy Roman Empire," chap. v, p. 50, ed. 1904.

⁴ The old basilica of that name.

and gave him the kiss of peace, while the people cried out, "Long life and victory to the mighty Charles, the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans, crowned of God."

29. Meaning of the Coronation ; "The Holy Roman Empire." — Exactly what this act meant has been much discussed. It is, however, clear that the Pope had no legal right to crown ; that Charles had not claimed the crown by right of conquest ; neither was he the nominee of the people of Rome. The most that can be said, is, that Charles was so eminently the man, that the Pope gave expression to what was indicated by circumstances and approved by the popular mind. It was, in fact, an insurrection against the Eastern Empire, which was, nominally, the Roman Empire. Henceforth the Roman Empire was transferred to the West and Charles was its emperor. But the act meant more than the separation of the West from the East. It meant a close union of church and state ; it was the beginning of that idea which, though not developed until later, so deeply affected the whole life of medieval Europe : the idea that the state should be at once political and ecclesiastical — that the "Holy Roman Church and the Holy Roman Empire are one and the same thing, in two aspects." On the spiritual side its head was the Pope, on the human and political, the Emperor. Charles, however, made little difference in his administration. He still named the bishops and abbots, he did not hesitate to speak strongly to the Pope, and unhesitatingly took the place of the protector and overseer of the church.

30. Relations of Charles with England. — With England the relations of Charles were close. He asked for one of his sons the hand of Offa's daughter in marriage (790?) ; he sent gifts to the bishoprics of Mercia and Northumberland, and wrote letters to Offa (795) ; and it was the Englishman Alcuin who was at the head of his literary and educational plans. Charles maintained relations with the whole English church, and English exiles found his court a safe refuge. Egbert of Wessex in his youth probably saw the coronation at Rome, and from Charles doubtless learned something of that statesmanship which afterwards served him so well.

31. Charles's Reign an Epoch. — With the reign of Charles a new epoch began. The age of barbarism and of brute force had ended.

Rude and rough as the following ages were, there was a vast difference between them and the period of the inroads of the barbarians. It was the beginning of Medieval Times or the Middle Ages. Charles died in 814 and was succeeded by his son Louis the Pious, also known as Le Débonnaire.

32. Disintegration of Charles's Empire. Louis the Pious and his Successors. 814-888. — Charles had left his empire in good order, and for some years the strength of the organization and of custom held it together; but the forces of disruption were too strong for his successors to cope with. Charles, however, had given an ideal after which to strive.

Among other disintegrating forces two may be mentioned here:

1) the Teutonic custom of dividing an inheritance among the sons of a ruler, not unfrequently begun during the lifetime of the father; (2) the growth and development of different languages.

Louis the Pious soon after his succession (817) associated three of his sons with him in the government, giving them more or less authority; and at his death (840) the three surviving sons continued the strife for mastery which had begun before their father's death.¹ This strife was brought to a close by the Treaty of Verdun (843). By the terms of this treaty Lothaire, the eldest, received the territory stretching from modern Belgium to Rome, with the title of Emperor; Louis the German (or Ludwig) received Bavaria and part of what is now known as Germany; while Charles the Bald, the youngest son, received what is nearly modern France. This is the first official recognition of the fact that Europe was being divided into nations speaking different languages. It was the beginning of France and Germany. In the kingdom of Charles the Bald the language spoken was already called *Lingua Romana*, the Roman tongue, a language founded on the old Latin spoken in Gaul; while the language spoken in the dominions of Louis was called *Lingua Teudesca*, or German tongue.² The do-

¹ Even Charles the Great had divided his empire among his three sons (806), but the death of two of them before their father left Louis an undivided inheritance.

² This fact is shown by what is known as the Oaths of Strassburg (842). These were taken by Charles and Louis, pledging themselves to support each other as against Lothaire. Each king took the oath before his army, using the language the respective armies could understand. The text of these oaths has come down to us.

minion of Lothaire, composed of many nationalities, was broken up by mountains, and had neither geographical, nor racial, nor lingual reasons for its existence, and was, almost from the first, the scene of many conflicts.¹

33. Europe during the Ninth Century ; Rise of National Feeling.—The history of Europe for the next century is one of intrigue and unstable governments. New kingdoms were set up, some to exist only a short time. What took place in Great Britain happened also on the Continent on a larger scale.

The underlying cause of the disintegration of the empire of Charles was the rise and development of new nationalities, shaped and modified largely by local conditions. In Gaul and in Italy the Teutons had become amalgamated with the old inhabitants and lost their original characteristics. They could no longer understand the speech of their forefathers. The inhabitants of the German lands, into which Roman life and civilization had never penetrated, inevitably tended to form nationalities Teutonic in race and language. Furthermore, the Teutonic idea that a kingdom was a private possession to be divided among the sons, led to great subdivision. Besides these a social and political institution, known as feudalism, at once an effect and cause of the condition of affairs, exercised a powerful influence.

34. Rise of Feudalism.—The origin of feudalism is obscure and was due to many causes, chiefly the military and economic conditions which surrounded the Teutonic peoples of western Europe. Its development was gradual, differing in different countries, and at different periods. In Gaul or France, the Christian portion of Spain, Italy, and Germany, it appeared during the latter part of the eighth century. In England, though it already existed in some of its features, it was introduced in a developed form by William the Conqueror. In the other European countries and in the Christian states of the East it appeared still later. It was most fully developed in France. It was at its height in the thirteenth century, and then its influence began

¹ It may be noted that Louis was called King of the Germans, Charles, King of the Franks, but the middle kingdom had to be called the Kingdom of Lothaire. The title of Emperor carried with it no power.

slowly to lessen as new conditions came into being. It cannot be said, however, that its influence has ever wholly disappeared.

35. Elements of Feudalism. — At its height there were three definite elements apparent: (1) The personal, or the personal relation between lord and vassal.¹ (2) The territorial, or where land was granted by a lord to a vassal on certain conditions, which varied greatly, the actual title to the fief remaining in the lord. The typical fief was land, but privileges of many kinds, offices, etc., also constituted fiefs. At first the relation was not necessarily an hereditary one, but in time it became so almost universally.² (3) The governmental, where political jurisdiction was granted by a lord to a vassal.

36. Effects of Feudalism. — It is easy to see that all holders of land or of power would be influenced by feudalism. Churches, monasteries, abbeys, bishops, abbots, and even cities would be sometimes lords and sometimes vassals. Thus feudalism affected every relation of life. The most obvious effect was the creation of petty domains, more or less independent. Every owner of land was a petty sovereign, every domain was a petty state. In such a condition of affairs a king would be often unable to perform the duties belonging to his office, and the protection, which could not be obtained from king or emperor, would be sought for from those who were able to give it. The result was the impossibility of a strong national government, hence national disorder and petty warfare.

Feudalism pressed most hardly on the poor, for little right was recognized by the upper classes but that of might. The sword was the arbiter, and society was perhaps generally in a state of

¹ "The vassal promised his lord fidelity, aid, and counsel. Fidelity, that is not to injure him, nor fight against him, not to attack his wife or children. Aid, that is to aid him by fighting for him or by lending him his fortified house, or even by lending him money, and by money payments under certain conditions. Counsel, that is to come to him for the purpose of giving him counsel and especially to aid him in pronouncing judgment." The vassal also gave homage, that is, an oath binding him to the lord for life—in other words becoming his man. The lord on his part promised protection to the vassal.

² Some curious illustrations of hereditary rights and privileges were shown at the coronation of Edward VII (1902), and of George V (1911). In the case of land, if there were no legitimate heirs, it reverted to the lord or to the king.

war. That this was so is shown by the establishment (1041), by the church, of the "Truce of God," which forbade private war from Wednesday evening till Monday morning, and upon certain specific holy days and seasons.¹ Though the truce was often violated, there can be no doubt that the effect was good.

Wherever feudalism prevailed it was modified to suit existing conditions. It was helpful in that, besides affording some kind of order in an unruly age, it fostered the spirit of personal independence, and it tended to increase home life, improve the condition of woman, and bring about a closer relation between the lord and his vassals.²

37. The Northmen in Europe. 700-1000. — The invasion of England by the Danes (History, §§ 19-21) was part of a great movement which, beginning in the eighth century, extended far and wide. The early inhabitants of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark belonged to the Teutonic race and were heathen. They are known as Scandinavians, Norsemen, or Northmen.³ Exactly what was the reason for the migrations is not certainly known, but it was probably due to several causes, among them love of adventure, overpopulation, dissatisfaction with home conditions, rise of great rulers who put down private warfare, and possibly the pressure from behind and fear of the Huns.

38. Expeditions of the Northmen. — Late in the eighth century, or early in the ninth, the Northmen began the conquest of the Orkneys, Shetlands, and Hebrides; about 874 they settled Iceland, and a century later Greenland was colonized; and about the first of the eleventh century they visited North America, which they called Vinland, but it is not known whether they made any settlements there.

¹ The existence of such an arrangement shows the necessity for it. The number of days in a year upon which private war was admissible was finally reduced to eighty. The penalty of violation was excommunication.

² The lord lived on an estate, his castle was his headquarters and place of residence. Thus he was thrown into close and continued contact with his family and retainers, as neighbors were few and distant. In his absence, his wife was the head, and the possession of authority gave her position.

³ As the invaders of England appear to have come chiefly from Denmark, they are called Danes.

Meantime, Northmen from what is now Sweden were crossing the Baltic and pushing eastward. By 862, Ruric, one of their great chiefs who had gained possession of Kiev and Novgorod, set up a kingdom which was to develop into the Empire of Russia.¹ From Russia traders made their way to Constantinople; and later, attracted by the wealth of the country, armed bands penetrated even to the walls of Constantinople. About the year 1000 Vladimir, the Grand Prince of Russia, married a sister of the Eastern Emperor and became a Christian. Thus the Eastern or Greek church, became the church of Russia, and in later times the emperor became the head of the Greek church of Russia.

39. Northmen in France (814-987); The Normans. — During the confusion following the death of Charles the Great there was scarcely a harbor or river mouth from the Elbe round to the Garonne that had not been the scene of incursions by the northern vikings. Like those who attacked England, they came, not only to plunder, but to settle. With a single exception their settlements were small; and receiving no reënforcements from outside, the settlers at length became merged into the surrounding population and their identity and language were lost.

The exception was in northern Gaul or France. The invaders in large numbers entered the mouth of the Seine, and after fifty years or more of warfare were strong enough to make serious raids into the surrounding territory. In 876 Rollo (or Rolf), the Northman, landed in France. He was an extraordinarily able man, and for thirty-six years, it was said, he ravaged northern France. In 888 he besieged Paris, but the city was successfully defended for about a year by Odo (or Eudes), Count of Paris. The power of the Northmen became so great that Charles the Simple finally bought Rollo off by granting him territory which he already held. He also gave him his daughter in marriage, and Rollo ultimately became a Christian.² Rollo's successors increased the territory and thus was founded Normandy. The Northmen

¹ In 1862 Russia celebrated the millennial of her foundation.

² There is so much of legend connected with Rollo's history, that it is impossible to separate the truth. Indeed it is by no means certain that there was not more than one Rollo.

speedily adapted themselves to their new conditions, dropped most of their old customs, adopted the language of the country, somewhat modifying it, and so forming Norman-French, they themselves becoming Normans (History, § 21.)

The influence of the Normans in France was great. During the long struggle between the Carolings (descendants of Charles) and the Dukes of Paris, the Northmen at first gave allegiance to the Teutonic Carolings, but when they became Norman-French they naturally turned to the French Dukes of Paris. So it came about that the powerful Dukes of Normandy supported the Dukes of Paris, and as a result Hugh Capet became king of France (987), and his descendants sat on the French throne for eight hundred years.

40. Normans in England, 1066; In Italy. 1029-1135. — Normandy was well established and prosperous by the eleventh century, and became itself a starting point for expeditions, of which the most conspicuous was that led by Duke William to England (1066). Earlier than this, Normans from France settled in southern Italy, in time gained Sicily from the Saracens, who had made it one of their conquests, and early in the twelfth century set up the Norman kingdom of Naples, and by 1135 they controlled Sicily and all Italy south of Rome.

41. Teutonic Empire; Germany. 897-1125. — The Carolingian line came to an end in 911. By this time, owing partly to the weakness of the emperors; partly to the attacks of the Northmen on the north and west, and the Slavs and Hungarians or Magyars on the east; partly to the Teutonic love of independence — strong dukes had arisen, kings all but in name.¹ In the choice of a king recourse was now had to election, and the German nobles chose Conrad of Franconia (911-918). He had little power, and his troubled reign was followed by that of Henry of Saxony, known as Henry the Fowler, who was chosen by the nobles (919).

42. Henry the Fowler; 919-936. — Henry was one of the great men of the Middle Ages. He followed as far as he could the policy of Charles the Great and did not attempt the impossible. He successfully repelled the invasions of the Northmen and

¹ The chief of these duchies were Saxony, Franconia, Swabia, and Bavaria.

Magyars, and recovered for Germany Lotharingia (Lorraine), which remained German till the eighteenth century. He built cities and fortresses and left a strong kingdom. In that he established the margravate of Brandenburg, which afterwards developed into the kingdom of Prussia, he may in a sense be called the founder of that kingdom.

43. Otto the Great. 936–973. — Henry was succeeded by his son, Otto I, the Great. Otto's first wife was Edith, daughter of Edward the Elder of England¹ (901–925). Otto acquired by policy what he could not acquire by force. He managed to gain control of the great duchies and greatly increased the power of the crown.² It was natural that he should wish to restore the empire. The condition of Italy, now in a state of anarchy, was favorable for carrying out such a scheme. He was appealed to by the Pope for aid, and in 962 was crowned by him Emperor at Rome.³ Otto had been crowned at Aachen (936) with the silver crown of Germany; at Pavia (962) with the iron crown of Lombardy; and now with the golden crown of the Empire.

The results of this coronation were far-reaching. It brought Italy and Germany, two incongruous elements, together politically, and in consequence the emperors were led into numerous Italian campaigns; into struggles with the Papacy; and too often to neglect or undervalue what should have been their chief work — the unification of Germany. The outcome was a divided Germany even to our own day. The coronation of Otto, moreover, was the real beginning of the so-called Holy Roman Empire, the ideal of which was "a world monarchy and a world religion," or,

¹ Edward's four daughters married, respectively, Charles the Simple, King of the West Franks; Louis, King of Lower Burgundy; Hugh the Great, Duke of France; and Otto. Edward's successor, Athelstane (925–940), also had close relations with the continent.

² He seized lands where there were no direct heirs, or he claimed that by rebellion lands were forfeited; he succeeded by various means in getting the great duchies into the hands of relatives who would support him.

³ No German had received the title since Arnulf (896). From this time until the end, in 1806, no one but a German did receive it, for Charles V was of German descent.

that the Pope should be the spiritual head of an empire of which the temporal head was the emperor¹ (§ 29).

44. Conrad II (1024–1039) ; Henry III (1039–1056). Under Conrad II (1024–1039) and Henry III (1039–1056), both able men, the Medieval Empire reached its height. More than others they strengthened their power in Germany. One of Henry's great interests was the reform of the church. Rome, and indeed Italy, was given over to the selfish rule of men and factions. At one time (1046) there were three rival Popes, each claiming to be the true one. Henry caused all these to be deposed, and his own nominee to be chosen, and during the rest of his reign nominated the Popes himself.

Henry was succeeded by his son Henry IV, a boy six years old, whose long reign of fifty years (1056–1106) was marked by disaster. Henry, by no means a weak man, was the victim of circumstances. At Canossa, North Italy (1077), he suffered a great humiliation in begging forgiveness from Pope Gregory VII, and in 1106 was compelled to abdicate. He was succeeded by his son Henry V (1106–1125), who married Matilda, daughter of Henry I of England.

45. Frederick Barbarossa (1152–1190). — Frederick Barbarossa (Red Beard) is a most interesting character. He had a great desire to restore the Roman Empire and claimed to have received the crown by divine right. He attempted an impossible task, but his efforts were marked by courage and well-directed, well-sustained plans. He was "the most imposing, the most heroic, and the most brilliant of the long line of German princes who strove to realize the impracticable but glorious political ideal of the Middle Ages." He is one of the great heroes of Germany, and after his death it was said that he was only waiting to reappear and establish a great empire. His contest with the Italian cities, and his death on a crusade are noticed elsewhere.

46. The Emperors and the Popes ; Growth of the Papal Power. — Owing to the character of the Popes and the condition of Rome and Italy, the emperors had the upper hand. But during the

¹ This name gave rise to Voltaire's famous saying, that the empire was "neither holy, nor Roman, nor an empire."

eleventh century strong men occupied the papal chair, the power of the church increased, and a long struggle between the empire and the church for the supremacy was the result — a struggle which caused much suffering, misery, and bloodshed.

The growth of the influence and power of the Bishop of Rome was gradual. It was greatly helped by Rome ceasing to be the political capital, for as a result the Bishop, later to be called Pope,¹ became the chief official in the city. Moreover, it was universally believed that the Apostle Peter had been the first Bishop of Rome, and hence had conferred upon that church special distinction. It was not till the fifth century that the Pope, Leo the Great (440–461), took a commanding position. It is true that before his time Rome was recognized as the head of the Western church, but, in what the headship consisted is not easy to define. The Pope had three functions: (1) Bishop of Rome; (2) head of the Western church; (3) temporal ruler over territory. It was certain that occasions would arise when these functions would conflict. It is contrary to human experience that one man should possess the qualifications needful for each one of these positions. It takes but a cursory review of history to show that many, if not most, of the difficulties of the church arose from this threefold position of the Pope.² It was, again, from the often honest but mistaken attempt to carry out these functions that many of the deplorable occurrences which mark the history of the medieval church took place.

Gregory I (590–604) perhaps first set forth what the Papacy might become, and a succession of able pontiffs did much to carry out his ideas. He governed Rome and protected it from the Lombards, and thus began the active temporal power of the Pope. Gregory was greatly interested in extending the bounds

¹ The word Pope is from the Italian *papa*, father. It was originally applied to all priests, and was not applied especially to the Bishop of Rome until some time in the sixth century, and was not confined to him until the eleventh century.

² A deeply religious man is not a character to cope with an unruly and factious population, or with the subtle policy of a trained and unprincipled diplomat. Neither is he one to plan a military campaign, or to face some of the problems of political government. Yet during medieval times in particular Popes were forced to meet such conditions.

of Christianity, especially by means of missions. To him the conversion of England is largely due (History, § 14). Strong as was the empire at times, it never had any effective power beyond its own limits, but the church from its very nature influenced all nations where Christianity prevailed. The practice of appealing to Rome for advice or settlement of difficulties, not only religious, but also political, naturally grew up. All this tended to increase the influence of the church. This influence was strengthened by the publication of Pope Nicholas I (858–867) of documents called “Decretals,” which ascribed extensive powers to the Pope. These powers were easily extended to a vast number of cases, as the line between temporal and spiritual was not easy to draw.

47. Rise of Monasticism. — Another institution which exercised a great and far-reaching influence was monasticism (History, § 100). This system, already spoken of in some of its phases, took its rise in the East. The fundamental idea is that seclusion from the world and its temptations is the only way to attain the purest and highest spiritual life. The rough and turbulent conditions which followed the advent of the Barbarians intensified the feeling. Within the walls of the monastery or convent alone could the weak, the gentle, the pious, the studious hope to find rest and safety, for even the rude warriors, as a general thing, respected a convent. To establish and to enrich such institutions was believed to be commendable, and monarchs, as well as individuals, bestowed upon them money, land, and privileges.

48. Rule of St. Benedict. 528. — By the sixth century the number of monks had increased so much in Europe that a system of regulations to govern them was greatly needed. This was furnished by St. Benedict, who about 528 drew up a series of rules for the great establishment of Monte Cassino near Naples. This system was so well devised and practical that the “Rule of St. Benedict” rapidly spread and became the prevailing law for monastic communities in Europe. The chief requirements under this system were poverty, chastity, obedience, piety, and labor.¹

¹ Poverty applied only to the individual; the community could acquire property without restriction, and many monasteries became very wealthy. Labor was an

49. Benefits of Monasticism. — Europe owes an immense debt to these monks. By copying manuscripts they preserved much classical and ecclesiastical literature, which else would have been lost; they afforded scholars a place in which to work in safety; they set a good example of intelligent labor by their personal share in it; they were hospitable; they cared for the poor; they taught the youth of the neighborhood; in many other ways also they helped to civilize and to soften the rudeness of the age. In later times, partly from the changed conditions of social life, partly from the influence of great acquired wealth, they often fell from their high estate, and no longer exercised the beneficial influence of earlier days.¹

The monks were naturally supporters of the Papacy, and had it not been for their presence in every Christian country the papal influences would have been very much less strong. In addition to their other duties the monks were great missionaries, and to them the conversion of the Teutonic tribes is due.²

50. Cluniac Rule. — By the ninth century the Benedictine Rule had lost very much of its force. Often the abbots were worldly men, and the accumulated wealth was largely used for the enjoyment of the monks; instead of working themselves, they employed others; and the spiritual life was often at a very low ebb. A reform or revival moment began in the latter part of the tenth century at the abbey of Cluny in Burgundy,³ which was founded in 910. From this monastery a wave of reform passed over Europe. Old monasteries were reformed and new ones set up. The Cluniac system differed from the Benedictine in some essential features, one of which was that every Cluniac establishment was part of a great system known as the "Congregation of Cluny."

essential part of the Benedictine system. Every one was to work according to his mental and physical capacity. As compared with eastern systems, the Benedictine was full of common sense.

¹ The Benedictine Rule was carried into England by St. Augustine (597), and among the earliest foundations were Canterbury, St. Albans, Westminster, Glastonbury, and Jarrow.

² The monks were called the "regular" clergy, because they lived according to a rule (*regula*), to distinguish them from "secular" clergy, who continued to live in the world (*saeculum*) and took no monastic vows.

³ About thirty miles southwest of Dijon, France.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries other orders were formed, in some respects stricter than the Cluniac. Such were the Carthusians (1084); the Cistercians (1098); and the Carmelites (1156). In the thirteenth century arose the Franciscans and Dominicans who are spoken of elsewhere (§§ 70, 71). The Cluniac Rule not only called for a distinct separation of the church from any secular control, but also made the church supreme.

51. Hildebrand (Gregory VII) (1020 ?–1085). — The church found an extraordinarily able champion of this position in Hildebrand (1020?–1085), afterwards Pope Gregory VII. Hildebrand was the son of a Tuscan peasant and was educated in a Roman monastery. He became the chaplain of Gregory VI; the advisor of Nicholas II; and then Pope himself as Gregory VII (1073–1085). Hildebrand, though not the originator of the new doctrines, dared to carry them further than any one else toward their logical conclusion. Having directed the policy of the Papacy for years before he came to the throne, he understood the condition of affairs far more clearly than most men, and saw that in order to make the church supreme it must choose its own head — the Pope — independently of Roman emperor or Roman populace. This point was gained under Nicholas II by a decree of the Lateran Council or Synod (1059), by which the choice of a Pope was intrusted to the College of Cardinals.¹

52. Celibacy of the Clergy. — In order to bind the interests of the clergy more closely to the church, he resolved to enforce the celibacy of the clergy, so that no family ties might divide their attention. There had been from comparatively early days a strong but by no means universal feeling in the church that it was better that the clergy should be unmarried. At various times efforts had been made to enforce celibacy, but in vain. Notwithstanding great opposition Gregory persisted, and before he died success was practically assured.

¹ Previous to this time the cardinals were the principal clergy of the Roman diocese who, when called upon by the Pope, acted as his advisors. It was a title, not an office. This action of 1059 was only the beginning; the system was not fully developed for a century. It is a curious fact that Hildebrand himself was chosen Pope (1073), not by the cardinals, but by the Roman populace after the old fashion.

53. The Church and the Civil Power. — Another and more important matter was the effort to gain for the church absolute freedom from the control of the civil government everywhere. Gregory claimed that the Pope, as God's representative upon earth, was the master of emperors, kings, and rulers. To resist the Pope was to resist God.¹ The great weapons to enforce this position were *excommunication* or expulsion from the church, making the excommunicated one an outlaw; and the *interdict*, by which all religious services in a country except baptism and extreme unction were suspended. This effort involved the extinction of simony, for there would be no opportunity of buying or selling benefices if the matter of appointment or investiture was taken out of lay hands.

54. Gregory's Claims; Investitures. — It was inevitable that these claims of Gregory should precipitate a conflict. Many bishoprics, monasteries, abbeys, and other religious foundations held lands as fiefs under conditions similar to those of a duke, baron, or ordinary lay feudal lord. The church, indeed, was the largest landholder in Christendom. If Gregory's plan should be carried out, all feudal ties which had hitherto bound ecclesiastical fiefs to temporal lords would be loosed. Besides this, Gregory forbade any cleric to accept any spiritual fief from a layman, and also forbade, under pain of excommunication, any layman, whatever his rank, from investing a bishop or abbot with his ecclesiastical office.

This edict (1075) was revolutionary, and could not be accepted by the temporal rulers, for it would mean the downfall of their civil power. The result everywhere was struggle. It was not until the Concordat of Worms (1122) that a compromise was reached, practically on the same basis as that agreed upon (1106) by Henry I of England and Anselm (History, § 53). But this applied only to Germany.² The great conflict between the

¹ Gregory claimed homage from William the Conqueror and from the rulers of Bohemia, Hungary, Denmark, Spain, and even Russia.

² The agreement between Pope Calixtus II and the Emperor Henry V was that the emperor gave up his claim to invest with the insignia of the spiritual office, and the Pope his claim to invest with the temporal power. This, however, left many questions unsettled.

church and temporal powers is known as the "Struggle of the Investitures."

Gregory made a practice of sending legates to the different European courts to represent the papacy, to supervise the clergy, to gain information of the church in various countries, and to exercise an influence in favor of the church in all lands. Thus the Pope was kept in touch with the clerics everywhere.

55. Reverses of Gregory. — Notwithstanding Gregory's great success, he experienced a bitter reverse at the hands of his old foe, Henry IV, whom he had humiliated at Canossa (§ 44), and had twice excommunicated. Henry set up an antipope, gained Rome after a two years' siege, and Gregory in the end took refuge at Salerno, where he relaxed no effort to regain his position. He died in 1085 and is reported to have said, "I have loved righteousness, and hated iniquity, therefore I die an exile."¹

56. The Eastern Empire a Bulwark ; its Culture. — The Eastern Empire, weak as it was, served as a bulwark between Europe and the eastern and northeastern Barbarians. Though it had lost most of its territory and several times had seemed on the point of extinction, it survived, and, now and then, under able emperors, possessed considerable power. Moreover the empire not only served as a bulwark, but, at Constantinople, had preserved during the early Middle Ages civilization, general refinement of life, the arts, and literature in a far greater degree than elsewhere.

57. The Seljuk Turks, 1071 ; their Conquests. — A period of anarchy prevailed during the middle of the eleventh century, offering a good opportunity to the enemies of the Eastern Empire for attacking her. In 1071 the Seljuk Turks² conquered Asia Minor and threatened Constantinople. The Emperor Alexius I, a shrewd and crafty man, who had seized the throne in 1081, did

¹ Gregory was one of the great men of history. He was, however, a statesman rather than a prelate, and would have been more in place as emperor than as Pope. His honesty of motive can scarcely be questioned, and he can hardly be blamed for attempting the impossible. As it is, his influence on the church and on the world has been lasting.

² The Seljuk Turks were a rude and rough people from central Asia. They are to be distinguished from the Ottoman Turks of a later day.

his best to drive the Turks from Asia Minor, but without success. In 1095 Alexius sent ambassadors to Pope Urban II, begging him to rouse Christendom to save the Eastern Empire and church.¹

For centuries Jerusalem and its holy places had been the object of pilgrimages by thousands from Europe. Under the rule of the Arabs these pilgrims had for the most part been welcomed. But the Seljuk Turks, who gained Jerusalem in 1076, though Mohammedans, cared nothing for civilization or holy places, and looked upon the pilgrims as intruders to be plundered, tortured, and killed. So pilgrimages were roughly brought to an end, much to the grief and dismay of Europeans.

58. Council of Clermont. 1095.—The appeal of Alexius was welcomed by Urban, and at the conclusion of a council at Clermont, France, November, 1095, a crusade was proclaimed by a speech from the Pope himself. As this speech was delivered in French it was understood by all, and certainly, as has been said, "No other oration has ever been able to boast of as wonderful results." The people shouted, "God wills it," and rushed to assume the cross, the symbol of the vow.² Thus began one of the greatest movements in the history—the Crusades.³ Although the safety of the Eastern Empire and the church had been the plea of the emperor, the Pope and the crusaders ignored that and made the recovery of the holy places from the infidels the first object of their efforts.

59. The Crusades, 1096–1290; Reasons for Them.—It has been customary to speak of several crusades, and even as many as eight are named. But this is scarcely correct, for there was for about two hundred years (1096–1290) a constant movement from west to east, and in fact a crusade was always in progress.

This great movement was begun and carried on from various

¹ The Eastern Empire had already called upon Gregory VII (1074), who had actually raised an army, but was prevented by the German troubles from doing anything.

² "Crusade," from the Latin *crux*, a cross. Each crusader bore a cross worked or sewn upon his coat.

³ It is often stated that Peter the Hermit started the movement, but records show that it was Urban who roused Peter, not the reverse.

motives. While many men were inspired with religious zeal, others saw opportunities for satisfying their love of warfare and adventure, some saw an escape from financial or other difficulties at home, others an escape from the consequences of crime, many others a field for commercial gain, and others went simply from a feeling of restlessness. The Pope and church officials hoped for an extension of the church, and perhaps a union of the eastern and western churches; the kings and the greater barons encouraged the movement, because thereby many of the smaller barons would be taken out of the country, their possessions would be pledged to raise money, and would ultimately come under the control, if not ownership, of the monarch or great barons. The church relieved the crusader from penance for sins, excused him while absent from interest on his debts, took his wife and children and property under its protection, and granted many other privileges.

Along with the penitent, the knight, and adventurer, particularly after the earlier years, went the merchants. These were chiefly from Genoa, Pisa, and Venice. They furnished the crusader with arms and supplies; for these they not only exacted very full prices, but also great privileges and rewards in case of conquests. The commercial features of the Crusades have been too much overlooked.

60. First Expeditions. 1096. — The first expeditions, which consisted of extraordinary armies of untrained, undisciplined men of all kinds and descriptions,¹ started from Germany in the spring of 1096, marched to Constantinople, and having been aided by the wily Alexius, who wished to be rid of them, crossed over into Asia Minor, where most of them perished from exposure and disease, or at the hands of the Turks. Later in the year (1096) several military expeditions left Europe under different leaders, the chief of whom were Godfrey of Boulogne,² and Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard, the Norman, of southern Italy. Robert of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror, was also one of them. Indeed, the majority of the knights were French and Normans. These expeditions went overland, and met near Nicæa, Asia Minor,

¹ Even women and children helped to swell the ranks.

² Often, but incorrectly, called Bouillon.

in 1097. After gaining control of that city, the expedition marched to Antioch, which was taken in July, 1098, and Jerusalem itself in 1099. Thus the ostensible object was gained.

61. Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099–1187) ; its Extent and Character. — A kingdom of Jerusalem was set up, and other lands were acquired until there was under control of the Franks a strip of territory in Syria along the Mediterranean a little over five hundred miles long and about fifty miles wide.¹ The Europeans were, with the exception of the Italian merchants, almost wholly French. Altogether they were few in number compared with the Syrians. The territory was occupied rather than owned. As time went on the relations with the Moslems grew more friendly, commerce with Europe increased, and the carrying to and fro of the numerous pilgrims became a profitable business for the merchants whose interests made them averse to war.

All this time it was the divisions among the Moslems rather than the strength of the Franks that allowed the continuance of the Frankish rule. The crusaders were imbued with the spirit of feudalism, so that, where if ever a strong central government was needed, a well-developed feudal system was established with all its disintegrating influences.

For the help of the pilgrims and for the defence of the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem, military religious orders were founded—the Templars, the Hospitallers, and the Teutonic Knights.² These orders were intended to combine the monk and soldier. For many years the first two of these orders exercised great influence, and acquired great power and wealth.

For fifty years the Frankish principalities continued with comparatively little change. Then Edessa, a great stronghold of the Franks, fell (1144) before a Moslem leader who had united the

¹ All Europeans were called Franks by the Orientals. Besides the small kingdom of Jerusalem, going northward, there were the principalities of Tripolis, Antioch, and Edessa, each under a crusading noble.

² The Templars (1119), so called from the temple of Solomon near the site of which was their dwelling-place in Jerusalem; Hospitallers, from the Hospital of St. John in Jerusalem, where the brotherhood originally nursed the sick; this brotherhood afterwards bore the titles Knights of St. John, and Knights of Malta. It is still in existence. The Teutonic Knights were a German order.

Turks. This disaster led to the so-called second crusade urged by St. Bernard. The expedition however, was a dismal failure.

62. Saladin (1137-1192).—The relation of the Franks with the Moslems in Egypt had been for the most part friendly. There had, however, arisen in Egypt an able leader, who, though nominally under the Turks, was practically independent. This was Saladin, the most upright, the ablest, the most enlightened, and most generous of the foes whom the crusaders had met. He wished to live on good terms with the Franks, but they often violated their pledges.¹ At length Saladin attacked them, and in 1187 took Jerusalem. This led to the third crusade, in which Richard I of England, Philip Augustus of France, and Frederick Barbarossa all took part. Frederick went by land,² Richard and Philip by sea. The early expeditions had all been overland by way of Asia Minor; the later ones went by sea — a much safer as well as shorter journey. Many vessels were needed for transportation; this led to the building of many ships, to improvements in their construction, to the increase of skilled mariners, and to the growth of commerce. Richard and Philip Augustus quarreled after the capture of Acre (1191), Philip returned to France, and Richard in 1192 arranged a truce with Saladin by which pilgrims could visit Jerusalem in safety.

63. End of Christian Rule in Syria. 1191.—The Christians continued to hold territory in Syria for nearly a century longer; by negotiation, possession was gained even of Jerusalem and a few other sacred sites, but in 1244 Jerusalem was captured by the Turks, and has ever since remained in their hands. In 1291 Acre, the last stronghold of the Christians, fell, and with it all Christian possessions in Syria and Palestine were lost.

64. Latin Empire of the East. (1204-1261).—What is known as the fourth crusade (1202-1204) differs from the others in that it not only never reached its nominal destination, but was, by the skill of the Venetians, who had agreed to transport the forces,

¹ It was a common doctrine of the day that no pledge with an infidel was binding.

² Frederick naturally took the overland route. In attempting to cross the river Selef (Cydnus) in Asia Minor he was drowned (1190), and of his demoralized army many returned to Germany by sea, and a remnant only reached Syria.

changed into an attack upon Constantinople, with the result of setting up a Latin Empire in that capital, which lasted for more than fifty years (1204-1261), and also of vastly increasing the possessions and commercial influence of Venice, which she retained until the fifteenth century.

65. Results of the Crusades.—It is not easy to measure the extent of the influence of the crusades upon Europe. They certainly aided and hastened many inevitable social and political changes. Great numbers of men from all countries of Europe visited the East; they had gone both by land and by water; they saw a great variety of life and conditions and came back with minds broadened by their experiences and observation. They met people far more civilized than themselves, having comforts and luxuries of which they had been ignorant; they met men of education and refinement, and, returning full of new ideas, they could not rest satisfied with their old conditions. They brought back many articles of use and luxury. Commerce was greatly increased, the communication between various countries became more frequent, and definite and regular lines of travel and trade were established.

The crusades greatly enriched Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, and indeed all Italy, giving it that preëminence in commerce, literature, and art which so profoundly affected all Europe.

The crusades weakened feudalism, and brought into existence, or strengthened, elements which led to its steady decline and permanent decay. Men became enamored of city life, turned more and more to trade and manufacturing, the tendency of which is to destroy feudalism.

We may also trace modern systems of banking and finance to the crusades. Under feudalism there was little need of money or banks, but for the crusader money or its equivalent was a necessity. He must buy his outfit and he must pay for his supplies on the journey with money of some kind. Hence arose money lenders and banks.

One remarkable feature of the crusades was the absence of concerted effort. Each king or leader looked out first and always for his own interests, a practice which led to constant quarreling.

Bad as this was for the crusade, it intensified national feeling, and greatly aided the growth of nationalities.

The crusades ceased for several reasons. One of the most influential was the general advance in civilization and in the comforts of life, which made men reluctant to leave their homes. Other reasons were the growth in tolerance, the recognition that God could be served in better ways than by making pilgrimages, the increase in commercial enterprises, and the much greater attraction of national and international affairs.

66. Origin of Towns ; Rise of Cities and Towns. — The general confusion which resulted from the inroads of the barbarians was not conducive to town life, and until after the close of the first crusade (1099) European towns were of little importance.¹ From the twelfth century, however, the rise and development of town life is a most important feature in European history. The origin of some towns, as was the case even in England, went back to Greek or Roman times, but the majority were founded after the eleventh century. These owe their existence either to trade or manufacturing. Sometimes a village, built near a castle for protection, if well situated for trade, would grow up into a town walled round for greater safety ; others, established with special privileges by the lord of the manor, or because of some river or harbor or overland route, would grow and for safety would be protected by walls and fortresses. The needs of the crusaders greatly hastened the growth of towns, as only in such centers could supplies be procured.

The trade and manufacture which inevitably followed increased the wealth and power of the citizens, brought them into contact with the outside world, and not only increased their desires, but enabled them successfully to demand, not only relief from feudal burdens, but also extensive privileges, which in many cases led to practical, if not actual, independence. Not only that, but the great commercial cities like Venice, Genoa, and Florence gained large possessions elsewhere and became political states. Other city communities for the same reasons acquired political rights and privileges by charters.

¹ The character of the country life has already been touched upon.

67. Overland Trade ; Money. — There also sprang up an extensive overland trade with the East, and also with various parts of Europe, on the lines of which there grew up great distributing towns such as Ulm, Augsburg, Nuremburg, and many other centers where not only trade but manufacturing flourished.

The influence of these cities on social and economic conditions can hardly be overestimated. Their ships and merchants visiting various countries brought many nations into close communication. The use of money and bills of exchange in mercantile transactions led to a great increase in money payment for all kinds of service and for rents, and also to definite contracts instead of the vague and easily violated rules based upon feudal tenure or custom.

68. Political Results of Municipal Life. — Though cities themselves became feudal lords, the spirit of city life was against feudalism, and monarchs and rulers often found in cities their strongest support against powerful barons. Besides this the cities formed leagues for mutual defence and to preserve and to increase their trade and commerce.¹ They became free and independent. One of the most notable examples of the power of the medieval cities is the struggle of Frederick I (Barbarossa), for the control of the North Italian or Lombard cities. In the end the cities were successful in gaining practical independence (1183).

The close of the twelfth century found all Europe greatly advanced in civilization and refinement, and with new political, social, and economic conditions. The tendency was toward the formation of nationalities with greater centralization of power. This very tendency, however, increased the struggle for control between the civil and ecclesiastical powers, a conflict which reached its height early in the thirteenth century.

¹ The most noted of these are the Hanseatic League (Lübeck, Hamburg, Bremen, etc.) begun in the thirteenth century, which later numbered eighty-five cities and controlled the commerce of northern Europe; the Swabian League (1244); and the League of the Rhine (1254), which at one time comprised about sixty towns.

CHAPTER II

CONTINENTAL EUROPE — 1200–1481

69. Coming of the Friars. 1220–1224. — There had long been in the church men and women who gave themselves, as they believed, to the service of God by retiring into monasteries or convents, and spending their lives in religious occupations (§ 47). The principle upon which their life was based was retirement from the world. Early in the thirteenth century, however, a movement arose resulting in the establishment of new religious orders known as friars. Their primary object was exactly the reverse of that of the monks. As has been well said, "The monks had made it their object to save their own souls; the friars made it their object to save the bodies and souls of others." The monks withdrew from the world; the friars threw themselves into the midst of the world.

The rise of the friars was due to two men far separated from each other, who, at about the same time, were moved by similar impulses — Francis of Assisi, Italy (1182–1226), and Dominic of Spain (1170–1221).

70. The Franciscans. — Francis, the son of a wealthy man, after a serious illness, had wholly changed the character of his life. He gave up wealth and all its possibilities, and devoted himself to a life of poverty and of devotion to the sick and afflicted among the poor, living entirely on the bounty of others. A band of followers like-minded with himself soon gathered around him. The movement spread, and in 1209 the Pope, Innocent III, constituted them into an order of brethren, in Latin, *fratres*, from which our word "friars" comes. Later they were called Franciscans after their founder, or Minorites, or Mendicant Friars.¹

¹ "Minorites," from the Latin *Fratres Minores*, or lesser brethren; Francis said they were to be less than the least of Christ's servants. "Mendicant" from the Latin word to beg.

The friars took the vow of poverty, and were to beg their bread from day to day. As they had nothing of their own they could appeal to the poorest. Their dress was a coarse robe tied round the waist with a rope.

71. The Dominicans. — Dominic, unlike Francis, was a churchman and student of theology. His heart was stirred by the amount of heresy he found, particularly in southern France, and he determined to devote his life to the extirpation of heresy and the spread of orthodox teaching. Like Francis, his earnestness aroused a sympathetic feeling in the hearts of others, and he was joined by a band of followers, and in time Pope Innocent III sanctioned the formation of an order. This rapidly grew, and by 1221 the movement had attained large proportions and had sixty monasteries in western Europe. Like the Franciscans, the Preaching Friars or Dominicans were to be brothers, and like them also they were to be mendicants, because in this way those to whom they carried their message would know that they had no selfish motives, and that their only desire was to win men to Christ.

72. Mission of the Friars. — Going about from place to place, the friars were the carriers of news, they came into the closest contact with the people, and understood the popular needs and aspirations as no others did. The lives of the clergy were too often marked by selfishness, worldliness, neglect of the poor and needy, and by political rather than spiritual interests. These things had alienated very many from the church. To such, the unselfishness, the devotion, the tireless energy, and the practical sympathy of these friars made a powerful appeal.

The Franciscans, while in no way neglecting the country, devoted themselves particularly to the slums of the cities and towns, the condition of which was beyond description. The Dominicans, whose chief mission was the extirpation of heresy, never were as influential in England as on the Continent, because in England heresy had not attained great headway. To these mendicant orders is chiefly due the revival of religious life in the thirteenth century.

Though Francis had condemned learning as hurtful to spirituality, the contact with ignorance, and the fact that educated men

were drawn into the order, changed this, and the Franciscans became teachers as well as preachers and missionaries.

73. Rise of Universities. — The thirteenth century was a time of great intellectual activity. During the troublous reign of Henry III, Oxford was one of the great intellectual centers of Europe. Cambridge also, though to a less extent, was an abode of learning (History, § 101). But the higher education was almost wholly for the training of priests and clergy.

The course of instruction was divided into seven main subjects, called "the seven liberal arts," which were subdivided into the Trivium and the Quadrivium. The Trivium embraced Grammar, or the use of words; Rhetoric, or the form of words; and Logic, or reasoning. The Quadrivium embraced Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, and Music.¹

After the seven liberal arts were mastered, further instruction was given in Divinity, Law, Medicine, etc. It was natural that the teachers of these different subjects should associate together, and from such association sprung the university, and later the separate college.²

The student body included men of all ages from fifteen and even younger, to forty and over. Special privileges were granted them, and the lives they led were often full of rioting and disorder. The universal use of Latin by scholars for writing and speaking made it easy for a student to change his university. There is no doubt that this fashion of wandering from university to university had a good educational effect in widening the knowledge of persons and places.

74. Pope Innocent III. 1198–1216. — Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, by the marriage of his son Henry, afterwards Henry VI, with Constance, heiress of the kingdom of Sicily, in time gained Sicily and south Italy for the empire. It was a blow for the Papacy to lose its Norman allies. But Henry VI died in 1198, leaving an infant son, afterwards the renowned Frederick II.

The election of Innocent III to the papal chair (1198) gave the

¹ These subjects covered a wider field than their names denote at present.

² The word *universitas* (university) at first meant a union, or corporation, and the union or association of teachers came to be called a university.

Papacy perhaps its ablest head in all history. He was a member of a noble Roman family, and had been highly educated, studying at both Paris and Bologna. He was only about thirty-seven when chosen Pope, and reluctantly accepted his elevation, but when once seated on the throne, no Pope surpassed him in his claims for the office. "As the moon," he declared, "receiveth her light from the sun, so do kings receive their authority from the Holy See." That this was no idle boast is shown by what he accomplished. He secured from Constance, the widow of Henry VI, guardian of Frederick II, the vassalage of the kingdom of Sicily; in opposition to Philip of Swabia, who, elected by the nobles, claimed to be emperor, he set up Otto of Brunswick,¹ and crowned him emperor (1209); he forced Philip Augustus of France to take back Ingeborg of Denmark, whom he had divorced; he deposed John of England and only restored him on his abject submission (History, § 86); he interfered with the internal affairs of Portugal, and of the Spanish states of Leon, Castile, and Aragon, and also in Bohemia, Bulgaria, Dalmatia, and Hungary. In these cases Innocent did what he believed to be best for the interests of the Papacy, not for the interests of the peoples concerned, or on moral or religious grounds. Thus, though Philip Augustus was severely handled for his divorce of Ingeborg and his immoral life, not a word relating to morals was said to John of England, who was notoriously immoral. Innocent was the arbiter of Europe.

75. Results of Innocent's Policy.—The logical result of such a policy as that of Innocent is the destruction of national life and the right of the people to choose their own rulers. As soon as this fact was recognized, resistance, monarchical and popular, was inevitable. Hence the steady opposition to the Pope in medieval times. It was based on political, not on religious, grounds. Even Otto of Brunswick himself, whom Innocent set up and crowned, deserted him and entered the anti-papal ranks.²

¹ Otto was the son of Matilda, daughter of Henry II of England, and so a nephew of Richard I and John. His brother William was the Brunswick ancestor of George I of England.

² Frederick II at a later period, when one of his supporters was raised to the papal chair as Innocent IV (1243), is reported to have said, "I have lost a friend; no Pope can be a Ghibelline" (a name given to the supporters of the empire).

The great weapons of the Papacy — excommunication and the interdict — at first had enormous influence both on nations and individuals ; but later, when it was found that men could live notwithstanding them, their use often injured rather than aided the Popes who employed them.¹ These papal claims were a great force in Europe for about a century, for not till the death of Boniface VIII (1294–1303) did they suffer a permanent decline.

76. Heresy and Heretics. — Owing to the general belief that religion was inextricably connected with the state and social order, heresy was regarded with feelings very different from those of the present day.² A heretic was a rebel against the social order as well as the church. This accounts for the curious fact that members of the clergy could be accused of all sorts of lapses from virtue and morals with little effect upon the estimation of the church in general ; but to accuse a man of heresy was like accusing him of treason. Indeed heresy was by many regarded as treason of the worst kind, for it was treason both to God and the state.

Independent minds have existed in all ages, and the medieval theory of the church was sure to stir up dissent and opposition. Heretics were of two kinds : (1) unbelievers in the main doctrines of Christianity ; (2) dissenters from some of the practices and the doctrines of the church.

77. The Albigenses ; Simon de Montfort the Elder ; The Inquisition. — Representatives of the first class were the *Cathari* (pure ones), better known as the Albigenses. These were numerous in southern France. Innocent was strong against heresy and strove by every means in his power to extirpate it. He tried sending missionaries, but these failing, he organized (1203) a crusade against them. This, led by Simon de Montfort the Elder (History, § 111, Note), was carried out relentlessly, and the Albigenses were extirpated. In connection with this crusade was established the

¹ This was true even with Innocent. Thus the interdict was so keenly felt in France that, after less than a year, Philip Augustus gave way. But in England the almost contemporary interdict in John's reign had much less effect. John was able to brave it and excommunication for four years, and only yielded when threatened with a French invasion.

² This fact should always be taken into consideration in forming judgments of the men of the Middle Ages.

Inquisition for the trial of the heretics. There is no reason to suppose that at first the methods of this court differed much from the ordinary courts of the day, but the fact that the court was not only to try heretics, but to search for heresy, made it a weapon easily misused and liable to become the instrument of severe persecution.

78. The Waldenses.—The Waldenses are examples of the second class of so-called heretics. They were followers of Peter Waldo, who lived in the twelfth century. They were dissenters from the church chiefly in the matter of practice. They taught that the Bible was sufficient for guidance, that the simple organization of early Apostolic days was enough. In furtherance of their views they translated portions of the Bible and circulated them. They attacked the luxury and worldliness in the church. They consisted chiefly of country people and mountaineers in Piedmont. In spite of severe persecution they survived, and now form a branch of the Protestant church in Italy.

79. The Emperor Frederick II, 1210–1250.—Frederick II, left by his mother Constance to the guardianship of Innocent III (§ 74), is one of the most remarkable men in European history. Brought up in Sicily under the influence of Arabian, Norman, and Greek culture, he was highly educated, and became imbued with such a feeling of intellectual independence that he was charged with being a heretic and an unbeliever. Though an Italian by training, he had dreams of restoring the empire, and when invited in his eighteenth year by some discontented German nobles to come to Germany, he went thither to secure the imperial crown (1212). He gained the support of the Pope by acknowledging the papal suzerainty over Sicily and Naples, and secured the adherence of a number of the German nobles. He also made an alliance with Philip Augustus of France (§ 90).

80. Battle of Bouvines. 1214.—Otto IV, recognizing that his crown was in great danger, sought foreign alliances. Here we see, perhaps for the first time, real international alliances, Otto, the Count of Flanders, and King John of England uniting against Frederick, Philip Augustus, and the Pope. Two of the armies met at Bouvines in Flanders (1214), resulting in the complete

victory of the French. On both sides the foot soldiers from the towns played an important part. It was a battle of nations rather than of individual monarchs. The results were far-reaching. The cause of Frederick was greatly strengthened, and Philip was more firmly established in France. On the other side, Otto was ruined and John lost his French possessions (History, § 87).

81. Frederick's Last Years. 1220-1250.—The subsequent history of Frederick is full of romantic incident. He was crowned in Rome in 1220, but, like Otto, his personal interests were at variance with those of the Papacy, and like him he broke with the Pope and was excommunicated. He was continually striving to retain both his German and Italian possessions. Though excommunicated by the Pope, he made a crusade and in 1229 actually secured Jerusalem and other holy places by treaty with the Turks. He established a strong centralized government in Sicily, but in Germany, doubtless recognizing the condition of affairs, he made many concessions to the nobles, increasing the tendency to the formation of small states. He died in 1250, and with him the Medieval Empire really ceased, for none of the succeeding bearers of the imperial title held sway outside of Germany.¹

82. End of the Hohenstaufens (1254); "Fist Law." 1254-1273.—The dynasty of the Hohenstaufens, to which Frederick belonged, came to an end with Conrad IV (1254), and there followed a period which the Germans called *Faustrecht* or "Fist Law," during which there was no central power, and Germany was in confusion, each prince, baron, archbishop, and city claiming independence. This period is also commonly known as the Interregnum (1254-1273).²

83. Rudolf of Hapsburg. 1273.—At length Pope Gregory X, finding that his revenues were decreasing, sent word to the elec-

¹ Frederick was "a warrior and a politician; a profound lawgiver and an impassioned poet"; a naturalist, a scientist, and an astrologer, charged with being an unbeliever and yet persecuting heretics. His third wife was Isabella, daughter of John of England.

² Richard of Cornwall, a brother of Henry III of England, was chosen by part of the electors (1256). He came to Germany and was crowned at Aachen (1257). He never exercised any authority; neither did Alfonso of Castile, who, chosen by the other electors, never came to Germany at all. Richard died 1271.

tors that if they did not choose an emperor, he would. On this the electors chose Rudolf of Hapsburg (1273). Though he was supposed to be a weak man, he managed to conquer Austria (1278) and establish his rule, and the Hapsburgs have sat on the Austrian throne ever since. Rudolf gained the support of the Pope by resigning any claims upon Sicily and Italy.¹

At the time of Rudolf's accession there were, it is said, more than four hundred territorial divisions in Germany, each claiming sovereignty.² The policy of the succeeding emperors was to increase their personal power regardless of the general welfare. The consequence was that Germany remained divided for nearly five centuries.³

84. Italy ; Rise of Italian Republics. — Italy, freed from the real or attempted rule of the German emperors, was the scene of local quarrels, resulting in the rise of the so-called Italian republics, Genoa, Milan, Pisa, Florence, Venice, and others. The Papacy controlled the center of the peninsula, while Naples was under the House of Anjou, and Sicily under that of Aragon, a condition of affairs in essentials lasting till the latter part of the nineteenth century.

85. Switzerland. 1291–1386.—One result of the reign of “Fist Law” was the rise of Switzerland. Among the towns which claimed independence of all rule except the overlordship of the emperor were Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden on Lake Lucerne. Rudolf of Hapsburg, before he was elected emperor, had vainly tried to bring them into subjection, but after his election matters of greater importance engrossed his attention. His successors, however, roused by the increasing power and influence of the

¹ The electors at this time were the Archbishops of Mainz, Treves, and Cologne, the Duke of Saxony, King of Bohemia, Margrave of Brandenburg, and the Elector Palatine of the Rhine.

² This great number was partly due to the Teutonic custom of dividing lands, among the sons instead of leaving all or nearly all to the eldest son as in England and France. It was also partly due to the policy of the Hohenstaufens, who, in order to further their plans in Sicily and Italy, gave great privileges to the German nobles, and did not attempt to centralize their power — an error from which Germany long suffered.

³ It was not till the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 that the real unification of Germany began. This was immensely furthered by the Franco-Prussian War, 1870–1871. The temporary unification under Napoleon I can hardly be counted.

Swiss cantons, made great efforts to subdue them. Aided by the character of their country and inspired by their love of independence, the Swiss made a brave resistance, and at the battle of Morgarten (1315) defeated the Hapsburg Leopold of Austria. Already, in 1291, three cantons had made a league for mutual help and protection, and by 1353 five other cantons had joined them. The Swiss were again called upon to defend their liberties at Sempach (1386) and gained another great victory. This led to their independence and in time to modern Switzerland.¹

These victories of the Swiss were a severe blow to the already declining chivalry and feudalism, for they proved again that trained foot soldiers were more than a match for the noble knights.

86. Spain ; Portugal. — The Moors in Spain reached the height of their power in the eighth century. From that time the Christians gradually increased their territory, which they were able to do chiefly because of dissensions and divisions among the Moors.

Portugal was established as an hereditary kingdom in 1139, while still earlier the kingdoms of Leon, Castile, and Aragon had come into existence. Under Ferdinand I (1214–1252), who inherited Leon from his father and Castile from his mother, the Christian rule was extended all over Spain except the small kingdom of Grenada, which was to remain Moorish for nearly two and a half centuries (1492).

87. Alfonso X of Castile. 1252–1284. — The greatest of all Spaniards of this period was Alfonso X of Castile (1252–1284), known as "Alfonso the Wise." He was the rival of Richard of Cornwall for the imperial crown, though he understood the situation too well to take any active steps to secure the honor. One of the best educated men of his day, he was a patron of famous learning, and a lawgiver like his contemporaries Edward I of England, Louis IX of France, and Frederick II in Sicily.

88. The People in Spain. — The people obtained recognition of their rights earlier in Spain than elsewhere. In Aragon the

¹ The five cantons were Luzern (1320) ; Zurich (1351) ; Glarus and Zug (1352) ; Bern (1353). The League was formed (1291) and Morgarten fought (1315) in the canton of Schwyz, and from that canton the republic takes its name. The confederation was not formally recognized until 1648.

Cortes, a representative body, was established in 1133, and in Castile in 1166. Indeed feudalism never prevailed in the Spanish Peninsula as elsewhere in Europe. The Spanish aristocracy was military rather than territorial. This condition was a result of the constant wars against the Moors. The Cortes, composed as a rule of nobles, clergy, and representatives from the towns, had very considerable power over taxation, legislation, etc. There were also other safeguards over liberty, making Spain in the thirteenth century, next to England, the freest country in Europe. In the later years of the century, owing to factions and jealousies, a period of turbulence began, which was of long continuance. Not until Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, heirs of their respective kingdoms, united those kingdoms by their marriage (1469) were peace and unification brought about.

89. Ferdinand and Isabella. — The policy of both of these monarchs was absolute rule. They were able to take away the liberties of their subjects because there was no sympathy between the people and the nobles. Their patronage of Columbus and the expulsion of the Moors have cast a glamour over their history which hides the fact that to them more than to any others is due the destruction of the liberties of the Spanish people, and the ultimate fall of the Spanish Empire. Charles V and Philip II simply carried out the policy begun by Ferdinand and Isabella.

90. Medieval France. — The close of the fourteenth century, which saw Germany with slight exceptions cut up into numerous petty states, found France a large, compact state, ruled by a strongly centralized government. The numerous fiefs of the eleventh century had been consolidated. The process, though slow and with many setbacks, had been aided by many things. As a rule the Capetian monarchs (descendants of Hugh Capet, the first king of France, 987–996) were able men; moreover, they had the singular good fortune for three hundred years always to have sons to succeed, and, with but few exceptions, able regents when the heir was under age. For two hundred years it was their custom to have the heir crowned during the lifetime of the reigning monarch. This action lessened the risk of a disputed succession. Again, while the law of France recognized only male suc-

cessors to the crown, female succession was common in the fiefs. This custom afforded many opportunities for acquiring possessions by marriage with an heiress.¹

For no inconsiderable part of the period the royal domain was smaller than some of the fiefs,² but the kings were wary and always on the watch for opportunities to increase their power and domain.

The rise of cities and the increase in number and importance of the commercial classes also aided the kings, for the abolition of petty feudal dues and private warfare, and the preservation of peace and order, all of which are essential to commercial success, were far more likely to be obtained under a strong king of a large territory. It must not be supposed that the monarchy was patriotic or specially far-sighted in its policies — far from it. Probably most that was done was due to selfish motives, but it often happened, as was not unfrequently the case in England, that the selfish interests of the kings and the cause of progress coincided.

91. Philip Augustus, 1180–1223.—The actual change in France from a duchy to a kingdom was the work of Philip Augustus (1180–1223), one of the most unscrupulous and able of French monarchs. As has been seen, Henry II of England had through inheritance and marriage (History, §§ 60, 61) far greater domains in France than his liege lord, the king of France. It was Philip's chief object to secure these territories for his own. The history of England shows what incessant warfare Philip kept up against the English during his long reign; how he stirred up Henry's sons against their father, now supporting one, now another. After Henry's death the conflict was continued on one pretext or another, until by the battle of Bouvines (1214) the English received such a blow that at the death of Philip (1223) the possessions of the Angevins in northern France had been permanently joined to the French crown (History, § 87). Philip also, though taking no part

¹ This rule, however worked both ways. Thus Louis VII married Eleanor of Aquitaine, and through her acquired large possessions; but by divorcing her he lost them, as she was childless. Her subsequent marriage the same year (1152) with Henry, soon to be Henry II of England, transferred them to the English crown (History, § 60), resulting in great loss and trouble to France.

² Thus the French possessions of Henry II of England were about six times larger than the domains of Louis VII, his feudal liege lord.

in the crusade against the Albigenses (§ 77), managed so to profit by it that Toulouse ultimately came under French rule.

92. Louis IX. 1226–1270. — The protracted reign of Louis IX (1226–1270); in spite of a long minority, was one which saw the monarchy steadily growing in power. He came to a successful agreement with the English (1258); made the royal coinage a legal tender throughout the kingdom, and greatly improved the administration of justice; made the king a final court of appeal; and in other ways increased the royal power.¹

93. Philip IV, the Fair; Charles VII; Louis XI. — Under Philip the Fair (1285–1314) France became the leading power in Europe. An able administrator, he carried on the work begun by Philip Augustus and Louis IX, developing the royal power in almost every direction. To Philip also is due the establishment of the States General (1302). There had been assemblies of the two estates of the nation, — the nobles and the higher clergy, — but to these Philip added representatives from the cities. The latter were called the *Tiers État* (Third Estate). The States General, however, must be carefully distinguished from bodies like the English Parliament. The body was called only when the king wished to gain approval of taxation or of some measure desired by him. The body could originate nothing, passed no laws, and so was not a true representative assembly.²

Philip opposed or supported the church according as he thought his interests would be served. His practical control of the Papacy (1305–1314), spoken of elsewhere (§ 95), indicates the strength of his position in France and in Europe at large. Philip's persecution and destruction of the Templars closely resembles the suppression by Henry VIII of the monasteries in England with, perhaps, even less to justify it.³

¹ For his purity of life and character, he was canonized by Boniface VIII (1297), and is known as St. Louis.

² France had no real representative assembly in the modern sense until the nineteenth century.

³ This military order, by its devotion to the Papacy, its close connection with the nobles from whose ranks its recruits chiefly came, and its wealth, was a continual menace to Philip's power and ambition. He charged the Templars with impiety and immorality. Many were arrested, some tortured to obtain evidence, some were condemned to death, and the property of the order was seized (1307).

The close of the Hundred Years' War found France under Charles VII. When he was hard pushed in order to secure his throne, Charles had made an agreement (1435) with Philip, Duke of Burgundy, his most powerful vassal, which practically made Philip an independent sovereign. Charles VII died in 1461, leaving Louis XI his heir. Philip of Burgundy died in 1467 and was succeeded by his son Charles the Bold. Charles's ambition was to have his domain erected into a kingdom, while Louis wished to extend his own dominions.

Charles was defeated by the Swiss and killed at Nancy (1477). His daughter and heiress, Mary of Burgundy, soon after his death, at the age of twenty, married Maximilian, son of the German Emperor Frederick III. Their son, Philip, married Juana, eldest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and she became the mother of Charles V.¹ Louis XI gained Burgundy for France, and later, by the death of René of Anjou, that country and Maine fell to the French crown. The close of the fifteenth century saw France with a centralized government and compact territory.

The relations of England with France and Burgundy were close. As a rule the Lancastrians favored France, while the Yorkists favored Burgundy. Edward IV of England, though usually on the side of Burgundy, did not hesitate to treat with France if he thought it would be to his own advantage.²

94. Boniface VIII. 1294-1303. — The Papacy put forth its most extensive temporal claims under Boniface VIII (1294-1303). The character of these claims is shown by two celebrated Bulls: (1) that known as *Clericis Laicos* (1296), forbidding all laymen, including rulers, to lay any taxes or levies on the clergy without papal consent, and prohibiting the clergy from paying any such taxes or levies; (2) the Bull *Unam Sanctam* (1302), in which the spiritual power is claimed to be superior to all temporal power.³

¹ It was through this marriage that the Netherlands and some adjacent territory came under the Austrian and Spanish rule.

² Margaret, sister of Edward IV, married Charles, Duke of Burgundy (1468), being his second wife; Elizabeth Woodville, Edward's wife, was niece of Count of Pol, Charles's brother-in-law.

³ "For the truth itself declares that the spiritual power must establish the temporal power and pass judgment on it if it is not good." Bull *Unam Sanctam*.

Edward I of England had shrewdly evaded the Bull *Clericis Laicos* (History, § 134), and Philip IV, the Fair, of France did the same. The Bull *Unam Sanctam* was issued primarily against Philip. These claims inevitably provoked hostility from temporal monarchs, for to admit them would destroy the authority of the monarch over his own subjects.

Boniface was preparing to excommunicate Philip, when he was captured by Philip's agents, at Anagni, Italy, and though rescued by his own adherents, did not long survive the outrage. His successor lived only a few months.

95. The Popes at Avignon. 1309. — For nearly a year the cardinals were unable to choose a Pope, and then Philip's influence was strong enough to secure the election of a Pope who would be favorable to his interests. Accordingly the Archbishop of Bordeaux was elected (1305) as Clement V. The papal court was moved to France and came wholly under French influence. In 1309 Clement moved his residence to Avignon, just outside of France. This place continued to be the residence of the Popes for about seventy years, and as French influence was supreme, the period (1305–1377) has been called the "Babylonish Captivity."¹ The effect was visibly to lessen the power of the Papacy, to injure its prestige, and seriously to impair the respect in which it had been held.

96. The Great Schism. 1378–1417. — Following this period came what is known as the "Great Schism." Gregory XI, who had moved to Rome (1377), died, and his successor, Urban VI (1378), attempted a reformation of the college of cardinals and clergy. The cardinals who had expected Urban to return to Avignon were angry, went out of Rome and elected (1378) a new Pope (Clement VII), who took up his residence at Avignon. Thus there were the two Popes, each claiming to be the true one.² Each rival Pope was recognized according to the inclinations of the various European monarchs, — Italy and England recognizing Urban; France and Scotland, Clement. As Urban had created new cardinals

¹ So called from the seventy years' captivity of the Jews in Babylonia. The date of beginning is by some given as 1305, by others 1309.

² Clement's supporters claimed that Urban had been forced on the cardinals by the Roman populace, and hence his choice was void.

nals, there were two colleges of cardinals. It followed that the Schism extended all over Christendom, as each Pope claimed the power to appoint prelates. This deplorable division lasted about forty years (1378–1417), and injured the church more than anything that had happened to it. At length the idea of a general council, like those held in the early ages of the church, gained prominence. In 1409 a council called by members of both colleges of cardinals met at Pisa. This council deposed both Popes and chose a new one, Alexander V (1409–1410). Neither of the deposed Popes would yield; and so there were three Popes instead of two. John XXIII, a notoriously unfit man, was chosen as Alexander's successor (1410). This state of affairs led to the calling of the Council of Constance (1414–1418), one of the most noted gatherings in history.¹

97. Council of Constance. 1414–1418.—Owing to the great difficulties of the situation, the Council did not achieve as much as was hoped, or might have been expected. It did heal the Schism by deposing the three Popes² and choosing a new one, Martin V (1417–1425). Martin was a strong man and impatient of control. His chief object was to regain papal power and church authority, and he was remarkably successful. Had the Council, as it should have done, first taken active measures for reform, the whole course of European history might have been very different.

Of the three great questions before the Council—healing of the Schism, reformation in the church, and the suppression of heresy—the last was by no means regarded as the least important. Toleration, as has been seen, was something incomprehensible to most persons in that age, and to hold opinions differing from those commonly accepted was believed to be a menace to church and state alike. It is only this fact which can explain or palliate actions which seem to men of our day treacherous and cruel.

¹ There were present the Pisa Pope, and John XXIII; twenty-five cardinals, thirty-three archbishops and bishops, one hundred and fifty abbots, the German emperor, one hundred dukes and earls, and many of lesser rank. It was the last church council which was recognized by practically all Europe.

² John XXIII was deposed, Gregory XII submitted and was deposed, Benedict was deposed, but refused to obey and retired to Spain.

98. John Hus (1373-1415).—The doctrines promulgated by Wycliffe and his followers had been carried to Bohemia by students and others, notably by Jerome of Prague, and though hardly the cause of the rise of a reform party, undoubtedly stimulated that movement. Among those influenced was John Hus, a man connected with the University at Prague. Hus claimed that no church official need be obeyed unless he were an exemplary man. He also upheld most of Wycliffe's teachings, though he did not go to the extreme of that reformer's views. So sure was Hus that he was right and could convince the Council, that he willingly appeared before it to defend his position, especially as the Emperor Sigismund had granted him a safe-conduct.¹ Hus, however, was arrested and imprisoned. When the Emperor Sigismund made a weak protest, he was told that the law did not recognize suspected heretics. Later, Sigismund basely deserted Hus. Hus was brought to trial, refused to retract, and was condemned as a heretic. He was handed over to the civil authority, and was forthwith burned at the stake (July 6, 1415). Lest his ashes might become an object of veneration, they were thrown into the Rhine. Jerome of Prague, who had followed him to Constance, was likewise apprehended and burned.²

The treatment of Hus and Jerome greatly excited the indignation of their followers. The result was the Hussite War in Bohemia (1419-1431), a struggle which for cruelty can only be compared with the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648). Had Bohemia possessed a native ruler, and had the reformers been united, the end would probably have been different; as it was, the compromise party won, and a reconciliation was made with the church (1433).

99. Reform.—In the matter of reform the Council accomplished nothing of importance. This was due not only to Martin V, but also to changed political conditions. "It was impossible to make arrangements for the whole of Christendom when the church in

¹ The "safe-conduct" was a document ordering that no one should do him any harm, and allowing him to leave Constance whenever he might wish.

² One of the acts of the Council (1414) was to pass a decree that Wycliffe's ashes should be disinterred and thrown into a stream (History, § 177).

England, in France, and in Germany each had its own ideas as to what was best, and each wished to maintain its own rights and independence." The Council closed in 1418.

100. Council of Basel (1431-1449); The Papacy.—Another Council at Basel (1431-1449), though much prolonged, was equally unsuccessful in settling affairs. From this time the papacy lost much political influence in Europe, but in spite of great shortcomings, retained much of spiritual influence. The Popes gave their chief attention to the preservation and extension of their political power in Italy, and, for fifty years or more, were rather temporal than spiritual rulers.

101. The "Renaissance Popes."—Some of the Popes, from their support of the new movement, are known as the "Renaissance Popes." Their courts were large and extravagant, they delighted in paintings, statuary, books, architecture, and all kinds of artistic work. To fulfil these expensive desires, and legitimate sources of expenditure also vast sums of money were required, and they were drawn from other parts of Europe by various means. A strong feeling existed in almost all countries against the large revenues demanded. There can be no question that at the close of the fifteenth century, from one cause or another, there was against the papacy a strong feeling of which the Protestant Reformation was a natural outcome.

102. The Ottoman Turks; Fall of the Eastern Empire. 1453.—The Seljuk Turks (§ 57) continued to hold a large part of western Asia and Asia Minor, but about the middle of the fourteenth century the Ottoman¹ Turks, advancing from central Asia, reduced the Seljuks to submission and continued to extend their dominion. They first crossed into Europe in 1353 and gradually secured nearly all the territory of the Balkan peninsula and of the Eastern Empire. These invaders menaced all Europe and many efforts were made to drive them back. A great army gathered to meet them met with a crushing defeat at Nicopolis on the Danube (1396), and had it not been that Bajazet, the Turkish leader, was attacked in Asia Minor by Tamerlane the Tartar, it might have

¹ So called from Othman or Osman (1288-1326). From the latter the Turks get their name Osmanlis. Othman was the first leader who was independent.

gone hard with Christian Europe. At Angora, in central Asia Minor, Bajazet was himself defeated and taken prisoner (1402). But this was only a temporary setback, for the Turks recovered their position and besieged Constantinople. The emperor vainly appealed for aid to western Europe. After a heroic defense of about two months, the city fell (1453), and for three days was given up to pillage. The great cathedral of St. Sophia was turned into a Mohammedan mosque, and ever since Constantinople has been in Turkish hands.

103. Results of the Fall of the Eastern Empire.—Europe was shocked at the great catastrophe, which she might by united effort have prevented. Still some good resulted, for the Greek scholars escaping from Moslem rule took with them their learning, their language and literature, besides manuscripts of Greek authors, and thus gave a new impetus to the development of thought and culture already under way in the West.¹

The conquest of Constantinople made the Turks less of a nomadic race, and gave them possessions in Europe which they held for nearly five hundred years, to the great detriment of southeastern Europe, besides being for a large part of that period a menace to Christian civilization and development.

104. Turks in Europe. 1453–1481.—The Sultan Mohammed II (1451–1481), an able man and shrewd ruler, was the real founder of the Ottoman Empire. He gave his Christian subjects a district of Constantinople to dwell in, and allowed them to preserve their ecclesiastical organization under a Patriarch. Though he levied a special tax on Christians, from a purely material point of view they were not very much worse off than before the conquest. The greatest cause of suffering was the tribute, at least as often as every five years, of Christian boys who were seized by the Turks to be educated as Moslems and trained as Turkish soldiers.²

¹ It has too often been said that the fall of Constantinople introduced Greek learning to the West, but this is very far from being the case; Greek learning was already in Europe.

² These men were called Janizaries. They were not allowed to marry and in some ways resembled the military religious orders of the Christians. They usually became fanatical Moslems and were the mainstay of the Turkish military. In later times Turks joined the Janizaries. They were done away with in 1826.

Mohammed II continued his conquests until at his death (1481) the empire included all Asia Minor to the Euphrates, the Balkan Peninsula as far as the Danube, and also Greece and most of the islands of the Ægean Sea, and controlled the Black Sea. Under some of his successors the Turks advanced still farther into Europe. Not until late in the seventeenth century did the Ottoman power begin steadily though very slowly to decline.

CHAPTER III

HISTORY OF CONTINENTAL EUROPE — 1500-1648

105. Extent of Christendom. 1500.—The change from medieval thought and action to modern was gradual and was the result of many influences, some of the principal of which have already been mentioned. A brief review of Christendom at the close of the fifteenth century (1500) is instructive. In the first place the geographical extent was greatly less than it was at the close of the seventh century (700). Palestine, Syria, Egypt, northern Africa, the Balkan Peninsula, and Greece were all lost to Christendom. The Turks were still triumphant, and all Europe was in fear of a further advance.

The political conditions showed a tendency toward consolidation ; England, France, and Spain, after a long period of unrest, domestic wars, and turbulence, had become strong nations, of which England was the freest. The growth of commerce, trade, manufacturing, and wool raising in England testified to internal quiet, and the foreign alliances of Henry VII indicated the international position of the kingdom.

106. France.—France had the most centralized government, and her monarch was almost absolute. But France was not a compact nation in the sense that England was. The English custom of treating the younger sons as commoners tended to do away with, or at least very much to modify, feelings of caste, and to promote the growth of an intelligent middle class—the most valuable asset of a nation. In France all the children of nobles were noble, and this created “a caste, numerous, poor in many instances, and too proud to belittle themselves by entering any of the professions or engaging in commerce.” The exemption from taxation which they enjoyed in earlier times on account of personal feudal service was continued long after feudal service had come to an end. The result was that practically all taxation was borne

by the middle and lower classes and had become a grievous burden. The church in France was more independent of Rome than elsewhere, and its administration was based on plans suggested by the Council of Basel (1438) which gave the king great power in influencing the appointment of church officials.

107. Spain.—Spain had grown to be an almost absolute monarchy under Ferdinand and Isabella. Here, also, the monarchs had great power in church affairs, and notwithstanding they were called their “Most Catholic Majesties,” they held the church in Spain almost as much under their control as did the French monarch. The Inquisition, established (1478) at their request by Pope Sixtus IV, was perhaps used as often for strengthening the civil despotism as for rooting out heresy, the avowed reason for its establishment.

108. Germany.—Notwithstanding the great number of states into which Germany was divided,¹ there was a popular desire for German unity. While this was recognized and various attempts were made to further it, they all ended in practical failure because the princes, on the one hand, were unwilling to give up any part of their independence; and the emperor, on the other, would not accept any plan which would involve control of the emperor by the princes.

The emperors were nominally elective, but since 1438 had been chosen from the house of Hapsburg, and, not unnaturally, regarding their family possessions as the most important, lost no opportunity of securing and enlarging them. Over them they could and did rule—over the empire their power was only nominal.

There was an Imperial Diet or assembly of three houses: one composed of the electors, except the king of Bohemia; one of the princes, spiritual and lay; and one of the imperial cities. But owing to the rivalry and dissensions between these three and between the Diet and the emperor little or no effective legislation was enacted, and what was enacted could not be enforced.

¹ As has been said, there were probably four hundred in all, and what added to the difficulties of the situation, the possessions, even of a petty prince, often were not contiguous, and the ruler was compelled to cross the domains of some other ruler in order to visit all his own. This opened the way for endless quarrels.

Neither was the Diet a true representative body, for neither the lesser nobility nor the people were represented (the few deputies from the cities hardly made an exception). The system of imperial justice was hopelessly ineffective.

109. Italy. — Italy was almost as badly cut up into petty states as was Germany. The important states were Milan, Venice, and Florence in the north, States of the Church in the center, and Naples in the south. Sicily and the island of Sardinia were in the hands of the king of Aragon. The jealousy and rivalry of the five principal states were destructive of any unity, while the petty states only increased the evil. Moreover, these divisions and rivalries encouraged invasions from outside.

110. The Papacy. — The "Captivity" of the Papacy at Avignon (1309–1377), and the Great Schism (1378–1417), had seriously weakened the power of the Popes over the States of the Church, and there was every prospect of loss of territory. Loss of territory meant loss of prestige, and, perhaps, coming under the dominion of one of the other Italian states. The result was a series of Popes (1471–1503) who sought constantly to regain their temporal power.

Such was the political condition of Europe at the close of the fifteenth century. But important movements had been in progress, most of which have been already mentioned or referred to in the history of England and in previous sections.

111. Inventions. — Two inventions introduced into Europe during the crusades, and one in the fifteenth century, had an enormous influence, and without them the Modern Age would have been delayed we know not how long. These were gunpowder, the mariner's compass, and the printing press. The origin and date of the first two are uncertain; the printing press, or printing with movable types, is attributed both to Lourens Janszoon Coster of Haarlem, Holland, and Johann Guttenberg of Mainz, Germany, though to Guttenberg seems to belong the honor of making the invention a practical one. The so-called Mazarin Bible, printed by Guttenberg about 1456, remains one of the finest specimens of typography. The first of these inventions, gunpowder, rendered armor and fortified castles of little use, and made a knight, as a

fighter, no better than a common soldier, thus dealing a fatal blow at the essentials of feudalism ; the second, the mariner's compass, gave the explorer courage to strike out into the open sea on voyages of discovery ; and the third, printing, was the means of diffusing knowledge quickly and at slight expense, to which the earlier invention of paper made from rags, a substitute for the expensive parchment or vellum, greatly contributed.¹

112. Discovery. — The fifteenth century was an age of discovery. The trade with the East, during and after the crusades, had been monopolized by Italian cities. The nations farther west, particularly Spain and Portugal, wished to have a share in this profitable business,² and sought for other routes. Moreover, the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks threatened all Eastern trade.

The Portuguese were early in the search. This was due to the influence of a Portuguese, Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460). Though he does not seem to have undertaken any long voyage himself, he took an active interest in explorations, beginning when he was about thirty and continuing his efforts for thirty years. Before his death (1460) the Portuguese had reached Cape de Verde, and in 1486, Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope,³ and in 1498 Vasco da Gama not only rounded the Cape, but crossed the Indian Ocean to India. Before this Columbus, in the service of Spain, had discovered America (1492), and fired the souls of the sailors of all Europe to discover new lands, forever abolishing the fear of those dangers which had filled the minds of earlier mariners. The discovery of the all-sea route to India not only made the Portuguese rich, but in time gave them possessions in the far East. Moreover, the trade of the Italian cities was most seriously injured, and they lost the supremacy they formerly possessed. The subsequent expeditions of Cortez in Mexico (1519) and Pizarro in Peru (1524) and others brought vast wealth to Spain. The circumnavigation of the globe

¹ It is said that forty-five copyists working for nearly two years produced only about two hundred volumes of manuscripts for Cosmo de' Medici.

² The articles chiefly desired were spices, which were much more used than now, silks, ivory, gold, pearls, camphor, dyewoods, etc.

³ Diaz named it the Cape of Storms and Torments, but the king changed the name to that by which it has ever since been called.

by Magellan's ship (1519-1522) proved the rotundity of the earth without question. The result of these voyages of discovery was to broaden the minds of men, and to make them far more ready to receive and adopt new views in every field of human endeavor.¹

113. Intellectual Activity. — The fifteenth century was an age of great widening of all kinds of intellectual activity. This, beginning in Italy, extended through Europe. The Italian Petrarch (1304-1374) was the great pioneer whose efforts led to the revival of the study of the Greek and Roman classics, and to a revolution in the methods of education. The old system with its emphasis upon dialectic and logic was overturned, and the stress was laid upon the literary side of education and that which pertained to real life. The men who advocated this system have been called "Humanists." The invention of the printing press allowed their views and works to become widespread, while the clearness and freshness of their teaching had greater and greater influence. The study of Greek and Roman sculpture and architecture and the influence of humanism led to that revival in painting and sculpture the like of which has never been seen since.

The geographical discoveries, the humanistic influence, the rise of a wealthy and independent burgher class, had their effect upon the students of the realm of nature, which was studied in what is now called a scientific spirit — that is, nature herself was investigated, and observations made the basis of reasoning. Thus, not only was the earth discovered to be round, but Copernicus (1473-1543) demonstrated that the sun, not the earth, as had been held, is the center of our system of planets.²

114. Religious Unrest. — It was inevitable that along with the changes and revolution in other fields that the realm of religious thought and practice should be included. Among the first fruits in this field was Erasmus's edition of the Greek New Testament (1516), with a new Latin translation, thus bringing the book freshly before the men in its original tongue, and with a fresh

¹ England, as has been seen (History, § 224), sent out John Cabot (1497) but did nothing more for a century. France did nothing till 1589.

² He did not dare to publish this till near his death. His discovery had no influence on his own age, but is notable as an example of the intellectual workings of the times.

translation into the literary language of the day.¹ This work passed through several editions and was widely read, exercising a great influence in stimulating men to examine the claims of the church.

But there was already existing a strong hostility to the church which had long been growing in strength. Among the causes of this was the heavy ecclesiastical taxation of various kinds. Very many persons believed that the funds so raised were used for the personal advancement and pleasure of officials at Rome rather than for the benefit of the church ; another was the manners and practices of many of the monks and clergy. The need of reform was urgent ; the only question was should it be from within or without, by reformation or revolution. Still another cause was that which has come down from earlier times — the clashing, especially in the matter of revenue, between the temporal and the ecclesiastical powers. To this the rise of strong national feeling contributed, while the growth of personal independence so manifest in the towns and commercial centers added force. Indeed it may be doubted whether the political, social, and economic reasons did not contribute more toward a revolution than the strictly religious.²

115. The Protestant Revolution and Reformation. — The social, political, and religious unrest and some of the causes which might bring on a revolution have been mentioned. It was natural that the beginnings of revolt against existing conditions should come in Germany, for in that country society was less organized, there was no strong central government, political power was more widely distributed, and the population, as a whole, was worse off than elsewhere. The first signs were the risings of the downtrodden peasants in the lands bordering upon Switzerland, the freedom of whose inhabitants was a spur to action. These risings were put down with suffering and bloodshed.

¹ Hitherto the only accessible edition was that of the Vulgate — an early Latin translation.

² When it is remembered that marriage was celebrated exclusively by the church, that clerics took charge of the dying, that they alone gave Christian burial, that wills had to be proved in church courts, that clerics took charge of the goods of the dead and distributed them, that they regulated many other matters of personal interest, and that they tried alleged heretics and fixed their punishment, some idea of the power of the church may be gained.

116. Indulgences.—The next movement, though connected with the church, was closely associated with economic conditions. The Roman court was in serious need of funds and large sums of money for its benefit were collected in all countries. Leo X, when chosen to the Papal chair, finding the treasury almost empty, determined to raise funds by disposing of indulgences upon a large scale.¹

117. Tetzel's Mission (1517); Martin Luther; the Ninety-five Theses. 1517.—The chief agent appointed by Leo for disposing of indulgences in Germany was a Dominican monk, John Tetzel, an able man, and an eloquent speaker, but devoid of tact. Many people, and especially the rulers, purely on economic grounds, were opposed to this method of raising funds, because it took so much money out of their dominions, making it increasingly difficult to collect the needful civil taxes. Others continuing the earlier objections to the use of indulgences, notably that of the Council of Constance, protested on religious grounds. Among these was the monk Martin Luther (1483–1546), a professor in the University of Wittenberg. When Tetzel came to the neighborhood of Wittenberg, Luther, on All Saints' Day (November 1), 1517, after the fashion in those days, tacked upon the Church door ninety-five theses or propositions attacking the whole system of indulgences, and offering to defend these propositions against all comers. Luther's theses were written in Latin, but were immediately translated into German, printed, and scattered over all Germany, creating such an impression that the disposing of indulgences in that country almost ceased.

118. Frederick the Wise and Luther.—Luther's action would not have meant so much had he not been supported by his ruler, the Elector of Saxony, known as Frederick the Wise, who had already forbidden Tetzel to come into his territory. Luther, moreover, was the most celebrated professor at Wittenberg and its greatest ornament. Frederick was the most respected ruler in Germany; he was one of the seven electors, and his influence was great.

119. The Pope and Luther.—The authorities at Rome did not for some time appreciate the gravity of the situation. Even

¹ These were in part to help in erecting the present church of St. Peter's at Rome.

Luther himself did not for some time perceive where his course was leading him. Luther held a public disputation (June, 1519) with John Eck, the ablest German defender of the papacy, the chief result of which was to strengthen Luther in the position he had taken, and to show him that he was no longer in harmony with the church. He soon published two stirring tracts on the religious and social conditions in Germany. In 1520 the Pope, finding all efforts useless, issued a bull condemning Luther's theses and books, and excommunicating him if he did not recant in sixty days. This bull Luther publicly burnt outside the walls of Wittenberg, December 10, 1520. This was open defiance. On January 3, 1521, another bull excommunicated him.

120. Election of an Emperor; Charles V. 1519.—Meantime the Emperor Maximilian had died (1519). The three candidates for the imperial crown were Charles of Spain, grandson of Maximilian, and also grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; Francis I of France; and Henry VIII of England. The last two had small chance, but though Charles was a Hapsburg, the electors had serious objections to him on account of his great dominions, and offered the crown to Frederick of Saxony, who declined the honor. This action practically elected Charles, who was chosen. He "united dominions vaster than any Europe had seen since the days of his great namesake (Charlemagne). Spain and Naples, Flanders, and other parts of the Burgundian lands, as well as large regions in eastern Germany, obeyed Charles; he drew vast revenues from a new empire beyond the Atlantic;" he thus became the greatest monarch in Europe.

121. Diet of Worms. 1521.—The first Diet of Charles V met at Worms, Germany, in January, 1521. Pope Leo appealed to the emperor, asking him to send Luther to Rome for trial, but Charles was persuaded to let Luther be heard in Germany, and summoned him to Worms, promising him a safe-conduct. Luther came, but refused to recant unless what he had said and done was shown to be contrary to Scripture. He was permitted to depart, but for the rest of his life he was under the ban of the empire, that is, legally, he was an outlaw. To insure Luther's safety he was seized on his return journey by his friends and taken to the

Castle of Wartburg, where he remained about a year, occupying his time in translating the Bible from the original languages into German.¹ The people paid little attention to the edict, and Luther gained in popularity rather than lost.

122. Peasants' Rising. 1524–1525. — While Luther was in the Wartburg the radical and wilder spirits came to the front and in time brought about the Peasants' Rising (1524–1525). The lot of the German peasants was a hard one; they were practically serfs. It is little to be wondered at that, hopeless of betterment and incited by wild leaders, they should rise in rebellion against all authority, secular or clerical. Terrible deeds of violence were committed, and not until about one hundred thousand lives had been sacrificed was the rebellion put down.²

123. Francis I and Charles V; Henry VIII. — The whole course of events during the following years was influenced by the personal ambition of the great rulers. Francis I of France had conquered Milan, which gave him an important point of advantage for any designs he had upon Italy, where he claimed Naples. Charles claimed that Milan belonged to the empire and resolved to expel Francis. War began between the two, and the imperial troops entered Milan (November, 1521). Pope Leo X suddenly died; and instead of Wolsey, as he himself and Henry VIII hoped, the emperor's old tutor was chosen Pope as Adrian VI³ (1522). Adrian was a man of irreproachable character, and desirous of putting an end to abuses, but he was not able to cope with the great difficulties surrounding him. Perhaps for him it was just as well that he lived only a few months. Again Henry and Wolsey were disap-

¹ This is universally acknowledged as one of the best translations. It is in racy, simple, forcible words, and has been the foundation of modern German. Before its appearance the German language was made up of many dialects.

² It might have been expected that Luther, himself a peasant's son, would have actively sympathized with the peasants, but he did not. He clearly saw the hopelessness of the struggle, and the danger of mixing up the religious question with the extreme demands of the peasants. He recommended arbitration, which was refused, and, later, urged severe measures against the peasants. There can be little doubt that his judgment was good, but one must regret the severity of his language, and wish that he had shown more sympathy with the downtrodden. The real authors of the troubles were those who had oppressed the peasants.

³ He kept his own name, which was unusual.

pointed, for Giulio de' Medici was chosen, taking the name of Clement VII. Francis I was defeated at Pavia (1525), and taken prisoner and sent to Madrid. In 1526 Francis concluded a treaty with Charles and was released. The Pope, who had made friends with Francis, absolved him from his obligations, and an alliance between Francis and the Pope followed.

124. Diet of Spires (1526); Charles V Crowned. 1530. — Meanwhile the Diet of Spires was sitting. Charles was too busy to take active measures against the supporters of Luther, neither did he care to help the Pope, who had allied himself with Francis, so the Diet unanimously passed a decree (1526) that "Each prince should, as regards the Edict of Worms, so live, rule, and bear himself as he thought he could answer it to God and the emperor." This left each ruler to do as he thought best, and was really the beginning of states independent so far as religion was concerned, and marks the division of Germany into Catholic and Protestant. Peace was made between Francis and Charles in 1529, and in 1530 Charles was crowned emperor by the Pope, at Bologna, the last emperor so crowned.

125. Second Diet of Spires (1529). "Protestants." Augsburg Confession. 1530. — Meantime the Diet of the Empire met again at Spires in 1529, and passed a decree practically reënacting the Edict of Worms, and forbidding all further reform until a regular council was summoned. Against this the Lutheran princes and delegates made a protest, and were therefore called "Protestants."

The next year (1530) the Diet met at Augsburg, and Charles himself, after nearly ten years' absence from Germany, was present. To this Diet the Lutherans presented a statement of their belief, drawn up by Melanchthon, known as the Augsburg Confession. It was studiously moderate in tone and statement, but Charles was unwilling to agree to anything except absolute submission. In order to protect themselves the Protestants formed the "League of Schmalkalden."¹ This was the actual beginning of the division of Germany into two hostile camps. The result of the action of Charles was ultimately the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

¹ So named from a small town in southern Saxony where the leaders met for consultation.

126. State of Germany. 1530. — There were three courses other than force open to Charles, (1) compromise, (2) letting the Protestants alone, (3) holding a general Council like that of Constance. He inclined to the last, but the Pope, for some reason or other, put off action. Compromise was attempted, but was found to be impossible. The Schmalkalden League was too strong to oppose at present, so matters were left and Protestantism made rapid growth. Meantime an attack on Europe by the Turks diverted Charles's attention. Luther's great influence was thrown against any appeal to arms, for he had a horror of war and a high regard for civil order. Luther died in 1546.

127. Charles makes War on Protestants (1546); Peace of Augsburg. 1555. — Charles brought in Spanish troops and proceeded to break up the Schmalkalden League by force. This action and others roused the Germans, and the war continued until 1552. In 1555 the Peace of Augsburg was concluded. The treaty contained the famous words, *cujus regio, ejus religio*.¹ This meant that a prince might choose his religion and that all his subjects must profess the same on pain of banishment. This was neither religious liberty nor toleration, but it did recognize Lutheranism as a legal religion in the empire, an important victory for the Protestants as far as it went, for after this to excommunicate a man for being a Lutheran would be to attack the empire.² It was faulty in that it was made wholly in the interests of the rulers; the people were left out of consideration. Neither was any provision made for any future change in conditions. Other matters were disposed of ambiguously, opening the way for future trouble.

128. Abdication of Charles V (1555); Philip II. — Disappointed at the failure of his plans, broken in health, perhaps for other reasons also, Charles V abdicated in 1555, and retired to a monastery in Spain. He did not, however, become a monk or sever himself wholly from the world. He divided his vast dominions between his son, Philip II of Spain, and his brother Ferdinand. To the latter he gave the German possessions of the Hapsburgs; to his son he gave Spain, its American colonies, Milan, the king-

¹ Literally, "whose the region, his the religion."

² It did not recognize the Swiss Reformers (Zwinglians), or the Calvinists.

dom of the Two Sicilies, and the Netherlands. Charles died in 1558.

129. Protestantism in France ; "St. Bartholomew." 1572. — Meantime France, under Francis I, was at first tolerant to the new religious ideas, which spread rapidly — the French Protestants being called Huguenots.¹ But it was the theology of John Calvin of Geneva which attracted the French. For political reasons Francis allied himself with the Pope, and part of the agreement was the suppression of heresy. Then came the persecution of the Waldenses and others. His successor, Henry II, continued the persecutions, but notwithstanding this the adherents of the new faith increased, particularly in the south. Francis II (1559–1560), the weak son of Henry II, and husband of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, died within a year of his accession. He was succeeded by his brother Charles IX, a boy of ten years, whose mother, Catherine de' Medici, was the real ruler. Her policy was to set one party against the other, and therefore she tolerated the Huguenots. The Catholic party, led by the family of the Guises, resented this, and before long civil war broke out. In this Philip II aided the Guises, and Elizabeth of England the Huguenots. For over thirty years there was almost continual war carried on quite as much from political rivalry as from religious conviction. During this period occurred at Paris the "massacre of Huguenots, on St. Bartholomew's Day" (August 24, 1572). In other places similar scenes were enacted. Charles IX was succeeded by his brother Henry III (1574–1589), whose reign was a period of turmoil and political intrigues.

130. Henry of Navarre. 1589–1610. — At the death of Henry III by assassination, the crown fell to Henry Bourbon, King of Navarre, a Huguenot. The great majority of the French people were Catholic, and that they should be ruled by a Protestant king was certainly in that day an anomaly, and scarcely to be endured. After four years of conflict Henry, primarily for political motives, abjured Protestantism and became a Catholic.

131. Edict of Nantes (1598) ; Work of Henry IV. — It was not to be expected that Henry would ill-treat his former friends, the

¹ The origin of the name is uncertain.

Huguenots. Nor did he, for by the celebrated Edict of Nantes (April 13, 1598) the Huguenots were given absolute freedom of conscience with a somewhat qualified freedom of worship, and all public positions were opened to them the same as to Catholics. This was the first formal national act of religious toleration since the days of Constantine.¹

Henry, with the aid of his great minister, Sully, strove to benefit his people ; and under his beneficent rule France began to prosper as she had not done for many years. Unfortunately for his country, Henry was assassinated by a fanatic (1610).

132. Louis XIII (1610–1643) ; Richelieu. — Henry was succeeded by his son, Louis XIII, a boy of nine years (1610–1643). For seven years France was misgoverned by his mother, Maria de' Medici. Then Louis himself assumed the power (1617), and in 1624 made Cardinal Richelieu his prime minister. Richelieu was an extraordinarily able man, and for about eighteen years was not only the real ruler of France, but exercised a vast influence over all Europe. His objects were to make the crown absolute, and to raise France to the position of the first power in Europe. In both of these he was ultimately successful. The first step was to destroy the political power of the Huguenots. These latter, since the death of Henry IV, were doubtless a disturbing element. Richelieu watched his opportunity and besieged La Rochelle. Charles I of England sent a fleet to assist the Huguenots (History, § 363), but it was unsuccessful, and in 1628 the city surrendered. Richelieu confirmed the civil and religious privileges given the Huguenots under the Edict of Nantes, but withdrew all the special political ones. He also by various means put down the restless and independent nobility, and in every way strengthened the royal power, so that France became the most centralized government in Europe.

133. Richelieu's Foreign Policy. — The settlement of domestic affairs left him at liberty to pursue his other object, that of making

¹ In Paris and some other places Protestant worship was forbidden. Henry, perhaps from necessity, gave the Huguenots certain fortified towns, among them La Rochelle and Nîmes. This introduced a political element, which later caused Richelieu to attack the Huguenots on political grounds.

France the chief power in Europe. His great rival was Spain. To attack the Hapsburgs was to weaken Spain, and so he supported the German Protestants, both with money and troops. The result was, though Richelieu did not live¹ to see the completion of his plans, that France not only attained the first place in Europe but gained as well territory (Alsace) which she held for more than two hundred years (1871).

134. The Netherlands. — The Netherlands, comprising nearly what is now Belgium and Holland, passed with Mary of Burgundy to the Hapsburgs on her marriage with Maximilian (§ 93), and was inherited by Charles of Spain (the Emperor Charles V). The seventeen provinces were inhabited by peoples of different race and language, and were simply a collection of small states. In the southern portions the government was oligarchical, in the northern more nearly democratic. Each province had its own government and its own social and political institutions. That these provinces were grouped together was due to the fact that the Dukes of Burgundy had gained them singly. Efforts had been made from time to time to establish a definite union, a policy which Charles V steadily followed.

135. Protestantism in the Netherlands. — Where there was so much independence, as was the case in the northern provinces, it was natural that Protestantism should have made great headway. Charles, from political rather than religious motives, tried to crush out heresy. When Charles abdicated (1555), he gave the Netherlands to his son, Philip II.

Philip resolved to reduce the turbulent provinces to obedience and to extirpate heresy. To carry out this plan he sent (1567) as his agent the Duke of Alva, an able general and "remorseless" man, investing him with supreme control in both political and religious affairs. The very reputation of Alva was enough to send thousands to England, where their looms manufactured such cloth as had given Flemish weavers a European reputation.

Alva's rule justified his reputation. He himself boasted later that he had put more than eighteen thousand to death. Probably the annals of no other country can reveal greater or more refined

¹ Richelieu died 1642.

cruelty. His action was based on political quite as much as on religious grounds, but it is for his cruelty and vindictiveness in religious persecution that he is chiefly remembered.

The people endured Philip's rule for ten years. Catholics as well as Protestants had protested against the Spanish exactions, but in vain, Alva was the answer. Already a league had been formed to make resistance. It needed but little more to make a revolt. Alva's plan was to put the leaders out of the way, and so he constituted, by his own authority, a special tribunal to try suspicious cases. This soon came to be known as the "Council of Blood."

136. William of Orange.—William of Orange, Count of Nassau, had been a faithful servant of Charles V, but the oppressive Spanish rule drove him to the other side. He became a Protestant and the leader of the revolt. Known as William the Silent, he holds a high place in history as one who, against almost hopeless odds, undertook to deliver his people from tyranny. Naturally, his strongest support was found in the northern provinces, whose inhabitants were mostly Protestant. Gathering a small army, he began the struggle in 1568.

137. Alva; Elizabeth; Dutch Republic. 1572.—Alva determined to support the war by taxes levied in the country itself. This almost destroyed trade and manufacturing, and drove the Catholics of the south to join with the Protestants of the north. About 1569, William gave letters of marque to some corsairs, part Dutch and part English, who roved the North Sea. As the Spanish access to the Netherlands was by sea, these rovers, or "Sea Beggars," as they were called, inflicted lasting injury on Spanish commerce. Elizabeth of England, so long as there was reason to fear Spain, allowed these freebooters to take shelter and sell their spoils in England; but as Spain became more closely occupied with the revolt, and France more engrossed with her religious wars, she had little to fear from either, and not wishing to get into war, declined to continue the privileges. Upon this the leader of the freebooters seized Brille, a seaport of the Netherlands, in the name of William the Stadtholder. This is regarded as the real beginning of the Dutch Republic, April 1, 1572.

At last, after six years of tyranny, Alva was recalled. Moderate

men were sent, who were able to detach the southern provinces from the northern.¹ But the northern held out, and in 1579 seven provinces formed the Union of Utrecht, and two years later (1581) declared themselves independent. In 1584, while in his own house at Delft, William was assassinated by a fanatic.

138. Elizabeth's Policy ; Spanish Armada (1588) ; Dutch Independence. 1609. — Elizabeth, in her relations with the Dutch, followed her usual policy of playing fast and loose as suited her plans. At last she decided to assist them, and sent her favorite, the Earl of Leicester, with troops to Holland (1585). The states needing a governor-general had already offered the position to Elizabeth, but she had declined ; now they offered it to Leicester, who accepted it without consulting Elizabeth. Angry that he should have taken this step without her approval, she refused for some time to recognize the appointment. Leicester was unfitted for the position, and Elizabeth finally recalled him (1587). Incapable as Leicester was, his failure was in no small degree due to the vacillating and underhand measures of Elizabeth herself, who used the Netherlands to further her own ends.²

Philip, weary of the course of Elizabeth, believed that if he could conquer her, most of his difficulties would be solved, and so set about the preparation of the Armada, of which an account is given elsewhere (History, §§ 322–324). The disaster which befell the expedition decisively influenced the course of events in the Netherlands, for Philip was so much weakened that it was impossible for him to carry on the contest with vigor. In 1609, a twelve years' truce was agreed upon between Spain and the United Provinces, by the terms of which the independence of the latter was acknowledged and freedom of trade granted. In 1648, by the Treaty of Westphalia, their independence was confirmed.

139. Reformation within the Church. — The need of reform in the church was obvious to all thinking men in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but it was not till about the middle of the

¹ It should be remembered that the southern provinces were different from the northern in race, language, and religion. It was Alva's tyranny which had united them.

² It was during this campaign that Sir Philip Sidney, the flower of the English nation, lost his life near Zutphen.

sixteenth century that active steps were taken to better conditions. That which came to pass, often called, though not accurately, the "Counter Reformation," was due to several causes. Three of the most important are: (1) the formation of the Society of Jesus, whose members are known as Jesuits; (2) the Council of Trent; (3) the Inquisition.

140. Loyola; Society of Jesus. — (1) The founder of the Society of Jesus was Ignatius Loyola (born 1491), a Spanish nobleman. He was a soldier who, through a severe wound, had been rendered incapable of military service. Deeply impressed by reading certain "Lives of the Saints," he resolved to establish a religious army to fight the enemies of religion and to enter upon missionary service to convert the heathen.

He prepared himself carefully for his work, and in 1534 founded his society. The Pope, Paul III, at first held aloof, but afterward gave the enterprise his approval. The society was organized like a military army, absolute obedience to the superior being required from the members. The head was a general. All the members were required to take a vow of obedience to the Pope. The order soon became a great power. Not only were its members missionaries and preachers, but they established some of the best schools in Europe. They became able diplomats, and shrewd in political craft; they were skillful propagandists, and, through their efforts, many prominent men were brought back to Catholicism, and lukewarm advocates made strong supporters of it. So successful were they that nearly all southern Germany, and France, and all Italy, Spain, and Poland became definitely Catholic, and not a few in northern Germany gave in their adherence to the old church. The faithfulness and zeal of the Jesuit missionaries in America, Asia, and elsewhere is worthy of admiration.

141. Council of Trent. 1545–1563. — (2) The Popes had hesitated, as has been seen, to call a general council of the church, possibly fearing that their power might in some way be curtailed. But at last Pope Paul III gave way to the wishes of the emperor, and after two or three delays a council met December 13, 1545, at Trent, in Italy, but near the bounds of Germany. The council was under Italian and papal control from the beginning.

There was much discussion and debating ; in 1547 the council was removed to Bologna, and was suspended in 1549. It was summoned again to Trent in 1551, but was suspended the next year. It was not called together again until 1562, and closed finally in 1563. No Protestants shared in its deliberations, and so it was not representative of the whole Christian church in Europe, as the emperor had hoped would be the case.¹

The results of the council were far reaching : Catholic doctrine was, for the first time, carefully formulated in statements which had to be accepted by church members. The authority of the Pope was greatly strengthened, the value of tradition emphasized, and tradition itself placed on an equality with Scripture. A genuine reform in the life and work of the clergy was instituted ; and the Pope was authorized to draw up a list of books to be prohibited on account of their heretical teachings.² Much other important action was taken, and the Church of Rome to-day is in many respects largely what the Council of Trent made it.

142. Inquisition. — (3) Among other things, the Council of Trent extended the Inquisition to other countries than Spain, and it became a great instrument in discovering and uprooting heresy. In Spain and parts of Italy it was successful, but it failed in the Netherlands.

143. State of Germany. 1618. — Perhaps no period in history is more difficult to describe with clearness than that known as the Thirty Years' War. In it religious and political motives, national rivalry, personal selfishness and personal ambition, and greed for plunder are so mingled that it is impossible to separate them. The one man who stands out worthy of commendation — the only real hero — is Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden.

Germany in 1618 consisted of about four hundred states united in a very loose confederation, and the Holy Roman Empire — whose head was elected for life. In addition to the natural friction resulting from the political situation, there was the friction

¹ From this time the title Roman Catholic Church has been frequently used to designate the Church of Rome. No other council was held until the Vatican Council in 1869-1870.

² This is known as the *Index Expurgatorius*.

arising from differences of religion, not only between Catholic and Protestant, but also between Protestant sects. The religious peace of Augsburg (1555) had been both a postponement of trouble and a cause of irritation. The Protestants were most numerous in the north, the Catholics in the south.

144. Bohemia ; Beginning of the War. 1618. — After 1438 the head of the empire had always been a member of the house of Hapsburg, who ruled Austria. He also ruled Hungary, and at this time was king of Bohemia as well. The Emperor Matthias (1612–1617) was childless, and wished a cousin, Ferdinand of Styria, to succeed him. In the negotiations relating to this plan Bohemia and Hungary, both elective monarchies, were promised to Ferdinand, who was a strong Catholic. The Bohemian nobles, who were Protestants, fearful of injury to the Protestant cause and themselves, after appealing in vain to Matthias, sent an armed deputation to Prague. Charging the two unpopular regents with being the cause of the emperor's position, they threw them out of the window of the castle.¹ This act (May 23, 1618) is usually taken as the beginning of the Thirty Years' War. The revolution was ill-advised. The Bohemian nobles were not united, the people had no wish to bear the cost of war, and the effort would have amounted to little had not Christian of Anhalt, an able man, but destitute of foresight and political judgment, determined to aid the Bohemian rebels. He was joined by Frederick V,² Elector Palatine, the young son-in-law of James I of England. There are four distinct periods of the war: (1) the Bohemian; (2) the Danish; (3) the Swedish; (4) the French.

145. (1) Frederick, King of Bohemia. 1619. — The Emperor Matthias died in 1691, and pending the election of his successor, the Bohemian nobles, claiming the right of election, chose Frederick, the Elector Palatine, as king of Bohemia.³ Frederick

¹ Though the fall was about seventy feet into the fosse, or ditch, the men were not seriously injured.

² Frederick had married (1613) when only seventeen the Princess Elizabeth of England. The capital of the Palatinate was Heidelberg; its castle, now one of the most beautiful ruins in Europe, was the electoral residence. Elizabeth was the mother of Prince Rupert of Civil War fame, and George I of England was her grandson.

³ Frederick was only twenty-three.

most unwisely accepted before ascertaining whether the Protestant powers — England, Netherlands, and the Protestant rulers in Germany — would support him. As a matter of fact, they held aloof. Ferdinand was chosen emperor (1619). He was a strong man, but narrow-minded, and determined to restore the empire to its former limits, and make it wholly Catholic.

The English people were strongly in favor of aiding Frederick, both as a Protestant and as the husband of an English princess. James I, timid by nature, dilatory, and having an exalted opinion of his power as a diplomat, would take no active measures, and so, with the exception of allowing some volunteers to go to the Continent (History, § 351), nothing was done. .

146. Defeat of Frederick. 1620. — The Catholic rulers in Germany naturally supported Ferdinand in his campaign to defeat Frederick. A short but decisive battle was fought near Prague (November 8, 1620), in which Frederick's forces were routed in about an hour, and he was forced to fly. This was bad enough, but in 1621 the Duke of Bavaria invaded and seized the Upper Palatinate, and a Spanish army conquered the Lower Palatinate (1622), so Frederick lost not only the crown of Bohemia, but all his hereditary possessions as well, and became an exile for the rest of his life. Owing to the shortness of his reign he is often called the "Winter King."

147. (2) The War ; Wallenstein. — From this time Northern Germany was little more than a battle ground. The invasion of the imperial troops at length frightened the Protestants, and Christian of Denmark, who, as Duke of Holstein, had great interest in the affairs of northern Germany, resolved to intervene. The emperor was without an army for North Germany, but Wallenstein,¹ a Bohemian soldier of fortune, who had managed to secure large estates in Bohemia, offered to raise an army for the emperor at his own expense, and promising that if he were allowed to levy contributions on the countries occupied, the maintenance of the army would not cost the emperor anything. Mansfield, the general of the Protestant forces, had supported his army by plunder ; Tilly, the commander of the Catholic League, had not been much better,

¹ His real name was Albert of Waldstein.

and Wallenstein's plan, though more plausible, was practically the same. Ferdinand, who had to choose between Wallenstein and doing nothing, chose Wallenstein. Christian was defeated, and northern Germany became a prey to Wallenstein and his army. The emperor issued what is known as the Edict of Restitution (1629), which restored all ecclesiastical possessions to the Catholics. This was the political turning point of the war for its severity stirred up opposition.

148. (3) Gustavus Adolphus. 1630.—But in 1630 another element was introduced. Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, a strong Protestant, the ablest general of his time, entered Germany with an army restrained by severe discipline. Two motives, perhaps with equal force, impelled Gustavus—the one, to defend the cause of Protestantism; the other to extend the domains of Sweden.

He was almost uniformly successful, and he marched through a large part of Germany. Wallenstein, who had been dismissed by the emperor, was recalled, and the two greatest generals of the whole war met at Lützen, Saxony (November 16, 1632). The battle was long and bloody. Wallenstein was defeated, but the Swedish hero, Gustavus, was slain.

149. War Continues; England.—The war, however, was not ended. The Protestant princes, notwithstanding all that Germany had suffered, were still divided, and the emperor was too weak to accomplish much. The war became a guerrilla conflict, and soldiers pillaged the land and committed terrible atrocities. Wallenstein, who had extensive plans for a united Germany, entered into negotiations, now with Richelieu, now with the Protestants, and in consequence became distrusted by the emperor and by the Catholics. In 1634 he was assassinated.

England had not been simply a spectator. James I had tried to support Mansfield. In 1624 he sent ambassadors to the king of Denmark and to Gustavus Adolphus, urging them to help the course of Protestantism in Germany, and restore Germany to its former state. The kings had little confidence in James, and the negotiations amounted to little. In 1625 James died, and Charles I agreed to help the King of Denmark by sending funds. Some

money was sent, but Parliament, distrusting Charles and not liking to send money to Germany, refused to make appropriations, and Charles was helpless.

150. (4) France and Richelieu. — The part Richelieu played in the conflict has already been referred to. That Germany should be united into one strong power menacing France could not be endured. Spain ruled by Hapsburgs, aided the emperor, so Spain was an enemy of France. Therefore Richelieu helped the Protestants. The Spanish Netherlands were invaded (1635), and after the death of Gustavus Adolphus the Swedish army in time came under the control of France. Richelieu died in 1642, but his successor, the astute Mazarin, continued his policy. The war went on, the emperor and his allies steadily losing. Long before this the conflict had become a strife for mastery between France, and Spain and the emperor.

151. Peace of Westphalia. 1648.— At last all parties were weary, and negotiations began in 1644. So difficult were the problems to be settled that it was not until 1648 that the Treaty of Westphalia was agreed upon and signed. Under the terms of this treaty Europe was administered till the French Revolution (1789). As in previous negotiations, all was done in the interests of princes, and the people received little or no consideration. The principal of *cujus regio ejus religio* (§ 125) was observed, except that Calvinism was recognized. A prince, whether Catholic or Protestant, if he chose, could force his subjects to adopt his religion or be banished from their homes. It must be said, however, that conditions were far different from those in 1555 (Peace of Augsburg); now, practically every one was sick of disputes and fightings, the desire of gaining proselytes was driven out by the stern and awful lessons of war, and peace was longed for above all else.

152. Results of the War. — The accounts of the ravages of the war are too dreadful to repeat. Even the soldiers fared hardly. "No careful surgeon passed over the battle field to save life or limb. No hospitals received the wounded to the tender nursing of loving gentle hands. Recruits were to be bought cheaply, and it cost less to enrol a new soldier than to cure an old one."

The extent of the devastation is almost past belief; lands lay

uncultivated where there had been thousands of happy laborers ; cities and towns were more than decimated ; the prosperous city of Augsburg, which in 1618 had eighty thousand inhabitants, in 1648 had but sixteen thousand ; indeed, above two thirds of the population of Germany are said to have disappeared. Hundreds of villages were completely wiped out. But even worse than all this, was the moral decline of the community. It took Germany a century or more to recover from the effects of this awful period of brutal warfare.

Politically, Germany remained a collection of about four hundred independent states. The empire was a name rather than a reality, and the Diet had little or no authority. Germany continued to be " a geographical expression " for two centuries. France, under Louis XIV, was the chief power in Europe, one with which all the rest of Europe had to reckon.

From this time, the affairs of northern and central Europe and of Italy are too much in detail to follow in a brief general sketch, while those of Austria, France, and Spain are, so far as they relate to England, discussed elsewhere.

APPENDIX II

The following list contains all the works referred to in the text, with a few others. For more extended bibliographies teachers and readers are referred to Andrews, Gambrill, and Tall, *A Bibliography of History for Schools and Libraries*, Longman's, N. Y., 1910. 60 cents.

LIST OF BOOKS FOR COLLATERAL READING AND REFERENCES

1. SOURCE BOOKS

- CHEYNEY, E. P.: *Readings in English History*. Ginn, Boston. \$1.80.
- COLBY, C. W.: *Selections from the Sources of English History, B.C. 55-A.D. 1832*. Longmans, N. Y. \$1.50.
- KENDALL, E. K.: *Source-Book of English History*. Macmillan, N. Y. 80 cents.
- LEE, G. C.: *Source-Book of English History*. Holt, N. Y. \$2.00.
- CANNON, H. L.: *Reading References for English History*. Ginn, Boston. \$2.50.
- (This work contains a vast store of references, but can only be used to advantage where a large library is available.)
- ROBINSON, J. H.: *Readings in European History*. 2 vols. Vol. 1, *From the Breaking up of the Roman Empire to the Protestant Revolt*; vol. 2, *From the Opening of the Protestant Revolt to the Present Day*. Ginn, Boston. \$1.50 each.
- OGG, F. A.: *A Source-Book of Mediæval History*. Amer. Book Co., N. Y. \$1.50.

2. GENERAL HISTORIES

- CHEYNEY, E. P.: *Industrial and Social History of England*. Macmillan, N. Y. \$1.40.
- GARDINER, S. R.: *Student's History of England from the Earliest Times to 1885*. Illustrated. 3 vols. \$3.60, or bound in one volume, \$3.00. Longmans, N. Y.
- GREEN, J. R.: *A Short History of the English People*. American Book Co., N. Y. \$1.20, and other editions.

TERRY, BENJAMIN: *History of England from the Earliest Times to the Death of Queen Victoria*. Scot, Foresman Co., Chicago, 1901. \$2.00.

TOUT, T. F.: *An Advanced History of Great Britain*. Longmans, N. Y. \$1.50.

TRAILL, H. D.: *Social England to 1885*. 6 vols. Putnams, N. Y. \$21.00.

ACLAND AND RANSOME: *English Political History in Outline, 9th ed.* Longmans, N. Y. 1906. \$2.00.

(Strictly chronological, with brief references to foreign affairs. Fully indexed. A valuable book of reference for the teacher.)

ROBINSON, J. H.: *History of Western Europe*. Ginn, Boston. 2 vols. \$2.00.

HAZEN, C. D.: *Europe since 1815*. Holt, N. Y. \$3 00.

(A well-written and interesting book.)

3. SPECIAL PERIODS

Early Britain Series, S. P. C. K. or E. S. Gorham, N. Y. \$1.00 to \$1.25 each.

RHYS, J.: *Celtic Britain*; SCARTH: *Roman Britain*; ALLEN, G.: *Anglo-Saxon Britain*; COLLINGWOOD: *Scandinavian Britain*; HUNT, W.: *Norman Britain*.

Epoch Series. Longmans, N. Y. \$1.00 each. JOHNSON, A. H.: *The Normans in Europe*; STUBBS, W.: *The Early Plantagenets*; GAIRDNER, J.: *Lancaster and York*; SEEBOHM, F.: *Era of the Protestant Revolution*; CREIGHTON, M.: *Age of Elizabeth*; GARDINER, S. R.: *The Puritan Revolution*.

GREEN, J. R.: *The Making of England*. Harpers, N. Y. \$2.50.

JESSOP, A.: *The Coming of the Friars, and Other Essays*. Putnams, N. Y. \$1.25.

MACAULAY, T. B.: *History of England*, Chapter III. Many editions.

MACAULAY, T. B.: *Essays. Lord Clive; William Pitt, Earl of Chatham; Warren Hastings*. Many editions.

4. ATLASES

SHEPHERD, W. R.: *Historical Atlas*. Holt, 1912. \$2.50.

The best handy atlas; unusually clear maps and full index.

GARDINER, S. R.: *Atlas of English History*. Longmans, N. Y. \$1.50.

MUIR, R.: *New School Atlas of Modern History*, Holt, N. Y., 1911. \$1.25.

The best cheap atlas of the kind.

5. HISTORICAL FICTION

BAKER, E. A.: *History in Fiction, etc. English Fiction*. (Routledge.) E. P. Dutton & Co., N. Y. 75 cents.

BAKER, E. A.: *Guide to the Best Fiction*, Macmillan, N. Y. 1903. \$2.50.

BUCKLEY AND WILLIAMS: *Guide to British Historical Fiction*. Harrap & Co. London, 1902.

APPENDIX III

IMPORTANT DATES IN ENGLISH HISTORY

BRITAIN BEFORE THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH

55 B.C.	Caesar's first expedition to Britain.
54	Caesar's second expedition to Britain.
41 A.D.	Beginning of Roman conquest of Britain.
78-81	Agricola's government of Britain.
121	Hadrian's wall built between the Solway and Tyne.
209	Severus restored wall of Hadrian.
410	Roman troops withdrawn from Britain.

ENGLAND BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST

449-586	First English Settlement of Britain.
597	Landing of St. Augustine.
827	Egbert becomes king of all England.
787 (about)	The Danish invasions begin.
871-901	Alfred's reign.
991	Danegeld first paid.
1016-1035	Cnut (Canute) first Danish king.
1016	Edmund Ironside.
1042-1066	Edward the Confessor.
1066	Harold II.
1066, October	Battle of Hastings.

ENGLAND UNDER NORMAN KINGS

1066-1087	William the Conqueror.
1085-1086	Domesday Book.
1087-1100	William II.
1093	Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury.
1100-1135	Henry I.
1100	First charter.
1135-1154	Stephen of Blois.
1153	Treaty of Wallingford.

ENGLAND UNDER PLANTAGENET KINGS

1154-1189	. .	Henry II , of Anjou.
1154	. . . .	Becket chancellor.
1162	. . . .	Becket Archbishop of Canterbury.
1164	. . . .	Constitutions of Clarendon.
1170, December		Becket murdered.
1171	. . . .	English rule in Ireland begins.
1176	. . . .	Circuit judges established.
1189-1199	. .	Richard I .
1199-1216	. .	John .
1206	. . . .	Stephen Langton Archbishop.
1213	. . . .	John's homage to Pope Innocent III.
1215	. . . .	Magna Charta.
1216-1272	. .	Henry III .
1258	. . . .	Provisions of Oxford.
1264	. . . .	Battle of Lewes.
1265	. . . .	Battle of Evesham.
1265	. . . .	Beginning of the House of Commons.
1272-1307	. .	Edward I .
1276-1284	. .	Conquest of Wales.
1290	. . . .	Jews ordered to leave England.
1295	. . . .	Edward invades Scotland. First Complete Parliament.
1297	. . . .	Confirmation of the charters.
1307-1327	. .	Edward II .
1314	. . . .	Battle of Bannockburn.
1327-1377	. .	Edward III .
1338	. . . .	Hundred Years' War begins.
1340	. . . .	Battle of Sluys.
1346	. . . .	Battle of Crécy.
1347	. . . .	Capture of Calais.
1348-1349	. .	The Black Death.
1349	. . . .	First Statute of Laborers.
1356	. . . .	Battle of Poitiers.
1362	. . . .	English language used in law courts.
1377-1399	. .	Richard II .
1381	. . . .	The Peasant's revolt. Wycliffe's Bible.

ENGLAND UNDER HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND YORK

1399-1413	. .	Henry IV .
1403	. . . .	Battle of Shrewsbury.
1413-1422	. .	Henry V .
1414	. . . .	Lollard rising.

1415, October	.	.	Battle of Agincourt.
1422-1461	.	.	Henry VI.
1429	.	.	English defeated at Orleans. Joan of Arc.
1431	.	.	"Joan of Arc" burned at Rouen.
1449	.	.	Normandy lost by English.
1450	.	.	Jack Cade's (Yorkist) rising.
1453	.	.	Hundred Years' War ends. Loss of all French territory, except Calais.
1455	.	.	Wars of the Roses begin.
1461-1483	.	.	Edward IV.
1466	.	.	Henry VI prisoner in Tower.
1471	.	.	Edward IV wins battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury.
1477	.	.	Caxton introduces printing.
1483	.	.	Edward V , king, and murdered.
1483-1485	.	.	Richard III.
1485	.	.	Battle of Bosworth; end of the Wars of the Roses.

ENGLAND UNDER THE TUDORS

1485-1509	.	.	Henry VII.
1486	.	.	Star Chamber.
1492	.	.	Perkin Warbeck's revolt.
1492	.	.	America discovered.
1502	.	.	Princess Margaret marries James IV of Scotland.
1509-1547	.	.	Henry VIII.
1513-1529	.	.	Wolsey in power.
1513	.	.	Battle of Flodden Field.
1529	.	.	Fall of Wolsey.
1533-1540	.	.	Thomas Cromwell in power.
1534	.	.	Act of Supremacy.
1536	.	.	Suppression of monasteries begins. Pilgrimage of Grace.
1536	.	.	Wales united with England.
1536	.	.	Anne Boleyn executed.
1547-1553	.	.	Edward VI.
1548	.	.	First Book of Common Prayer.
1553-1558	.	.	Mary.
1554	.	.	Wyatt's insurrection.
1554	.	.	Lady Jane Grey executed.
1554	.	.	Mary I marries Philip II.
1556-1558	.	.	The persecution.
1558	.	.	Loss of Calais.

1558-1603	. .	Elizabeth.
1559	. . . .	Court of High Commission founded.
1563	. . . .	English Reformation completed.
1568	. . . .	Mary Stuart flees to England.
1577-1580	. .	Sir Francis Drake sails round world.
1587	. . . .	Mary Stuart executed.
1588	. . . .	Spanish Armada.
1600	. . . .	East India Company's Charter.
1601	. . . .	Poor Law passed.

ENGLAND UNDER THE STUARTS

1603-1625	. .	James I.
1603	. . . .	Union of the crowns of England and Scotland.
1605	. . . .	Gunpowder Plot.
1611	. . . .	Authorized Version of Bible.
1620	. . . .	Pilgrim Fathers.
1625-1649	. .	Charles I.
1628	. . . .	Petition of Right.
1633	. . . .	Wentworth lord-deputy in Ireland.
1633	. . . .	Laud made Archbishop of Canterbury.
1635	. . . .	Ship-money resisted by Hampden.
1638	. . . .	The National Covenant.
1640	. . . .	Long Parliament met.
1641	. . . .	Strafford executed.
1641	. . . .	Court of High Commission abolished.
1641	. . . .	Court of Star Chamber abolished.
1641	. . . .	The Grand Remonstrance.
1642	. . . .	Attempted arrest of Five Members.
1642	. . . .	Civil War begins.
1643	. . . .	Solemn League and Covenant.
1644	. . . .	Battle of Marston Moor.
1645	. . . .	Self-denying Ordinance.
1645	. . . .	Laud executed.
1645	. . . .	Battle of Naseby.
1647	. . . .	Charles I given up to Parliament.
1648	. . . .	"Pride's Purge."
1649	. . . .	Charles I executed.
1649-1660	. .	The Commonwealth.
1649-1650	. .	Cromwell in Ireland.
1650	. . . .	Battle of Dunbar.
1651	. . . .	Battle of Worcester.
1653	. . . .	Cromwell expels Long Parliament.

1653	Cromwell Lord Protector. "Barebones Parliament."
1658	Cromwell's death.
1660-1685 . .	Charles II.
1660-1667 . .	Earl of Clarendon chief minister.
1661-1665 . .	The Clarendon Code.
1664-1667 . .	Second Dutch War.
1665	Plague of London.
1666	Fire of London.
1667	Dutch fleet in Medway and Thames.
1672-1674 . .	Third Dutch War.
1673	Test Act passed.
1673-1676 . .	Earl of Danby chief minister.
1677	Princess Mary marries Prince of Orange.
1679	Habeas Corpus Act.
1685-1689 . .	James II.
1685	Monmouth's rebellion.
1688	Second Declaration of Indulgence.
1688	Seven bishops tried.
1688, November	William of Orange lands at Torbay.
1689-1702	{ William III, and Mary II, to 1694.
1689	Toleration Act.
1689	Bill of Rights.
1689	Siege of Londonderry.
1690	Battle of Boyne.
1692	Battle of La Hogue.
1692	Battle of Steenkerke.
1692	National debt begun.
1694	Bank of England founded.
1695	Freedom of press established.
1701	Act of Settlement.
1702-1714 . .	Anne.
1702-1713 . .	War of Spanish Succession.
1704	Battle of Blenheim.
1704	Capture of Gibraltar.
1707	Act of union of England and Scotland.

ENGLAND UNDER HANOVERIAN SOVEREIGNS

1714-1727 . .	George I.
1715	First Jacobite rebellion, the "Old Pretender."
1711-1720 . .	South Sea Scheme.
1721-1742 . .	Walpole prime minister; the Cabinet.

1727-1760	. .	George II.
1741-1748	. .	War of Austrian Succession.
1743	. . . .	Battle of Dettingen.
1745	. . . .	Battle of Fontenoy.
1745-1746	. .	Young Pretender's rebellion.
1746	. . . .	Battle of Culloden.
1752	. . . .	New style (calendar) adopted.
1756-1763	. .	Seven Years' War.
1757-1761	. .	William Pitt (the elder) in power.
1760	. . . .	Conquest of Canada.
1760-1820	. .	George III.
1763	. . . .	Peace of Paris.
1764	. . . .	Hargreave's Spinning Jenny.
1765	. . . .	Grenville's Stamp Act.
1773	. . . .	"Boston Tea Party."
1774	. . . .	American Declaration of Rights. Quebec Act.
1775	. . . .	War of American colonists.
1775	. . . .	Battle of Bunker Hill.
1776, July 4th	. .	American Declaration of Independence.
1777	. . . .	Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga.
1778	. . . .	Death of Chatham.
1781	. . . .	British surrender at Yorktown.
1783	. . . .	England acknowledges independence of America.
1783-1801	. .	William Pitt minister.
1788-1795	. .	Trial of Warren Hastings.
1789	. . . .	French Revolution.
1793	. . . .	War with French Republic.
1795	. . . .	Cape Colony occupied.
1798	. . . .	Irish rebellion.
1801	. . . .	Legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland.
1802	. . . .	Peace of Amiens.
1805, October	. .	Battle of Trafalgar. Austerlitz.
1806, February	. .	Death of Pitt.
1807	. . . .	Abolition of British slave trade.
1812-1814	. .	War with United States.
1814, December	. .	Treaty of Ghent.
1815, June 18	. .	Battle of Waterloo.
1815, November	. .	Peace of Paris.
1816	. . . .	Second Congress of Vienna.
1820-1830	. .	George IV.
1828	. . . .	Corporation and Test Acts repealed.
1829	. . . .	Catholic Emancipation Act passed.
1830	. . . .	Manchester and Liverpool railway.

1830-1837	. . .	William IV.
1832	. . . .	First Reform Bill.
1833	. . . .	Abolition of Slavery in British dominions.
1834	. . . .	New Poor Law.
1835	. . . .	Municipal Reform Act.
1837-1901	. . .	Victoria.
1837-1848	. . .	Chartists give trouble.
1838	. . . .	Anti-Corn Law League formed. "People's Charter."
1846	. . . .	Repeal of Corn Laws.
1850	. . . .	Sir Robert Peel died.
1851	. . . .	Great Exhibition in Hyde Park.
1854-1856	. . .	Crimean War.
1856, March	. . .	Treaty of Paris.
1857	. . . .	Sepoy revolt in India.
1858	. . . .	Government of India transferred to the Crown.
1867	. . . .	Second Reform Bill.
1869	. . . .	Irish Church Act (Disestablishment).
1870	. . . .	Irish Land Act.
1870	. . . .	Elementary Education Act.
1872	. . . .	Alabama Claims Arbitration.
1872	. . . .	Ballot Act.
1874	. . . .	Ashantée War.
1875	. . . .	Purchase of Suez Canal shares.
1877	. . . .	Victoria proclaimed empress of India.
1878	. . . .	The Berlin Congress and Treaty.
1879	. . . .	Zulu and Afghan Wars.
1881	. . . .	Boer War.
1882	. . . .	Egyptian War.
1884-1885	. . .	Soudan War.
1884-1885	. . .	Third Reform Act.
1886	. . . .	Gladstone's Irish Home Rule Bill rejected.
1887, June	. . .	Queen's Jubilee celebrated.
1888	. . . .	Local Government Act.
1893	. . . .	Second Irish Home Rule Bill rejected by the Lords.
1896	. . . .	Jameson's Raid on the Transvaal.
1899-1902	. . .	Boer War.
1901-1910	. . .	Edward VII.
1902	. . . .	Education Act.
1902	. . . .	Boer Republics incorporated with British Empire.
1908	. . . .	Old Age Pensions.
1909	. . . .	Union of South Africa.
1910	. . . .	George V.
1911	. . . .	Veto Bill; Salary of Members of Parliament.

- 1912 Insurance Act.
- 1913 Third Irish Home Rule Bill rejected by the Lords.
- 1913 Welsh Disestablishment Act rejected by the Lords.

THE VICTORIA CROSS

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